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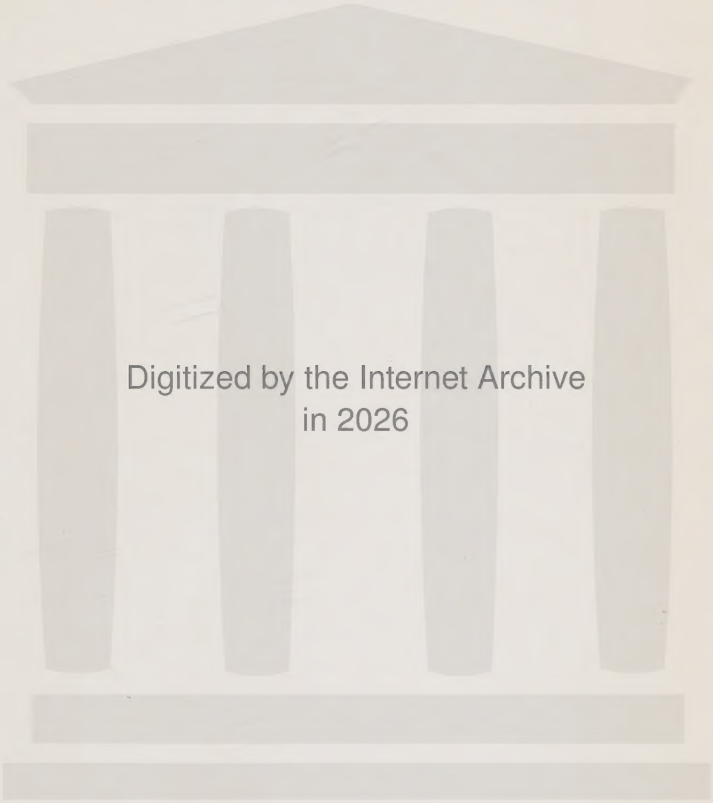
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EUROPE
1450–1789

EUROPE

1450-1789

BY

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TO

ELEANOR BOWIE TURNER

AND

C. E. R. T.

IN HIEM. LOND. MEM.

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PREFACE

THIS volume deals with the period from the Renaissance to the French Revolution. It is intended as a companion preceding the author's *Europe, 1789–1920*—which will be entitled *Europe since 1789* after addition and revision now in process.

As must be the case, perhaps—unless the writer be an aged historian of vast erudition—it is based largely upon labors of other scholars. Some information, however, has come through research in the past twelve years in foreign archives for a study of the English government, which the author is attempting to write from the sources. Something also has come from travel in Europe. Certain passages occurred in wandering about old cities or musing in the solitude of churches. Inspiration for at least one chapter came early of a morning on a drive never to be forgotten from Amalfi north to Sorrento.

Many matters dealt with have long ceased to be issues. Others touch instinct or prejudice as strongly as ever. About religion the author has tried to give fairly and honestly what each side wished or believed. Call it ignorance, not bad faith, if he fails to be fair.

Such a task has been harder since he has not tried to avoid difficulties by omission or removing the passion and feeling that lived in these former times. For in what he has written he greatly wishes the past to live again.

In course of composition the three centuries described have passed and repassed in his mind like some pageant, with long procession of men and women living their ap-

pointed time. Some of them have seemed very fine and noble. He has watched them sometimes troubled with problems that trouble us still.

Information is given about governments and about diplomatic and military affairs more fully than in previous manuals of this sort. The author has ventured, however, to devote a third of the number of his chapters directly to economic and, especially, to social matters. If these chapters are not assigned for regular study, he hopes that some students may be drawn to read of their own accord.

In this book, as in the author's other volumes of the series, the maps have been a separate enterprise—done by the General Drafting Company of New York, the author merely asking for the maps and contributing suggestions and comments. To those who toiled at the drawing and in the research: he appreciates deeply the fine coöperation and zealous labor in what he knows was an arduous task. Heartily also does he bear witness to the liberality of the publishers in complying with such large requests. Their encouragement and unfailing assistance have recalled to the writer certain old traditions of the relation between publisher and author.

Acknowledgment of great obligation must be made to the author's wife, whose knowledge of all things relating to the personal and family history of the period has given him insight and intimate knowledge which his own studies never had yielded.

Edward Raymond Turner.

Ann Arbor,
July 1, 1923.

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Historical essays and papers: J. E. Emerich, Lord Acton. *Lectures on Modern History* (1906), *Historical Essays and Studies* (1907), *The History of Freedom and Other Essays* (1907), as stimulating to more mature students as those of Macaulay are to younger; William (Bishop) Stubbs, *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Mediaeval and Modern History*, (3d ed. 1900), *Lectures on European History* (1904).

The author realizes very well that the complexity of modern life and the great number of interests it embraces will not permit most students to do extensive additional reading for all of their studies. If, however, those who are particularly interested in history, have the inclination and the time, they will do well to become acquainted with the principal historical journals. In them may be found the most recent contributions of importance, the best reviews of historical writings, and through them the reader is brought into actual contact with the best of modern historical method and ideals: *The American Historical Review*, *The English Historical Review*, *Historische Zeitschrift*, *La Revue Historique*, *La Revue des Questions Historiques*, and, for somewhat more elementary reading, the admirable *Historical Outlook*. Those who may chance to read the correspondence in such publications as *The Spectator* (London), *The Westminster Gazette* (London) will find much rare and curious information written by people of learning and culture.

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EUROPE

1450–1789

CHAPTER I

MEDIEVAL EUROPE

Por remembrer des ancessours
Li fez è li diz è li mours,
. . .
Des nobles fez è des bons diz,
Ke li Baron e li Seignor
Firent de tems ancianor.
ROBERT WACE, *Le Roman de Rou* (1160), 1–13.

Dies irae, dies illa
Solvet saeclum in favilla:
Teste David cum Sibylla.
Quantus tremor est futurus,
Quando judex est venturus,
Cuncta stricte discussurus!
Dies Irae (thirteenth century?)

O eloquent, just, and mighty Death!
. . . thou hast drawn together all the
far-stretched greatness, all the pride,
cruelty, and ambition of man, and covered
it all over with these two narrow words,
Hic jacet!
SIR WALTER RALEIGH, concluding his *History of the World*, written about the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The historian's task

THE difficulty of recalling past times to the understanding and imagination of students is always such that the historian may at all times have doubt of succeeding. His task is not merely to be honest and fair, and study sufficiently the sources of information. He must also contrive to put himself back in the past, and in his own experience live the past over again. Then, his mind filled with un-

derstanding and images of it, he must try to bring it on to the present, describing it with a measure of reality to his readers. If this is not accomplished, the most learned scholar can give only a chronicle or merely a verbal arrangement—something elusive or dull, with not much actual value and no real or lasting impression.

Different conditions in times past

The difficulty that confronts the student in understanding medieval conditions is very different from what besets him with respect to the "Ancient Rêgime"—the more recent period before the Industrial Revolution and scientific knowledge had made the world that we know at present. One may think Europe in the Middle Ages more remote from present-day Europe than it actually was. On the contrary, one is not so likely to realize how great are the differences that separate present conditions from those which prevailed only two centuries ago. The men and women of a thousand years gone were, after all, in many of the most important respects, much like their descendants now living. But men and women two hundred years since, as well as those a thousand years earlier, lived in the midst of material conditions much unlike those we now know. There are, indeed, important and very striking differences in respect of people of the eighteenth century and of people of the tenth or fourteenth, but the dissimilarities have to do not so much with conditions affecting food, shelter, clothing, and the things by which man makes his living, as with religion, systems of government, social organization, and methods of thought.

Primary interests have not changed much

Pundits and unimaginative people may think it simple and naïve to suggest that, after all, what occupied most of the attention of most people a thousand or more years ago has continued to preoccupy their descendants, and engrosses most of them now. In the Middle Ages most men and women—in England, in Hungary, or in Spain—were engaged mostly with the problem of making their living and rearing their children. They had played in their

childhood; they had begun to work in their youth—earlier then than now. Young men sought for sweethearts; young maids would be fair and so attract lovers. People married; they had children. For many there were harder and leaner years as families increased. For women, unending household tasks and care of numerous children. For men, hard toil on the land or else at some trade. There were sickness and health; there were happiness and many ills. Old age came sooner than now. Men and women and children laughed, wept, hoped and hated, they loved and feared, much as many of them always will do. The medieval world was in many ways not, then, so different from ours. He who reads the old songs and ballads will feel this at once. Actually, in many parts of Europe there is a great deal almost medieval existing down to the present—the traveller finds it in Sicily, in Norway, in Spain, in Germany, the Balkans, and Russia. But if once all this be known and remembered, then it is the differences that most need to be studied.

Family life

In some respects the result of modern conditions—general systems of education, numerous cheap newspapers with wide circulation, easy and rapid travel and communication of news, and moving pictures shown in all parts of a country—is to establish general types and uniform character more easily than once was the case. It must, then, be remembered, that long ago there were endless small differences and variations in the numerous countries and small parts of countries, and only exact, antiquarian study will show what were the circumstances in any particular case. It must also be remembered that continually progress and change were being made. On the other hand, in those old times the general simplicity of life made fundamental conditions much the same in a great many places.

Uniformity present and past

In the Middle Ages most people lived in the country and made their living from the soil. In Europe at present and

Medieval life mostly rural

in most of the world this is still so; but in England, in Germany, and, of late, in the United States, as a result of the Industrial Revolution, the greater number of the people live in cities, and it is difficult for many of them to realize an older society in which rural conditions prevailed, in which towns were not many, and when there were only a few large cities in Europe.

The manor

More than nine tenths, perhaps, of the people lived in little villages in the country and got their living by agriculture. Rural economy generally was organized under what was called in western Europe the seignorial or manorial system. The manor, an area of land, was held by some lord, *seigneur*, *junker*, or knight. His manor house was the principal building on the domain. About the house was his garden or park. Near by were lands which he reserved for cultivation as his own *demesne*. Perhaps a half or two thirds of the manor was woodland, grazing land, or waste. Somewhere in the remainder of the area was a tiny village—nothing more than a straggling row of rude one- or two-room houses on both sides of an unpaved street. By each house or behind it was the householder's little garden in which scanty vegetables and herbs were raised, or sometimes a few fowls were kept. Off from the village a little lay the ploughland, which the village householders held of the lord. It was his land which he held from some higher lord or the king. It was also the villagers' land which they held from the lord of the manor on condition of payments and service. Usually this land was possessed by the village householders in common, and together they ploughed it and worked it. Each year, however, that portion which they used as arable land they divided into parts or "strips", allotting one or more "strip" to each one of the possessors. From the strips so given by lot each villager respectively took the produce that year. In the waste land and woodland also they, along with the lord, had certain rights in common—gather-

The village

ing firewood, turning out their pigs and their cattle to graze. Some of these commons have remained undivided down to the present and are kept now as parks. There is one in Boston; there are several well known in London.

Slavery in Europe

For the most part the villagers were villeins or serfs, partly unfree and attached to the place where they lived. In ancient times the great mass of the people had been much more completely unfree. The fine civilization of the old Greek cities rested on slave labor, and during the first century in the Roman Empire more than half the people were slaves. Generally, they were completely unfree, the property, the chattels, of their owners. They were subject to the master's will, except in so far as the law gradually gave them protection. They might be bought and sold as the masters saw fit. This complete servitude gradually passed away. The spread of Christianity had something to do with bringing its end; gradual changes and perception that slavery was costly and wasteful had more. Slavery was completely gone in England by about 1100; in Germany and France perhaps earlier; in Ireland, Scandinavia, and Spain somewhat later. In southern Russia the slave trade flourished until 1783. By the end of the Middle Ages, however, it was only a memory in most of Europe, except in so far as a few Moslems and Moors, captured in the Crusades or in fighting with Saracens and Berbers, were held so. At Venice and on the Mediterranean galley-slaves long continued to be seen. In the fifteenth century, moreover, the Portuguese in the course of their wars and exploration down the west coast of Africa enslaved the pagan and savage negroes whom they encountered, and many African slaves were presently carried to Spanish and to English America. But the history of this later slavery concerns America rather than Europe.

Disappearance of slavery in Europe

Slavery in America

As slavery disappeared in Europe, however, the great body of the people did not rise to the condition of men

Serfdom

and women completely free. Between the status of slavery and the status of freemen for long ages serfdom intervened. For a thousand years or more the great majority of people in Europe remained villeins, *roturiers*, serfs. The serf was partly free and partly unfree. He was free in his personal affairs in so far that he could not be bought and sold as a chattel. He was unfree in so far that he was attached to the land where he lived. This condition of being bound to the soil had, as matters were then, certain advantages for him. He might not leave the neighborhood, but he could not, while he fulfilled his customary obligations, be displaced from his holding, and this possession was a right of property he might bequeath to his heirs, a right recognized by the customary law of the time. To be bound to the soil seems now a hard and terrible condition, but even yet most of the people in this world do not often go far from the place where they live and toil for their living. In the Middle Ages, when communications were poor, and there were no means for most people to travel, when, indeed, if any large number of people had gone away from their homes they would soon have been in danger of starving to death, the obligation of serfs to remain on the soil where they worked, was only the recognition of a general and necessary state of affairs. Accordingly, by the law of the time, possession by a lord of any manor involved his possession of the serfs upon it. When such an estate was transferred from one possessor to another the unfree men and women were transferred along with the land.

Serfdom and medieval conditions

Manorial obligations

The obligations which the serf for his holding owed the lord of the manor varied in different regions, and underwent changes in course of time. Sometimes they were light; sometimes they were crushing and hard. Generally the villein owed to his lord a part of the proceeds of his toil, a share of his crops together with certain specific things—his best fowl or his best honeycomb during the year. In addition he was to work for the lord on the lord's

demesne land one or more days in the week, and during the time of the lord's harvest an additional number of days. Generally, moreover, the lord enjoyed certain seignorial rights: the peasant's corn (grain) must be ground in the lord's mill, the peasant's bread baked in the lord's oven, cases and disputes involving the serfs must be tried in the lord's manorial court—for all these things the peasants making payment to the bailiff (manager) of the lord. When a peasant holder died the lord had right to exact from his heir a special payment (heriot) before the peasant heir could have his possession. The lord's consent must be obtained before his villeins could marry.

Surplus population

Not every young peasant man in the village could hope to have a villein holding some day. Where families were large there was not enough land for all. Accordingly there were many landless men who must seek for their living elsewhere. Then as now arose problems of destitution and unemployment. Some of these men worked on the lord's demesne land, and had food and clothing, sometimes lodging, from him. Some were laborers or servants about the lord's manor hall. Some ran away to the towns. Some went out to the wars. Some took to the woods and were robbers; some were beggars or "sturdy rogues" by the wayside.

Decay of the manorial system

Manorial organization and serfdom, by whatever names they were called in different places, were the bases of economic and of social organization for most of the people of Europe all through the Middle Ages; and they lingered on in large parts of Europe for centuries after. In the urban communities of northern Italy and in the industrial districts of Flanders they disappeared early. In England they were both breaking up as the result of subtle and far-reaching economic causes in the fourteenth century. About 1350 the fearful pestilence of the Black Death made a sudden striking alteration which caused men in England and in France to notice what was going on; but what they

noticed had long been silently working, and the quiet, slow operation continued a long time thereafter. For complicated reasons, not yet well understood—perhaps not very clear at the time—manorial proprietors found it more advantageous to have workers hold land on condition not of labor and payments, but merely of a certain payment, or share of the crop. That is to say, in course of time villein holders became what would at present be called tenants, paying a rent. They had possession of their holdings now not by villein or servile tenure, but on condition of rent. On the other hand, employers gradually found it better to have work on the demesnes reserved for themselves done by men to whom they paid wages in accordance with what was done instead of having such work performed by unfree and listless workers. Finally, as new methods of cultivation were learned, and especially in England in consequence of the profits to be made by using land for the grazing of sheep, lords and wealthy men strove to get entire use of the land for themselves, buying out villeins and small cultivators, letting them go free but taking and enclosing their lands, and taking for the exclusive use of themselves the woodland and the waste once held in common. By 1600 in England serfdom was gone and the manorial system had mostly disappeared. The process was slower in parts of France, in Spain, and in southern Italy, but in France the change was very largely complete by 1789, and the results of the French Revolution soon completed it in western Europe. The rulers of Prussia followed shortly after with abolition of serfdom, but this result was not achieved in most of central Europe until 1848. In Russia, the eastern half of Europe, it was done by 1866. In Norway serfdom never took root.

Disappearance of serfdom

The condition in which most peasants then lived seems very debased to many of us now. It must be remembered, however, that everywhere, save in the most favored and highly civilized parts of the world, the standard of living for

Lowly condition of the people

most people is still very low. Miserable, rough, and hard life certainly was, but outlook was limited then and standards were low. There was certainly much rude joy, however, and there were often simplicity, quietness, contentment, which many people in vain seek for now.

Village houses

Peasants' houses were built of wattles, or small poles, and mud and roofed over with bushes or thatch. As in parts of Mexico to-day some of them had no windows. Most of these houses, perhaps, had no chimneys. When there was fire within the smoke got out as it could through a hole in the roof; and often there must have been smarting eyes and choking throats as it settled down heavy over the inmates. Many of these houses had only one room; few more than two or three. Sometimes the stable or cow-pen itself was part of the house. Windows must have been a source of concern for many people in winter, since it was no easy task to let in the light and yet keep out the cold. The means of sanitation which all readers of books know so well now, did not exist in those days, and what people then did can be best understood nowadays by going into the most backward districts. It

Heating and water supply

was very difficult to keep houses warm, there was no "central heating," there were no furnaces, no stoves, and, for a long time, seldom a fireplace. Except for a few districts, as in England, there was no available coal. There was sometimes not very much firewood; peasants burned brushwood and sticks. There was no running water in the houses, as is yet often the case in Europe. What water was used was fetched from the village well or a spring or a stream. The supply kept in the house must have been scanty. Hence people did not often wash, and usually bathed only during the summer, in rivers or in the sea. They had no bath tubs, usually no towels or soap. These houses had little furnishing, and that poor and rude —a rough bed, perhaps straw and skins, in the corner, a clumsy table, a bench, sometimes a heavy stool or a chair,

and a cradle, a few cooking utensils, a knife or so, perhaps a spoon, no forks. There was sometimes a spinning-wheel in the corner, usually the good man's bow or his spear or staff on the wall. When the dark of night or winter evenings had come there was the light of the wood fire flickering out from its smoke, or sometimes a candle—but no electric lights or gas lights, and not yet even a lamp.

Food

The food and clothing of these people were scanty and coarse. In those days of rude agriculture it was difficult to produce large crops. When the lord had been given his share or his rent the peasant had for himself in good times merely a simple plenty, in hard times only enough to keep his family alive. Cooking was rude and poor. There was little variety of food, with seldom much seasoning or spices for the poor. There was not then in summer time the variety of vegetables that people have now, or the great number of fruits brought from various parts of the world. In winter diet was monotonous. Since there was no refrigeration only salted meat could be kept. Poor people then had few clothes. There were no cotton goods for them; woolens were expensive. Underclothing was scanty or possessed not at all, and when possessed seldom washed. Coats, jackets, doublets, cloaks, were worn as long as could be, until it was no longer possible to sew them or patch them. Some people had leathern shoes, but most peasants went barefoot or had shoes of wood.

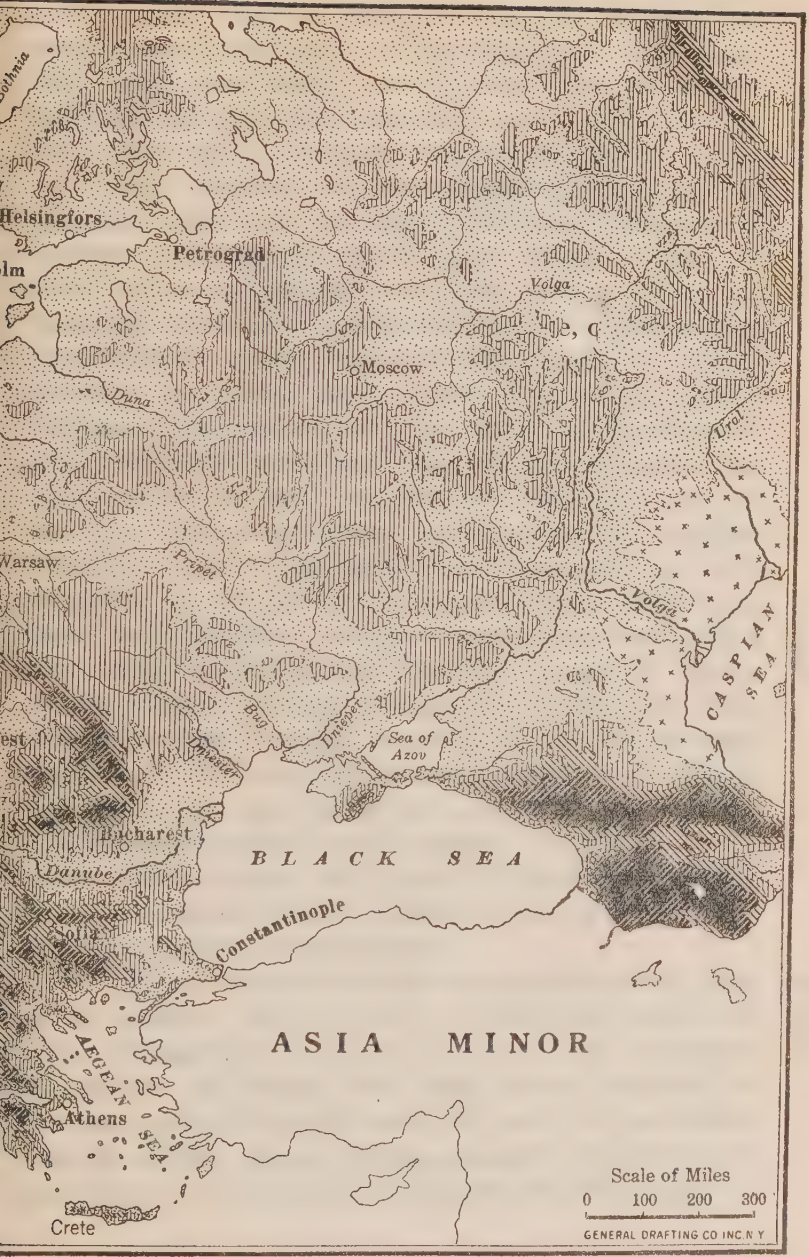
Clothing

Labor long and hard

Since labor was unskilled, since methods were primitive, since tools were simple and poor, and since labor-saving devices had for the most part not yet been thought of production was small, and the all-engrossing task of nearly all men and women was producing enough to keep themselves and their children alive. There were frequent saints' days or holy days, when toil was suspended, and doubtless the work done was often listless and of little effect. On the other hand, generally hours of labor were

Over 6000 Feet
3000 to 6000 Feet
1500 to 3000 Feet
600 to 1500 Feet
0 to 600 Feet
Below Sea Level
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
Christiania
Copenhagen
London
Amsterdam
Berlin
English Channel
Brussels
Paris
Bay of Biscay
Madrid
Corsica
Rome
Sardinia
TYRRHENIAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
ADRIATIC
Sicily
AFRICA

1. RE


Helsingfors
Petrograd
Moscow
Volga
Ural
Duna
Warsaw
Pripet
Dnieper
Bug
Dniester
Sea of Azov
CASPIAN SEA
Bucharest
Danube
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
ASIA MINOR
AEGEAN SEA
Athens
Crete
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300
GENERAL DRAFTING CO INC N Y

F EUROPE

long and had to be so, from dawn to dusk in summer and harvest time. For men the hard work in the fields, for women unceasing labor of the household and many other tasks, must often have left little strength or little heart for anything else when the day's work was over. For leisure time amusements were simple and few. The great diversion must have been neighborly gossip and listening to small talk and tales. The principal center of interest in life was the small parish church. There the priest, often an ignorant man, one of themselves, who knew only a few Latin words of his service, celebrated the awful mystery of the mass, preached homely and simple sermons, married the young people, baptized the infants, and buried the dead at last. In church the rustic's wondering attention was seized with stories of heaven, the awful tortures in hell, how the devil was often near by, how the Virgin and saints would succor the faithful. Sometimes a friar appeared, better educated and more energetic, and in the church, or out in some field, thundered forth awesome words. Sometimes there was a crude little religious play arranged by the church. In the smaller villages in winter there could usually have been little more than this, but in spring, in summer, in early autumn—in the sunlight, the warm weather, the joyous part of the year—there was more. There were jolly games, loud singing of ballads, rustic dances. Sometimes a wandering minstrel came, or a juggler who did cunning tricks; sometimes one who led by a ring in the nose a bear, who danced or fought hard with dogs.

Recreation

Amusements

This, in bare and brief outline, was the life of the mass of the people. Beyond local customs and small and homely things there is not much to add. To a considerable extent, the things which most people generally do, are done again and again, much the same one generation after the other. Large changes occurred but they took place slowly, and a great deal in everyday life stayed al-

The simple annals of the poor

most unchanged until the alterations wrought by science and machinery at the time of the Industrial Revolution. Most of the things which history records and which history should record are not done by the mass of the people, but by rulers and representatives and leaders, by the minority of the able, the powerful, the aggressive. Often the deeds and the changes of a time are wrought without participation of most of the people, often almost without their knowledge. Whether this should be or not, it often is so even now, and in the past it was generally so. Therefore, the history of past times has not a great deal to say of the peasants, save that most of the life of past times was theirs, and that they were most of the people.

Other classes

In the Middle Ages throughout Europe, then, the vast majority of the people were peasants in the villages in the country. Beside them were the men of the towns; above them were the nobility, the upper class. In the towns, slowly growing, and slowly increasing in numbers, people were reviving old traditions, and developing a life very different from rural organization. In the course of a thousand years the people of these towns were to bring forth in their *bourgeoisie* a middle class and finally a ruling class that would control the affairs of the world. But in medieval times the ruling class was the nobility. They had most of the wealth and power and control.

Medieval organization complex and confused

The organization of government and of the ruling class in Europe in the Middle Ages was very complicated and confused. At any one time in Europe there was an almost infinite variety of forms in different places, and at different periods methods and systems changed, slowly or quickly. Yet, certain general characteristics may be discerned which permit a system to be described, and if both author and reader bear in mind that any attempt to describe clearly what was often involved and confused will entail an artificial simplicity that did not exist, then such a description may well be attempted.

Feudalism

Two principal characteristics are manifest at once. There was often, as it would seem to us now, extreme disorganization, a division, a distribution of authority, jurisdiction, and power. Instead of strong central authority valid over a large area, as is now so often the case, there were numerous small and very many quite small areas and jurisdictions bound together in a complex series of relations. Power, jurisdiction, property, were generally held upon terms of a personal contract involving protection from the party above and service from the party beneath. Something of this system has appeared in widely different parts of the world in certain stages of development, especially in periods of danger and confusion. It prevailed over all western Europe in medieval times. The earlier stages of it had appeared in the declining Roman Empire in the west. Afterward it long existed in the Eastern Roman Empire about Constantinople and in Asia Minor. It was the system of organization upon which Ottoman power was founded. It was a system that disappeared in Japan less than a century ago. Because of certain circumstances in western Europe, the term "feudal" has been applied to the system.

Origin in western Europe

In the third, fourth, and fifth centuries the Roman Empire in the west was decaying. The causes of this great and important event have long interested students, but by no means yet are all of them clear. For some reason population, especially the old Roman citizenship which had built up the empire, declined, and there were increasing weakness, indecision, and passiveness in the face of ever more aggressive attacks by barbarian outsiders whose attacks in the end crumbled the empire to pieces. In the course of the confusion and trouble that accompanied all this, the effective government and the strong protection which the empire had so long been able to give to its citizens diminished; while taxes were raised until they were a crushing load at the same time that less good

conditions made more difficult the payment of taxes. Hence, many of the weaker and the less successful sought protection and assistance from some strong one near by, under an arrangement by which the lesser became the greater one's man, getting from him protection and holding possession of the property which he continued to possess on terms of some payment or service. This continued to be practiced while the Germanic tribesmen were overrunning the provinces of Rome. In the times that followed, it is believed that the payment made was often rendered in cattle, called in Germanic dialect *feoh*, that the land so held was hence known as a fief (*feodum*, *feudum*), and that thus arose the term "feudal" so frequently used. So there had been developed a system in which a vassal or tenant held, on condition of service or payment, land or property of a lord who gave him protection in turn. During the incursions later on of Saracens, Hungarians, and Northmen, which plagued the western half of Europe in the eighth and ninth centuries, it came to be the custom very often to grant a fief to be held on terms of military service. Such were the troubles that afflicted this part of the world for some hundreds of years, that strong central governments almost everywhere fell. In their place rose a great number of jurisdictions, many small and some large, held each by a man strong enough to defend it, or by the church armed with its spiritual terrors. With respect to judicial and governmental powers not a few of these jurisdictions, though bound by some feudal contract, were virtually independent of authority above them. To a great extent the political history of western Europe in the earlier Middle Ages has to do with this system of feudal organization. In the later Middle Ages it concerns the taking away of feudal prerogatives by strong kings, and the gradual establishment of large nation states.

Service for protection

Feudalism saves western Europe

As lawyers conceived it, there was at the head of the

Feudal obligations

feudal system the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, or, more exactly, in any particular country, the king. Theoretically, all the land and property in that country belonged to the king. Some he kept for his own use and actually held. Most of it he had given as fiefs to be held by great vassals—earls, counts, frontier lords—on condition of service, frequently military service, when the king summoned them in time of danger. By the terms of this feudal contract the king, as lord above, might expect loyalty and rendering of the obligations of the contract. From him the vassal might expect security and protection in his holding (possession or *seisin*). These great vassals did likewise with the fiefs which they held. A count, for example, or a bishop—for ecclesiastics were a part of the feudal system as well as lay tenants—would keep part of his fief for his own possession, or demesne; the rest he would subinfeudate, or divide among vassals, as knights, for instance, who held from him by the terms of a similar feudal contract. Thus, there was a hierarchy of overlord, lord, and vassal. Frequently the case was less simple, there being occasionally as many as nine persons involved from highest to lowest, with great complexity of relations introduced. A bishop holding a fief of a king might subinfeudate part of it to a count, who granted part of his holding to be held by another count, the second count bestowing part of his fief to be held by some baron, who already held another fief of the king, and who subinfeudated parts of both his holdings to various knights. But, generally speaking, each member of the feudal system was lord to him who held of himself and vassal to him from whom he himself held a fief. The obligations of each member to the lord above were some service; to the vassal beneath, protection.

Subinfeudation

In France

If the country of the French be taken for example, there was at the top the king of the French, by feudal law lord of all the country, but actually ruling only a district about

King and vassals

Paris—the *Île-de-France*. By gradual extension of the king's effective power out from the Isle of France over neighboring regions at the expense of his powerful vassals the kingdom of France later on was built up. All about the king were his great feudal vassals—the duke of Normandy, the duke of Brittany, the duke of Anjou, the duke of Aquitaine, and other and different ones according to the times. Each one of these great vassals held his fief of the king, on condition of loyalty and certain stipulated services, especially of military assistance when summoned. For disloyalty the king might declare forfeit the vassal's fief, and resume possession of it—if he could. Sometimes these vassals had more real power than the king himself, and could easily make war upon him and defy him. After 1066 the duke of Normandy also held the kingdom of England and other possessions; and one of the Plantagenet kings of England held in France, as a vassal of the French king, possessions six times as large as those which the French king himself ruled directly. A duke of Normandy, for example, kept possession of part of the duchy as his own domain, and with the rest enfeoffed various vassals, generally counts, or bishops or abbots, and they doing likewise with what they held, frequently enfeoffed knights who as their vassals held of them one or more manors. The ordinary fee of a knight consisted of a single manor. It should be noticed that all of this upper, this noble, this ruling class rested for economic support upon the great mass of the population, who were for the most part serfs, and who cultivated parts of the manors, which they held by servile tenure of the knights or lords of the manor.

In Normandy

Feudal contracts

Services by which noble vassals held of their lords were of various kinds. In England, for instance, there were many. Originally military service was the most striking. Great vassals held of the king on condition of the service of a stipulated number of knights to serve as much as forty days in a year. They procured their quotas by

Military service

subinfeudating land to be held on condition of service of the knight in question when called for, or else by hiring knights. It was with such a feudal host very largely that the French king went to Crécy and Poitiers. In course of time such an army was found to be unreliable and unwieldy, and kings of England and of France accepted from their vassals, instead of knights' service, shield-money (*scutage*) with which they hired more dependable soldiers. Wherever this was done it strengthened the power of the king and weakened that of the vassals. Sometimes a fief was held on condition of non-military service, as performing some great office of government or ceremonial, or, in the case of the church, saying prayers or holding masses for the dead. Sometimes the obligation was merely nominal, as sending to the lord a clod of earth or two grains of corn each year. Sometimes the obligation was, in effect, a payment of rent.

Extraordinary obligations

Various extraordinary obligations also tended to make clear the lord's authority over his vassal. The lord might call for an extraordinary aid from his vassals, to pay his ransom if enemies held him a captive, to help pay for knighting his eldest son, to help pay for marrying his eldest daughter. When a feudal tenant died his heir could inherit only on payment to the lord of *relief*, usually a sum equal to a year's revenue from the estate. A minor vassal was the ward of his dead father's lord, who administered his estate in the meantime.

Decline of feudalism

The decay of this system characterized the later part of the Middle Ages. In many places the semi-independent holder of a great fief on terms of military tenure disappeared. In England a strong government was established early and the more striking features of feudalism vanished soon; but long after it was gone as the basis of military organization it lingered on as the basis of land tenure and in the high position of a noble, aristocratic caste, while English law retained of it many traces. The peers of the

house of lords and the British nobility are slight survivals that persist even yet. In France the same process was accomplished more slowly, but by the end of the Middle Ages, royal authority was paramount. What remained of French feudalism was destroyed by the French Revolution. In the German lands an opposite result was reached, the more powerful vassals in the end became in effect independent, and what had been their fiefs became states of the Empire.

The upper class

The members of this upper class, the nobility, held during the Middle Ages most of the power, influence, and wealth. Land was then the principal source of revenue and most of the revenue from lands went to them. To a considerable extent they held the great civil and military employments, and they were usually the principal men in the neighborhoods where they resided. Positions in the church were open to all classes, but actually the wealthiest ecclesiastical holdings almost always went to the sons and daughters of the nobles. Long after earlier feudalism had perished, the nobility in Europe continued to rule and engross the best things. A great number of the nobles, as in Hungary or Germany, or Poland or Russia, were poor, and except in authority, little above the servile tenants among whom they lived. There was many an inconspicuous *seigneur* in France. Many a knight in England lived simply in a stout but plain manor house. But the wealthier nobles had the larger part of the splendor and wealth then existing. They lived in great castles or fine country seats. They were clad in silks and fine raiment. Their ladies were haughty and refined. They had rich food and fine drink. They were surrounded by servants, obsequious to them, proud to others. But it must be remembered that the very wealthiest of them lacked things reckoned indispensable now. Their great stone houses were often damp, poorly lighted, ill heated. No more than the poorest had they at their disposal

Fine living

electricity or steam, or the thousand wonders of the present. Not one of them had a match for lighting. Few of them could ever have much hot water. Many a thing which most people have now they could never procure.

The towns

In the midst of this predominant agricultural population with its decaying feudal and manorial systems, a town population was rising and preparing to transform much of life. The origin of particular towns is generally lost in the obscurity of the past, but in most cases the beginning is easily conjectured. The basis of organization in the Greek states and afterward in the Roman Empire had been the city community. In the decay of antique civilization city life had mostly disappeared in west Europe as rural life became all-prevailing. Nevertheless, some cities had survived from Roman days, even though they were long in decay. Some new towns after a while began to grow up near or about a fortification or stronghold, and the term borough in England, still retained in the name of many a city, preserves the memory of a fortified place (*burg*, *burh*, castle). Other towns grew up in a favorable position for trade, on a river's bank or the sea coast or where one highway crossed another. Some probably developed where country fairs were held.

Origin

Town charters

At first many a town was merely part of the manor on which it stood, and the townsmen owed to the manor's lord obligations like those of the rural serfs. Growing towns, however, were usually able to purchase immunities and privileges from their lords. These privileges were often embodied in a charter which remained the basis of the townsmen's rights. Frequently lords were unwilling to sell the privileges sought, but in extraordinary times, as during the Crusades, when they had sudden, urgent need for a large sum of money, they were usually willing to do so. The privileges which the townsmen strove to buy were the right themselves to collect the pay-

ments they owed to the lord, and, if possible, to pay them collectively in a lump sum; the right of having their own municipal courts of justice, and thus being freed from the jurisdiction of the lord's manorial court; the right of having their own government and their own town officials.

Government

This government, usually, was a council composed of members chosen by the wealthier burghers, and sometimes an executive official, a mayor. Such were the conditions amidst which towns arose, and such was the general insecurity of medieval times, that all towns were surrounded by walls, if the inhabitants could afford to have them. Hence the town was cramped within, and while suburbs or *faubourgs* often grew up outside the walls, the privileges of the *freemen* or principal denizens within were jealously restricted to their possessors.

Guilds

For the most part the inhabitants of the towns were supported by trade and by manufactures. The earliest organization in many of these places was the merchant guild or association of merchants engaged in commerce. Usually the members of such a merchant guild had control and were themselves the government of the place. Manufacturing was then mostly the simple process of making things by hand (*manu facere*) with the aid of simple tools. To considerable extent what little manufacturing was done for a manor was carried on upon the manor itself. But in course of time groups of manufacturers specializing in certain kinds of work were found gathered together in towns. These manufacturers were organized in craft guilds—as the guild of shoemakers, the guild of cloth-weavers, and such. In each guild membership was restricted to a small number of masters, who had inherited membership or purchased admission for a considerable price.

Masters

A master carried on his trade often in a part of his house. With him he had working apprentices or young men learning the trade, some of whom, at least, hoped to be masters themselves when their years of apprenticeship

were done. Accordingly, the opportunities and better positions in industrial life were restricted to comparatively few, and for the great majority such opportunity never could come. These guilds were fundamentally different from the modern trade unions, for the guilds were associations of masters or employers; the present unions are associations of employees.

Medieval towns

Some of the old towns have remained to the present changed very little. They seem often quaint and lovely to the traveller now. Wandering about he can see in his mind the vanished times of a great while ago—the walls with their gate-houses, and gates always closed at sunset; the narrow, winding, unpaved streets, dusty in summer, deep in mud or in slush in the winter; the high houses, huddled together, bulging outward as they rose; the cathedral or the churches dominating the city; the market place with its booths; the town hall, the guild halls; the fearful squalor of the poorer places; the gibbet to frighten malefactors. Water supply was always scanty —the greater houses had their own cisterns or wells, the lesser obtained what they could. There was no carrying away of garbage—refuse and filthy water were flung out in the streets—the refuse to be devoured by wandering dogs, to rot in the sun, or be washed away when a heavy rain fell. There was no lighting of the streets at night—people stayed at home when the moon was hid, or crept along in the dark, while the wealthier had links or torches and guards. There was no police by day, and usually no watch by night. Often it was unsafe on the streets after dark, and the prudent man went forth with sword or stout stick, or went in company with others. There was much stench, and there was much filth—as in southern European towns still, and they were doubtless so usual as generally to be quite unnoticed. Pestilences were frequent, and mortality of infants was high.

The streets

Whatever one may think of them now, these cities and

Towns the centers of progress

towns were the centers of change, advancement and progress in the Middle Ages. In them wealth was accumulated more rapidly than it could be in the country, and they were able to support higher material prosperity. Close association and contact, along with the effects of commercial and industrial activity, brought the quickening of mind, the willingness to accept change and seek improvements, that have usually characterized city populations. Strength from the union of many people assembled together and acting to some extent in common for their common interest gave the principal towns an importance far beyond the mere number of inhabitants within them. The principal importance of urban life still lay in the future; but already the towns were centers of progress, often able to exert decisive influence on the current of events. In the towns, as in the monasteries, inventions were brought forth, the arts developed, and such scientific advance made as there was. The townsmen sided with the kings against feudal nobles, and often gave vital support in the development of central government and authority of the state. The towns were the principal centers in which was developed representative government in parliaments, which grew up in several countries, and was permanently established in England. But it must constantly be remembered that in medieval times only a small proportion of the people of Europe lived in urban communities. In the earlier Middle Ages the largest city in Europe was Constantinople, which long rivalled the greatness that Rome once had had, and which at times probably contained more than a million people. London was the only large city in England, as Paris was in France. By the end of the Middle Ages each contained some hundreds of thousands of inhabitants. The principal urban districts were northern Italy, where many flourishing cities grew great; and above all Flanders, where the first important industrial development occurred, and where

Few people lived in towns

Urban districts

Ypres, Ghent, Bruges, and other places waxed wealthy and large from the making of cloth.

The church

In the midst of much violence, disorder, feudal division, illiteracy, roughness, and crudeness, that which did most to bring peace, civilization, and union was the church, the principal instrument of enlightenment and advancement in Europe in the Middle Ages. In after days, when greatly altered conditions made many people look at things otherwise than their ancestors had beheld them, it was easy for some to recall much that seemed superstition and misuse of power. After the seventeenth century there were those who looked back upon the church as the most powerful device invented to keep people in darkness, and once the principal obstacle to improvement and progress. It is necessary to remember, however, that, as the historian sees it, the church always was and still is to a large extent the product of its time, and that a great part of it can be raised no higher than the best of the people among whom it subsists. Hence, whether the student approves or condemns, he has to interpret church history in terms of the very different conditions of the past. For many people religion no longer supplies all the learning, philosophy, and science of the time, and to them now the attempts which the church once made to control all moral and intellectual life seem wrong and absurd. It is the condition of change, and of different rates of progress, that different people must think differently about all this, as they have for some hundreds of years. None the less, most scholars now who attempt to study the Middle Ages agree that then the church was the foremost thing for good in the life of the people, and the principal element then in most of European progress.

Opinions concerning

Heir of the Roman Empire

The church was the principal heir of the Roman Empire. The Roman political organization, the most successful the world ever had seen, was the basis of the ecclesiastical organization. The division of the Roman Empire into

The Christian church in Europe

two portions resulted in an early schism of European Christianity into two parts. From what had been the Roman Empire in the west came the Latin Christianity that ultimately spread over all of western and central Europe. In the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire the Greek Catholic Church, which its adherents styled the true or Orthodox Church, was established, and spreading out to the east and the north ultimately gave Christianity to almost all eastern Europe.

In the east and in the west

The eastern church never had in European development the striking and dominating position attained by the church in the west. From Constantinople for some hundreds of years it did, indeed, administer the religion of the most advanced and cultivated people in Europe; and it was afterward the principal force in civilizing the Slavic peoples of the Balkans and the Slavs and others beyond in the Russian plains. For a thousand years it was the mother of culture and advancement in half of all Europe. In the east, however, the church was always very strictly subordinate to the state. In the later part of the Middle Ages its principal seat, Constantinople, fell under the mastery of another religion, and the great expanses of Russia, in which its adherents retained independence, were long held by rude, backward peoples. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic Church made itself independent of any secular authority, and had a long career of wonderful importance and interest. Moreover, the religion over which it presided became for a long time the faith of those peoples of western and central Europe whose careers had most to do with affecting the destinies of Europe.

The Roman Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church built up the mightiest power in all the Middle Ages. When the Roman Empire in the west was extinguished in the fifth century, the Christian church was already a powerful organization. It was one of the principal agencies that subdued the incoming Teuton conquerors to the Latin civilization which

they threatened to destroy. During the barbarism and tumult of this time, its priests converted the Germanic warriors and its bishops won ascendancy over the minds of their leaders. The great Frankish rulers who set up an empire again, held the church in deepest reverence, and Charlemagne, the first of their emperors, took his crown from the bishop of Rome. In the "dark ages," the fearful period that followed, the church preserved most of the culture and civilization that remained. As times slowly grew better it was found to have the strongest and best influence that then existed.

Preserves the old civilization

Students of comparative religion have found in the faith taught then much that seems to them childish and simple. They have shown that medieval Christianity preserved many of the practices and beliefs held by pagan peoples before their conversion. The English name of the principal festival in the Christian year was derived from the Anglo-Saxon goddess, *Eostere*, believed to preside over spring. And the place of torment to which in Teutonic countries medieval Christian teachers consigned the worse sinners took its name from *Hel*, the pale, gloomy underworld of Teutonic myth. It is evident enough — psychologists now would say that this was necessarily so —that this religion was largely anthropomorphic. That is to say, Christianity, for a great many of its believers, like most other religions that have been held by numerous adherents, contained many ideas that resulted from explaining things in terms of man and his doings (ἄνθρωπος, man; μορφή form). General ethical ideas and theological abstractions, whether they concern the trinity, predestination, or justification, or grace, make little impression on the simple and untutored; but attribution of human qualities and behavior to more powerful beings worshipped as deities has been a universal custom among people in the earlier stages of culture. The paganism of Greece and of Rome which preceded Christianity was full of this, and it

Survivals from earlier times

Anthropomorphism

Deities conceived in human terms

is natural enough that a great deal of it remains to this day. The gods and goddesses of Greece and of Rome, the deities worshipped by the Germans and by the Norsemen, were conceived as very strong, very beautiful, or very terrible men and women, but above the human men and women of the world. Likewise the Hebrews thought of Jehovah as a "jealous God," and Christians have often appealed to him as the "God of Battles." In manuscripts of the Middle Ages and on old church windows—indeed in nineteenth century illustrated editions of Milton's *Paradise Lost*—there are many pictures of God as a noble and elderly man. Very probably in medieval Christianity, so far as the vast majority of the people were concerned, religious doctrines and dogmas never compared in importance with devotion to the Virgin Mary, "Mother of God," and to the innumerable saints, or holy men, whose pictures and statues were in every great church, and by many a roadside, and whose shrines drew crowds of pilgrims from afar. All this was but the most natural result of certain qualities of the human mind.

Sensuous aids

The wise and able organizers of Latin Christianity in the Middle Ages perceived very clearly that the average man and woman would be much more affected through the senses than by any intellectual process. So they developed that gorgeous, sometimes melancholy, music which is still the admiration of music lovers. So they erected for their churches the most beautiful buildings of the times. These churches they filled with pictures, with statues, with stained-glass windows, with infinite variety of decoration. Opponents might condemn this as idolatry and gross superstition, but nothing could have been better or more effective for most of the people of those times.

Survivals from the past

The adherents of Christianty carried on from generation to generation, along with the higher religion which they had adopted, much that remained as inheritance from primitive religion and a past more distant.

Primitive conceptions

Long before, men and women had conceived all things to be animated with spirits—trees, earth, water, and air—spirits to be placated with sacrifice, spirits whose anger must be shunned. Now, in the Middle Ages Christian men and women believed in witches, ghosts, monsters, giants, fairies, and elves, some beautiful and good, some monstrous, fearful, and dire. Belief in witchcraft lasted for hundreds of years, and there are still some who believe a little in fairies and ghosts, and many who fear a dark graveyard.

The Devil and Hell

The old conception of dualism, the war between good and evil, was partly realized in the Middle Ages by vivid belief in the Devil and Hell. Satan had tempted the first woman, and she the first man; always since, he had striven to bring all men and women to eternal damnation. It was he who spread before people the pleasures which many churchmen conceived as temptations. He was ever striving to capture men's souls. He was often near by; it was said he had appeared in person to St. Anthony, St. Dunstan, and others. Those who lost salvation were consigned to Hell for perpetual torture. No book of all medieval times is more vivid or terrible than the *Inferno* (Hell) of Dante, who describes the frightful and endless torments inflicted upon the souls of the damned. Those who had sinned, but not beyond any forgiveness, were, it was taught, purged in the tortures and fire of Purgatory after which their souls were admitted to Heaven.

The teachings of Christianity

Meanwhile Christianity was slowly raising up those who received it. It taught the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man; and however much these doctrines have failed of achieving the results that were once grandly hoped for, yet Europeans have on the whole learned them mostly from the Christian church. It taught the doctrine of immortality and future life more clearly and with more decision than had ever been done in the past, and so it satisfied one of the strongest yearnings of men and women.

Finally it produced a gradual refinement and softening of character, and thus ultimately, though indirectly, it had much to do with bettering the position of women.

Ecclesiastical organization

In the organization of the church, as this was presently constructed, the more important places were put under the charge of bishops (*episcopi*, overseers), and the most important, such as Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, under archbishops. With respect to the church in the west the bishop of Rome soon acquired a preëminence, especially when the east drew apart from the west, and when later some of the more important districts in the east fell under the sway of the Arabs. This position was enhanced by the tradition of leadership and eminence which had so long been associated in men's minds with Rome, and which clung to it still in these dreary days of decline.

The papacy

Finally, the assertion that Peter was the first bishop of Rome, and that to him Christ had especially commended the keeping of his church, saying that Peter was the rock upon which the church was founded and giving him the keys that unlocked Heaven's gates—this assertion presently gave to the Roman bishops an authority and a prestige which no other Christian ecclesiastics possessed. In the west after 1073 they appropriated for themselves the distinctive title of pope (*papa*, father). In the midst of very great difficulties during a great while a long line of popes, some of them the ablest and most striking leaders of their time, increased the papal authority until it was stronger than anything then existing in Europe.

Papal power

What the popes aspired to build up was nothing less than an ecclesiastical empire in Europe with themselves in supreme authority at the head. Gradually they made good the contention that every bishop and archbishop, and hence all the subordinate clergy beneath them in all countries where Roman Christianity prevailed, should acknowledge the pope's supreme jurisdiction. They also claimed, and partly made good, the right of *investiture*,

The *curia*

or appointing to office all the important ecclesiastics. Their court, the papal *curia*, they declared the high court of appeal for all the ecclesiastical cases in the Christian world. Many pleas were carried to this court at Rome: vast revenue from court charges flowed into the coffers of the popes; nor could secular laws passed against this, as the two English statutes of *praemunire*, avail very much to prevent it. They claimed also the right to subject all countries and all Christians therein to direct papal taxation, as, for example, "Peter's Pence"; and to considerable extent made this good. With the greatest secular rulers of their time they waged prolonged and desperate struggle for their power, and in the end by compromise kept it in part.

Ecclesiastical and temporal power

Rights which the church had obtained under Christian emperors of the Roman Empire were successfully upheld, and to them others were added. The clergy remained a distinct class, different from laymen, to be tried in ecclesiastical courts, and not to be punished by civil authority. Exemption from taxation was claimed, and sometimes, though not usually in the end, this privilege was kept. The superiority of churchmen over laymen in all things was asserted, and, as matters then were, this was often easily made good. Furthermore, the pope as head of this mighty organization claimed superiority over all earthly rulers. Emperors, kings, and princes, were his subjects, and owed submission and obedience to him. The pope was vicar of Christ, representative of God on earth. Ruling by divine right, he asserted authority to depose unrighteous or refractory rulers. Some of the most eminent rulers of the Middle Ages were for a while deposed by the popes, and so high did papal authority rise that at its culmination, under Innocent III (1198–1216), several European rulers held their jurisdictions in the feudal manner as fiefs of the Holy See.

The pope above temporal rulers

The popes were at the head of the church; the church

Weapons of the church

was sole custodian of the faith deemed necessary for all men's salvation; and this age was a religious age, when religion held in men's minds and men's hearts a place difficult to realize now. The papal power was enforced by two very powerful weapons, excommunication and the interdict, by which for a long time all the most powerful opponents were entirely overthrown. By excommunication the disobedient one was put out of the community of the church—he might not attend religious service, nor be married, nor receive attendance by the priest, nor be buried in consecrated ground. The presumption was that he was in grave danger of losing salvation, and all good Christians must shun such a one as they would avoid the pest. By interdict church services and functions were forbidden to all the people of a district —no marriages, no baptisms, churches were closed, the holy bells remained silent. In a religious age no large body of people could suffer such a terrible sentence, and they would force their rulers to any submission rather than endure it. By interdicts Innocent III brought John, king of England, and Philip Augustus of France to their knees. In addition to all this, the popes had in the regular clergy, that is, the members of the religious orders —the monks, and especially, at a later time, the friars, particular emissaries and devoted agents in all lands. They were members of a general European organization directly under his authority in whatever country they were.

Papacy and early nationalism in conflict

So high and strong was papal authority that for a long time it seemed above and beyond all attack. Actually, however, as the Middle Ages slowly wore on, great new forces were developing, destined gravely to disturb it. Gradually among certain groups of people something of a national spirit developed. Previously, while Europe had been divided among a large number of small feudal holdings, the church had been the great common bond, and

Christian people had looked to the pope as the one supreme head. But now, more and more, in England, in France, in other places, larger and larger numbers of people were brought together under the effective rule of a king, and more and more did they look to their kings rather than to the pope. This feeling was already strong by the beginning of the fourteenth century. Just at this time a pope, Boniface VIII (1294–1303) raised papal pretensions to the highest point to which they had ever been carried. He declared he was "Vicar of Jesus Christ . . . to whom all power is given both in Heaven and on earth." The principal power was to be wielded by the church; what other authority there was should be wielded by temporal rulers for the church and during its pleasure. Every living person was the subject of the pope. But at a moment when nationalism was rising strongly in England and in France he came into conflict with very able sovereigns reigning in those countries. With respect to England he declared that no layman could put taxes upon the clergy, but Edward I replied by outlawing the clergy, and they, deprived of the protection of his government and law, soon submitted and paid to him taxes. In France Philip IV received strong support from his subjects; all efforts of Boniface to intimidate him came to naught; and Philip, assisting the enemies of the pope, Boniface was shamefully outraged, and died soon after.

Pope Boniface VIII

A violent decline of papal authority in ecclesiastical and temporal affairs now occurred, and the old greatness was never restored. After the death of Boniface the new pope chose to establish his seat not at Rome, in which, he said, disorders and tumults were dangerous to the church, but at Avignon, a city now in south France, then just outside of the French king's dominions. Here, during a period known in church history as the Babylonian Captivity (1309–1376), the popes had their seat, and during this time it was believed, at least, that they were unduly

The Babylonian Captivity

Distrust of the pope

under influence of the kings of France. This was a period when western Europe was violently rent by a long war between the English and the French, in which neighboring peoples took sides. Hence, among opponents of the French respect for the pope steadily waned, and opposition to his temporal authority as steadily increased. At last in 1371 attempt was made to have the popes go back again to Rome, and the new pope elected did go there; but a large, opposing faction in the church chose another whom they regarded as pope, and this pontiff remained at Avignon. Then during a time known as the Great Schism (1378–1417), western Christendom beheld two factions supporting, as they affirmed, each one the true pope, and each of these pontiffs reviling the other as Antichrist and hurling excommunication at all his opponents. For a moment, indeed, there were three popes. In 1417 the schism was healed, and one pope of all the Roman Catholic Church again ruled in Rome. But what had been lost in these years never could be regained. From the nadir of its fortunes about the middle of the fourteenth century papal power was indeed again lifted high. To some during the fifteenth century the structure of its power might seem as lofty and enduring as ever. Actually this was not so, and could not be so again. The papacy and the Catholic Church would maintain themselves impregnable and, in respect of fundamentals, unchanging. That could not always continue in the midst of a changing world. In western Europe a series of mighty alterations had begun, destined after a while to affect all the great institutions.

The Great Schism

Recovery of strength

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CHAPTER II

EUROPE ABOUT 1450

Venne alla Sedia apostolica grandissimo numero di danari; e per questo cominciò il papa a edificare in più luoghi, e mandare per libri e greci e latini, in ogni luogo donde ne potè avere, non guardando a prezzo ignuno.

VESPASIANO DA BISTICCI, *Vite di Uomini Illustri del Secolo XV* (Florence, 1859), xxv. 38—written about the end of the fifteenth century, concerning the papal jubilee of 1450.

Ainsi par la grace et ayde de Dieu fut reduite en lobeissance du roy de France la ducie de Guienne tost aprez celle de Northmandie, et generalement tout le royaulme Francois. excepte la ville de Callaix, quy est encores demouree en la main des Anglois. . . .

JEHAN DE WAURIN, *Recueil des Chroniques et Anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretaigne* (anno 1451): *Rolls Series*, xxxix. part v. p. 193.

History records gradual change

HISTORY portrays development, not abrupt and immediate transitions. Seldom even to contemporaries do changes seem to come from single events. Later on, in the better perspective of time, each period appears as part of a development, in which circumstances were brought about through numerous previous causes, in which many causes were at work to bring about events in the future. Accordingly, the historian cannot mark off by a date some era which sharply divided what went before from what followed after.

Epochs in the past

At present 1914 or 1918 seems to separate an old epoch from a new age, but whether such division will hereafter seem important depends on events still hid in the future. By common consent the years 1789, 1648, 1517, 1453, 476 are adjudged landmarks in the chronology of the history of

Memorable years

Europe; but some, if not all of them, have an artificial importance now. Probably few contemporaries saw an end of the Roman Empire in the west when Romulus Augustulus gave up his imperial crown (476). When Constantinople fell (1453), dreadful as the menace of the Turks then appeared, that menace had long been threatening, and the final dissolution of the Byzantine Empire was merely the death of a state that had long been dying. When Luther posted his theses on the door of the Wittenberg church (1517), he did what afterward appeared to have started the Protestant "Reformation" or revolt, and dismembered the Christian church in the west. Then, however, some ecclesiastics well informed thought the affair to be a local quarrel. When the Thirty Years' War was ended (1648), it must have seemed merely the formal end of an interminable struggle; the original issues were by that time obscured, and the immediate issues had long been decided. Sharpest of divisions in modern times seems the era of the French Revolution (1789), but through alternate periods of change and reaction its consequences have been working themselves out for more than a century, and the end cannot yet be foretold.

The "Middle Ages"

So, it is impossible to establish a particular year when such a period as the "Middle Ages" began or came to an end. With respect to the termination of this epoch, it must be remembered on the one hand that many modern scholars consider the beginning of modern times to be in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries rather than in the fourteenth and the fifteenth, while on the other hand in the sixteenth and even in the fifteenth centuries men were referring to the middle period or time, between antiquity and the age in which they lived. In 1469 an Italian, Giovanni Andrea of Aleria, spoke of the writings of the "middle period" (*mediæ tempestatis*). The phrase "middle age" (*media ætas*) was employed by the Swiss scholar Vadian in 1518. The German historian Goldast

Media ætas

used similar words (*medium ævum*) in 1604. To many who afterward looked back it seemed that during the latter half of the fifteenth century and the earlier half of the sixteenth alterations took place which appeared momentous at the time and which have since seemed to mark off an older age from another that followed. But if this era of change be denominated exactly by years, 1450–1550, they must be understood to be merely a convenience for writer and reader, not as having intrinsic importance of their own. Thus, a consideration of the state of Europe about 1450 is not in respect of events which occurred in that year, but because about that time Europe was in a period of relatively rapid transition.

Medium ævum

About the middle of the fifteenth century the eastern half of Europe was possessed by various Tartar and Slavic populations who lived apart from the peoples of western Europe, remote in their lonely distance. In central Europe Slavs who had once pushed westward had established the kingdom of Poland and the kingdom of Bohemia. Southward the Magyars—a group of non-Slavic intruders, related to the Finns, the Turks, and the Tartars—had long before settled in the valley of the Danube and founded the kingdom of Hungary. Farther south other bodies of Slavs had pushed on into the Balkans and at various times had founded the kingdoms or principalities of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Servia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Bulgaria. Some of these South Slavic people had expanded their dominions at the expense of the possessions of the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire. During that time the Byzantine possessions in Asia had been gradually taken, first by the Saracens and then by the Turks. Now the dying empire retained little more than Constantinople and a petty district adjacent. For a century the Ottoman Turks had been building up a powerful state on both sides of the Sea of Marmora. In Europe they had conquered some of the southern Slavs and now were threatening the

Europe: the eastern half

The Ottoman Turks

others. In a few years more they would capture Constantinople itself.

The western half

The western half of Europe was held in its southern portion by peoples whose ancestors had lived in the Roman Empire long before, when Roman law and Latin speech held their sway. Northward were Germans who had so long held the country from the Baltic down toward the Danube. During centuries preceding many of them had gone westward and southward as the Roman Empire decayed and fell into pieces. Farther north were the Scandinavian people, kinsmen of the German folk.

Political organization

From these various races and from the contact and mingling of peoples, groups had appeared, some of which, in England, in France, in Spain, in Denmark, in Sweden, had long been developing nations and states. During the Middle Ages, however, in this part of Europe certain larger jurisdictions and authorities had seemed of greater importance than nations and kingdoms. Here the Roman Empire had fallen to pieces during the fourth and the fifth centuries, and with it had gone the unity and civilization which that empire had so long afforded. But Roman dominion and institutions had been so well and so solidly established that they continued for a great while to be the most important influence in the life of the people of this part of the world. Accordingly, much was preserved and much handed on. To a considerable extent in the various districts this was done by transmitting from one generation to another what remained of Roman culture. But it was also done especially by the two principal institutions of the Middle Ages, the Holy Roman Empire and the Catholic Church, the principal inheritors of the legacy of Rome. In the Middle Ages the church had been incomparably the greatest power in western Europe. The empire had been less important, but at times it was the principal temporal power, and its greater emperors had been more important than kings and princes. Now, in

Empire and church

the middle of the fifteenth century, the power of the popes was declining, and the empire was much less than it had been. On the other hand, in France, in Spain, and in England the foundations of powerful states had been nearly completed.

Peoples and states

In 1450 the most renowned European powers were the Church of Rome and the Holy Roman Empire. The Ottoman Empire was shortly to be the greatest state in Europe, while France and Spain were to be constantly more powerful in the west. The remnant of the Byzantine Empire was just about to disappear, while shortly after at the other end of Europe the remnant of the Saracen Moorish power would be extinguished in Spain. The East Slavs in the far-reaching Russian plain remained, as they long had been and would long continue to be, distant, unimportant, divided. The South Slavs, from the Carpathians down through the Balkans into Greece, continued to be separated in various principalities and kingdoms. They were not much beyond the rudiments of civilization they had learned from Constantinople. Hating one another fiercely, they were about to fall an easy prey to the Turks. The Hungarians, no longer so terrible, had developed but little; and their kingdom also would later on bow to the Turks. The leading Slavic peoples then were West Slavs—the Czechs and the Poles. The Czechs had maintained their kingdom of Bohemia in the midst of German neighbors. The Poles had built up a kingdom that would presently extend from Silesia eastward beyond Riga and Kiev. The Holy Roman Empire was now an aggregation of many states, large and small. Over them all was the emperor, with authority nominal rather than real, and many of the German rulers did as they pleased. In northern Europe were the three kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, unimportant, remote, sparsely peopled. A little later they would be united for a while under Danish headship, as they had been for some time in

The West Slavs

the past. In Italy there were, besides the authority of the pope, various city states and small jurisdictions. In the Iberian peninsula were several small kingdoms, but some of the more important were soon to unite and then form a strong Spanish state. The kings of France were completing the foundations of a powerful monarchy and nation. A little beyond lay England, small, but long well organized, strong, and compact.

The Eastern Roman Empire

Oldest but least important of European states now was the fragment of the Byzantine Empire lying about Constantinople. When, during the fourth century, for purposes of administration, the Roman Empire was divided into two great parts, the eastern portion speedily became more important, and long survived the disintegration of the empire in the west. With provinces in Europe and in Asia grouped about the superb and impregnable fortress of Constantinople, with long-lasting control of the sea, it continued for some time to increase in power and strength, and reconquered in Italy and Africa provinces which the Cæsars of Rome had formerly ruled. During the seventh and the eighth centuries it was incomparably the greatest of European powers, and within its boundaries were the principal civilization and prosperity in Europe. But decay set in, and large misfortune came after. Its European provinces were constantly attacked and gradually appropriated by South Slavs—Servians, Bulgarians, and others, advancing from the north. Its Asiatic and its African possessions were conquered first by the Arabs and then by the Turks. Slowly but surely its dominions shrunk, while power and prosperity decayed. In the twelfth century it might well have fallen before the Seljukian Turks had not the military-religious expeditions, the Crusades, from western Europe intervened to avert its destruction. During the Fourth Crusade, however, the Christian soldiers from the west turned upon Constantinople, captured it, and divided among themselves the Byzantine posses-

Long-threatened destruction

sions (1204). Two generations later a Greek prince re-established a shadow of the former empire (1261), but from the disasters of this period it was never able to recover. For a century and a half now it had been pressed upon by the Turks. Often its end had seemed near at hand, and once it had been saved only by accident of the moment. Now it was entirely surrounded by the Ottoman power, cut off from the peoples of western Europe, in hopeless position. Three years later it would fall to the Turks, and then at last the Eastern Roman Empire would come to its end (1453).

The Turks

The Turks were a non-European people, remotely related to such other non-Europeans as the Mongols, Tartars, Hungarians, and Finns. Originally their home had been in the highlands of central Asia, where they roamed about as nomad tribes. Historians first knew of them in the sixth century. After that time they founded a considerable empire in the districts of Asia where they lived. Later on they pressed in upon the Saracen Caliphate, whose capital was Bagdad on the Tigris, and in course of time, after serving as auxiliaries and mercenary troops, they conquered the Caliphate completely. Various bodies of them pressed on to the west, and during the eleventh century the Seljuk Turks overran most of the Asiatic possessions of the Byzantine Empire, and even threatened Constantinople. At the end of the eleventh century, however, the Seljuk dominion, which now included Persia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia (Asia Minor), was broken into fragments as the result of civil wars among the Turks. The sultanate of Iconium or Roum (Anatolia) was now struck by the crusaders, and in course of time broken up into thirty or more emirates or parts. At the end of the thirteenth century, in the midst of this division and confusion, a subordinate branch of the Turkish family, the tribe of Ottoman Turks, began to construct a strong state. This they did not far from the

The Ottoman Turks

Sea of Marmora and the Bosporus, beyond which lay Constantinople. Presently they crossed into Europe. Thereafter for two centuries their state was built up by conquests to the northward in Europe, at the expense of the South Slavic peoples, and conquests in Asia to the east and the south. In 1361 they took Adrianople in Thrace, which had since been a sacred city, the seat of their sultan. By the middle of the fifteenth century they were the best organized and most powerful secular government in Europe, and they had built up the strongest military power in the world. They would shortly win Constantinople. Thereafter for many a year they would be terrible to all the Christians of southern and central Europe.

The Bulgarians

As the Ottomans were advancing the South Slavs were being brought down into subjection. For a century this would continue until they were all reduced to submission. First the Bulgarians were conquered. Originally they were a non-European people, related, perhaps, to the Tartars and the Finns; but after the sixth century, when they entered the Byzantine provinces of Moesia and Thrace, they had become inextricably mixed with their Slavic neighbors, and adopting a South Slavic language and culture, had become essentially one of the South Slavic peoples. They had often threatened the Byzantine emperors, and during the tenth and again during the thirteenth century they had built up a considerable kingdom. At the end of the fourteenth century the Bulgarians were completely conquered. They would remain under Turkish dominion until 1878.

The Servians

Next the Servian power was broken. In the seventh century the Servians or Croats, a South Slavic people, had settled the Byzantine country south of the Danube. Gradually they built up a powerful kingdom, and about the middle of the fourteenth century, under their tsar, Stephen Dushan (1334–1356), they threatened to extinguish the Byzantine Empire in Europe. Now they were

2. ETHNOGRAPHIC

OPE ABOUT 1450

overthrown by a mightier opponent. In 1389 Servian power was broken by the Turks at the battle of Kosovo. They had since been vassal to the Turk, and a little later they would be incorporated in the Ottoman dominions (1458).

The Rumans or Vlachs

North of the Danube, inside and out of the curve of the Carpathian Mountains, were the Vlachs. They may have been mostly Slavic, or, more probably, like the Albanians, the Wends, the Lithuanians, they were a distinct branch of the "Indo-European" people. They believed themselves to be descended in part from Roman settlers in Dacia, and, unlike their South Slavic neighbors, they spoke a language derived from the Latin. In the thirteenth century one group of the Vlachs or Rumans had founded the principality of Wallachia, while at the beginning of the fourteenth another had established the principality of Moldavia farther north. These groups of people, like their kinsmen in Transylvania, beyond the Carpathian Mountains, were at times subject to the overlordship of Hungarian kings. At other times they were vassals of Lithuania or Poland. About the end of the fourteenth century they became tributary to the advancing Turk. Under the rule of their native princes they would continue to be tributary to the Ottoman power until in the nineteenth century they would be liberated from the Turk and united to form the Kingdom of Rumania (1878). The Rumans of Transylvania would remain subject to Hungary, and later on along with Hungary would be subject to the Turks, then subject to Austria along with Hungary, then a part of the Kingdom of Hungary, until after the Great War they would be incorporated into the greater Rumanian kingdom (1919).

The Hungarians or Magyars

Northward from the South Slavs, separating them from the West Slavs still farther north, were the people of Hungary. In the ninth century the Magyars, related to the Turks and the Finns, had come into central Europe. Speedily they made themselves masters of the fertile

The rise of Hungary

country in the valley of the Danube above the middle part of its course. For some time they ravaged and plundered all countries near by, and their depredations won fearful renown as far away as Italy and France. At the beginning of the eleventh century they conquered the Rumans of Transylvania and thus added to their dominion all the country in the inner curve of the Carpathian Mountains (1004). Westward and southward they extended their sway at the expense of South Slavic people, and by the end of the eleventh century had conquered the lands of the Serbs of Croatia and Slavonia (1091). At one time also they held the district of Bosnia farther south, a country also inhabited by Servian people; but Bosnia, after passing under the dominion of Servia, became an independent kingdom (1376), and so remained until it was subjugated by the Turks shortly after the middle of the fifteenth century (1463). Meanwhile,

Hungary a powerful kingdom

Hungary had developed its power. It was, along with other countries near by, terribly ravaged during the invasions of the Mongols (1241), but it recovered from this disaster. Afterward on two occasions it was united under one king with Poland. About the middle of the fifteenth century it seemed to be a powerful kingdom, and was in fact the principal barrier to the advance of the Turks. But before the Turks it also was destined later on to go down. It was a rich agricultural state, and its men fought bravely in war; but seldom did it have strong government and effective rule. In Hungary feudalism was as fatal to the growth of central government as it was in Poland or the Holy Roman Empire. The kingship was elective, and the great feudal magnates fought against the king or against each other, and would seldom unite to give effective support when their king or the kingdom was in danger.

Elements of weakness

North and northwest of Hungary were the West Slavs, in Bohemia and in Poland. Farthest west of the Slavs the

Czechs had established themselves. On three sides their state was surrounded by Germans. Their country had once been held by Germanic people, but in the sixth century it was taken by the Czechs. During the tenth century it became a feudal dependency of the German rulers, but at the end of the twelfth the Kingdom of Bohemia was established (1198). In the thirteenth century it conquered Austria and other districts near by, and was extended until it had a seacoast on the Adriatic. Moravia, the territory adjoining on the east, and possessed by a related West Slavic people, had been joined to it in 1029. Later on it annexed Lusatia and Silesia, districts on its eastern frontier. During the fifteenth century it was torn by religious struggles growing out of the Hussite revolt against the Roman Church. This struggle had recently been brought to an end, and the country was now at peace. The king of Bohemia was one of the seven electors who chose the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

The Bohemians or Czechs

East of Bohemia and north of Hungary lay the Kingdom of Poland, at that time the foremost Slav state in Europe. In the latter part of the tenth century the Poles had established in what was afterward Posen a duchy vassal to the German emperor. In the eleventh century Poland had become a kingdom, and thereafter it extended its territories wide to the eastward. In 1386 Lithuania, an extensive country held by people non-Slavic but closely related to the Slavs, was united to Poland, which was thereafter a huge inland state extending from central Europe far over toward the east. On two occasions Poland was united with Hungary under the same king (1370–82, 1434–44); but such a union was artificial and impracticable, and each time it soon came to nothing. The Poles, even more than the Magyars, were brave and dashing in war, and often had much success against the strongest opponents they encountered. But Poland like Hungary was a country weakened by feudal disunion. There also the king was

The Poles

Disunion and weakness

elected by the nobles, the nobles did as they pleased, and very often it was impossible to maintain any effective government over all. None the less, at the middle of the fifteenth century Poland was a greater state than Hungary or Bohemia, greater than most of the German states, and incomparably more powerful than Muscovy, the rising tsardom of the East Slavs.

The Russians

The time of the Russians had not yet come. East of Poland and Lithuania, east also of the frontier state of the Teutonic Knights who held the eastern coast of the Baltic, ran the great plain which stretches over to the limits of Europe. This plain was held by many peoples, especially Tartars in the south, East Slavs in the middle, and by Finns and Lapps in the north. The East Slavs, like the South Slavs, had received culture and religion from the Eastern Roman Empire, and so were adherents of the Orthodox or Eastern Catholic faith. In the southwest about Kiev a Russian state had been established in the eleventh century; but in the period that followed the country of the East Slavs, like the country of the Germans about the same time, was divided into numerous principalities, which did no more than acknowledge the authority of the jurisdiction at Kiev. During the thirteenth century the Mongols from Asia swept over them all, and the Russian principalities along with the Tartar communities farther south became subject to the Mongol khans. They paid tribute and were sometimes subjected to grinding tyranny, but in general were left to the rule of their native princes. Of these subject Russian communities Muscovy, the country around Moscow, rose to chief power during the fourteenth century. In the middle of the fifteenth Muscovy was little known in western and central Europe, and was not yet a factor of any importance in Europe. Shortly after, under its tsar, Ivan (John) III, the Great, it would free itself from Mongol domination, increase its territories, and make the basis of the

The domination of the Mongols

future Russian greatness. Not for two hundred years, however, would Russia be an important European state.

The Roman Catholic Church: organization

In the western half of Europe the most important power was the Roman Catholic Church. In the form of its ecclesiastical organization this church was an absolute monarchy or an empire. At the head was the pope, originally bishop of Rome, but now the principal church official in Europe. The pope was chosen or elected for life by certain ecclesiastical electors, the cardinals (principal ecclesiastics: *cardo*, hinge). Once they had merely presided over the various churches in the city of Rome; now they were, under the pope, the principal church officials in western Europe. They were appointed by the pope, and the College of Cardinals was the pope's advisory council—the equivalent of the king's council in various secular states. Some of the most noted churchmen in Spain, in France, in England, and elsewhere were cardinals; but the college always had been, and afterward continued to be, composed mostly of Italian ecclesiastics. The pope also was usually an Italian, so that in the structure of its organization at the center the papacy was largely an Italian institution. The ecclesiastical empire ruled from Rome was presided over by a vast hierarchy of local officials. Under the pope great districts were ruled by archbishops or bishops, and their sees or jurisdictions were subdivided into innumerable parishes, each one with its priest and its parish church. All this was the organization of secular clergy, *secular* since the church was dealing with the transitory (*sæculum*, time) affairs of mortal men in this world. Independent of secular ecclesiastical authority, and subject directly to the pope, were the organizations of regular clergy (*regula*, rule)—the bodies of friars, monks, and nuns, each subject to the particular rule of its order, under their abbots and priors.

Highest offices controlled by Italians

Supreme and complete power was vested in the hands

Functions and power of the pope

of the pope. He had, in effect, complete authority in the executive, legislative, and judicial business of the church. Except in so far as temporal sovereigns in Catholic countries interfered, he appointed all the important officials of the church, and to him all ecclesiastics owed entire obedience and submission. In earlier times papal power had been even greater. The popes had effectually asserted their superiority over temporal rulers, and at times the most powerful rulers had been forced to bow to their will. They had also proclaimed their right to tax all Christians. From everywhere an enormous amount of legal business had been drawn to the courts of the church.

Rising opposition

This had been possible once because western Europe was divided into a great number of feudal jurisdictions, and because in the midst of division and confusion, and in the absence of national feeling, the principal bond of union was the church, and the principal authority reverenced by men was the holy father at the head of the church. During the fourteenth century the papacy had been riven asunder by a great schism, in effect a civil war within the church. From this disaster it had never recovered completely. Meanwhile, gradual change of circumstances in western Europe had made men less disposed to give in temporal and ecclesiastical matters unquestioning obedience to the pope. Among certain large groups of people, in France, in England, in the Spanish kingdoms, in German countries, national consciousness had been growing. This inclined the subjects of a monarch to support their ruler against the pope, whenever the dispute concerned some matter not purely religious.

Power of the church

By the middle of the fifteenth century the pope had, indeed, recovered much of what seemed lost when the fortunes of the papacy were lowest, when three rival popes were cursing and denouncing each the others as Antichrist. Western Christendom was now united under one pope again, and a few years before the popes had had some

reason to believe that the Eastern Church might be brought to acknowledge them also. This scheme of uniting all Christendom under leadership of Rome had failed almost at once, however. On the other hand, the great councils of the church, called to heal the schism and reform the church, had failed to abridge the authority of the popes. Councils were now discredited. The church was again a well-organized ecclesiastical empire under a single ruler vested with absolute power. The pope still appointed many of the most important ecclesiastics in various parts of Europe. Despite all the efforts of temporal sovereigns he still drew to his exchequer a vast revenue in taxes indirect and direct from the faithful. Despite the opposition of lay sovereigns also the church courts in all Roman Catholic countries continued to deal with a great amount of legal business, and from all these courts the highest ecclesiastical court of appeal was the *curia* (court) at Rome. Though much less than two centuries before, the pope still took important part in diplomatic and international affairs. So he was one of the most important and respected potentates in Europe. In addition to this vast ecclesiastical and religious organization of which he was the head, he ruled the city of Rome and a territory around it with full sovereign power. The Papal States constituted one of the jurisdictions into which Italy was then divided.

The church an ecclesiastical empire

Outwardly almost as imposing but actually with far less power was the Holy Roman Empire, the highest temporal jurisdiction in Europe. In theory the empire had extensive authority, and asserted superiority over various princes and peoples. Actually now it was an aggregation of German states and their dependencies, loosely bound together under an emperor powerless to rule them. Like the papacy, the medieval empire was built up upon tradition and inheritance derived from the Roman Empire in the west. In 476 the last emperor in the west had been

The Holy Roman Empire

deprived of the remnant of his authority and his title. Thereafter, for some time men supposed the imperial dignity to be held only in Constantinople. But Roman dominion had so long endured that many people could not conceive it to have passed utterly away in the west. So, an attempt was made to set up the empire again. In 800 the German, Charles the Great, whose power rested on the military greatness of the Franks, and who had extended his authority over the French, the German, and the Italian lands, was crowned emperor by the pope. In another form the empire was revived by the German, Otto the Great, in 962. This empire, regarded as a continuation of the Roman Empire in the west, was known as the Holy Roman Empire from its connection with the pope and the church. Under it some of the noblest minds had yearned to unite western Europe in the common prosperity and citizenship of the days when old Rome united the peoples and gave laws to Europe. All men in western Europe, they affirmed, should obey the pope in spiritual matters and the emperor in temporal affairs.

Founded by Charles the Great

Failure of the medieval emperors

This ideal had realized little. Papacy and empire had joined issue in mortal struggles, each striving for supremacy over the other. In these struggles, the emperors were usually defeated. In the end they failed to achieve what some lesser rulers accomplished. What the old Roman Empire had done could not be done again. Some of the most powerful emperors of the Holy Roman Empire had indeed received acknowledgment of overlordship from princes and kings of Europe. In general, however, their authority extended little beyond the German lands, upon which their power was based, and sometimes Italy, which the Germans repeatedly conquered. But while the emperors strove to conquer Italy and extend the dominion of their empire, German princes and city states came to be nearly independent. By the middle of the fifteenth century the empire actually embraced some hundreds of

jurisdictions large and small, in which the rulers generally did as they pleased. Theoretically, the authority of the emperor was paramount over them all, but he was usually unable to enforce any general laws, or collect taxes for support of his rule, and, except in imminent danger now, he could usually not reckon on military assistance from his various vassals. From this empire some of the Swiss mountaineers, long virtually independent, would shortly break away altogether.

The Scandinavian countries

Northward of the German domains and of the Baltic districts held by the Teutonic Order lay the Scandinavian countries. Smallest was Denmark, but most important because its lands were most fertile. Across the waters to the north was Norway, mountainous, bare, poor, little known to the rest of Europe since its mariners had ceased to plunder the lands west and south. East of Norway, beyond the mountain ranges, was Sweden, which held dominion also over Finland, to the east of the Bothnian Gulf. In 1397, by the Union of Kalmar, the three Scandinavian countries had been joined together under headship of the king of Denmark. Shortly after the middle of the fifteenth century this union, following a break, would be reëstablished, but the Swedes would be restive under what they regarded as the tyranny of Denmark, and after a while they would make good their independence again (1523).

The Italians

In Italy the failure to achieve unity had been more signal than in the German lands. Except for brief periods there had been no unity in Italy since the Roman Empire in the west went down. From time to time since then, emperors of the Holy Roman Empire had established their authority in the country, but this authority usually effected little and seldom lasted very long. Nor had the popes been able to establish supremacy over more than a small portion of the country. Therefore, Italy had been divided up into various city states and other domains;

and despite numerous alterations it remained so divided in the middle of the fifteenth century.

The Italian states

The territory of Naples, the southern third of the Italian mainland, and the islands of Sicily and Sardinia were under the rule of the Spanish kings of Aragon. North of Naples, from the Tyrrenian Sea to the Adriatic, on the eastern side extending northward nearly to the head of the Adriatic, were the States of the Church, from whose capital, Rome, the popes gave forth their decrees. Northward along the Tyrrenian coast were the lands of the city of Siena. Above Siena was the territory of Florence, greater rival of Siena, now the center of an intellectual movement, the Renaissance, that was strangely stirring men's minds. North of Florence, along the coast bending west toward the French lands, was the long narrow strip of the territory that Genoa ruled. To the south some distance out in the sea was Corsica, which Genoa controlled. North of Genoa, by the French frontier, was the duchy of Savoy, obscure in its mountainous country, its future greatness not yet even thought of. East of Savoy and north of Genoa were the possessions of the duchy of Milan, with fertile plains in the valley of the Po, and Milan, its great industrial city. In the midst of the territories of Genoa, Milan, and the Papal States, was the smaller district of Ferrara, to be made a duchy a little later on (1471). Finally, in the northeast corner of the peninsula, at the head of the Adriatic Sea, was Venice, the principal trading center then in the European world.

Rival jurisdictions and powers

Venice

The power of Venice rested upon commerce and thriving manufactures. Founded upon little islands just off the mainland, it was protected by the most powerful war fleet in the world. Near by, on the mainland, it ruled an extensive dominion, while it held dependencies far down the eastern Adriatic along the Dalmatian shore, and also the still more distant Cyprus and Crete.

Various patriots and statesmen had dreamed of uniting

the Italian people in one common dominion, but all efforts to achieve such unification had failed completely and almost at once. In consequence Italy had suffered again and again from invaders whom she was too weak and disunited to repel. A little later a new series of invasions would begin, and after bitter struggles and ruinous losses, more Italians would pass under foreign dominion. None the less at this time Italy was the chief seat of European culture and progress. Here the Renaissance was beginning. From Italy it would spread to other lands less advanced. In some of the north Italian states in the middle of the fifteenth century were more wealth and refinement than in any other part of Europe—excepting only some Flemish cities, and here men were beginning to make the most beautiful pictures and statues since the days of the old Greek masters.

Disunited, prey for invaders

What the Germans and the Italians had failed to do had been accomplished in two countries of western Europe by the middle of the fifteenth century, and was shortly after to be achieved in another. In France and in England nations had been formed and nation states with strong central governments had been erected. A little later most of the parts of the Spanish peninsula would effect such a union also.

Nation states

In the French lands feudal disunion and disorganization had once been as marked as among the Italians and the Germans. The French kings had been no more than small potentates, ruling a scanty district, the *Île-de-France*, along the Seine about Paris. They were seated in the midst of numerous feudal magnates, over whom they possessed titular suzerain authority; but some of their vassals were much more powerful than they, and for a long time royal authority was usually little obeyed outside the *Île-de-France*. A succession of able monarchs, however, had gone on steadily enlarging this domain into a powerful kingdom. With skill and success they took

The French

full advantage of their feudal superiority and of the accidents and alterations of time, to annex the various fiefs. In the end these fiefs were absorbed, and the king's rule was extended from the royal domain until it prevailed directly over all of the Kingdom of France. In 1450 the process was not yet complete, but much of the work had been done. There had been disaster and setback.

The Hundred Years' War, 1336–1453

During much of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries France had been nearly ruined by the invasions of the English and their attempts to conquer the country. Less than a generation before she had been torn by domestic strife, then invaded by an English king. He and his generals had conquered all the north portion of the country, and threatened to overrun the districts south of the Loire. In 1429 the English were about to take the stronghold of Orléans, and it had seemed then that with the fall of this bulwark all would be lost. A national revival had begun at this moment, however, its first impulse coming from the peasant heroine Joan of Arc (Jeanne d'Arc). Since then the tide had run steadily against the English. At the same time that the French had been driving the invaders out, they had been unifying their dominions again and establishing strong central rule over the country. In 1453 the Hundred Years' War would be finally ended, and France with fertile and extensive territory, with capable government, and the best-organized military force in western Europe, would for a time be most prominent among western nations.

The British Isles

Northward from France, but not far beyond her coast, lay the group of the British Isles, of which the two most important were Ireland and a larger one divided between Scotland, England, and Wales. In these islands dwelt various peoples, but from them had arisen only two jurisdictions of considerable importance—Scotland and England. The earlier Celtic inhabitants, mingled in some places with large elements of still earlier population, had

been pushed out of the better parts of the principal island, and now held only the highlands in the north of Scotland, the mountainous Welsh country to the west of England, and a small portion of the southwestern tip of the island, Cornwall. The Scottish highlanders remained in lonely isolation and practically in rude independence, but the Welsh had been conquered by the kings of England, and the Cornish people had long since submitted. In Ireland many of the Celtic possessors had continued to maintain independence, though since the twelfth century kings of England had been endeavoring to conquer their country. Ireland had remained a land of tribal disunion and warring chieftains, and the Irish had never been able to unite sufficiently to drive the invaders out. None the less, by the middle of the fifteenth century English authority in Ireland went little beyond the Irish Pale, a district along the eastern coast lying about the city of Dublin.

Ireland

The more important island was divided between two kingdoms. Of these the less important was Scotland, in the north. The kings of Scotland were as a rule obeyed only in their southern lowland districts—between the highlands and the river Tweed. In the thirteenth century the Scots had almost been conquered by the English, but in the end they succeeded in maintaining independence. The country was sterile and poor; the people generally rude and backward; and Scotland, remote from the centers of culture, was on the confines of the European world.

Scotland

In the British Isles the important jurisdiction was England. Here since the Norman Conquest (1066) a line of able administrators and makers of law had built up a strongly organized central rule far superior to what was for a long time accomplished anywhere else in the west. Large parts of the country were prosperous and fertile. The population was generally secure from invasion. The men were brave and hardy in war. Accordingly, the Kingdom of England, despite its small area and small population,

England

had long been prominent in Europe. Twice during the Hundred Years' War (1336–1453) English armies had nearly overrun France, and in the fourteenth century English warriors were dreaded and renowned in France, in Portugal, and Castile. Now, however, the contest with the French was going badly, and the English had been expelled from nearly all of their earlier conquests. A little later and England itself would be torn by the strife of the Wars of the Roses (1455–85).

The Spanish peninsula

In the Spanish peninsula the foundations of national unity were being laid, but national unity was not yet achieved. Early in the eighth century the Visigothic Kingdom of Spain had been overthrown by Mohammedan Moors, who had conquered nearly all of the country, and then carried their conquest through the Pyrenees into southern France. Thereafter, during most of the Middle Ages, the Moorish-Saracen dominion in Spain had been the seat of a high civilization and power. Only in the mountainous northern districts had the Spanish Christians remained unsubdued. In course of time, however, their power revived; and gradually they reconquered the country to the south. For some centuries almost constant warfare continued, and steadily the frontiers of the Moorish kingdom were pushed farther in. Now only a remnant remained, the rich Kingdom of Granada in the south.

The Spanish kingdoms

In the course of this struggle various Christian states had arisen. The fugitives had first established the Kingdom of Asturias (718). Later on this had been merged in the larger Kingdom of Leon (914). Meanwhile, the frontier state of Castile, so called originally from its numerous castles, was growing great through conquests made from the Moors. After 1037 Castile and Leon were from time to time under one king, and in 1230 they were finally united. Meanwhile, in the east had grown up the powerful Kingdom of Aragon; Navarre had established itself on both sides of the Pyrenees; and Portugal had extended

its territory down part of the western coast. Portugal was, during most of the future, to remain an independent kingdom, but the foundations of a great Spanish state were soon to be laid by the union of Aragon and Castile (1479). Together they would conquer Granada (1492), and later on annex most of Navarre (1513).

Conditions in Europe about 1450

Almost everywhere government was in the hands of kings or princes who possessed large power. In cities like Venice and some of the German or Flemish city states government was vested in an oligarchy of the upper class. Only among the rude mountaineers of some of the Swiss cantons then was a democracy so much as conceived of. In almost all parts of Europe social privilege and economic power were monopolized by the small upper class of the nobles. Most of them lived in the country. Their principal property was land, and generally their riches were obtained directly or indirectly from the crops produced on this land. Most men and women were serfs still, partly unfree. In countries like Muscovy, Poland, Hungary, the South Slav districts, and the German lands, perhaps nine tenths of all the people were partly unfree. In England, Italy, the Netherlands, and to a lesser extent in France, serfdom had largely passed away. The occupation of most of the people in Europe at this time was agriculture. Cultivation was carried on by serfs who helped to till the lord's domain, and paid him a share of what they produced on the pieces of land which they worked. Where serfdom had disappeared, as in parts of western Europe, cultivation was by laborers hired with wages, or else by men who rented an area from the proprietor, or who were allowed to cultivate on condition of giving to the owner half or some other part of what they produced. Agriculture was primitive, implements were rude. Fertilizers were not employed, and the only device then known for replenishing the soil was to allow a part of the cultivable area to lie fallow or untilled each year.

Agriculture

The life of the people

Most of the people lived in little villages. Their houses were of one or two rooms, with few windows and often no chimney. When harvests were good, food was plentiful in summer and autumn. But always it was monotonous and meager in winter and spring, because there was no preserving and no refrigeration in cold storage, so that there were no fruits or vegetables to be had, and the only meat to be had was salt meat, since cattle could not easily be fed in winter. Generally speaking, communication was so poor and roads were so bad that the crops of one district were never transported to another, and the food raised in a certain place was consumed there. For these rural districts there was little manufacturing. Generally, however, a manor or a village was self-sufficing and produced and made whatever it required and consumed. These rural districts, all of them, were strongholds of conservatism, ignorance, and reverence of tradition and custom. There were no schools for the population in the country, and almost never could a man or a woman there read or write. The principal interest in the lives of the mass of these people, after the getting of their food and shelter and clothing, was religion and the rites of their church.

Cities and towns

Perhaps not one twentieth of the people of Europe then lived in cities or towns. In all eastern Europe, save for Constantinople, there were only a few cities of any importance—Kiev, Novgorod, Cracow, Adrianople. In western Europe large centers of population were more frequently found. There were many great cities in Italy and in the Netherlands, the principal seats of manufacturing and commerce then. In Flanders Ghent, Ypres, Bruges, and Antwerp had grown wealthy and flourishing through the development of the medieval cloth manufacture; but all of them were now beginning to decline as the English wool, once exported for manufacture, was more and more woven in eastern England. In Italy Rome had

declined much from its majesty of olden times and probably contained not more than 100,000 people, less than a tenth as many as in the days of its zenith under the Cæsars. Yet, it was the capital of the Roman Catholic world; many pilgrims came to pray in its churches; many suitors resorted to the papal courts; and much wealth flowed into it from all over western Europe. Genoa and especially Venice were still wealthy from extensive commerce, but changing world conditions would shortly produce a decline. Siena, Milan, Florence had extensive manufactures and trade, but they also after a while would suffer degradation and loss. In France Paris was the one great city, as London was in England, but neither had, perhaps, so many as 200,000 people. In the German countries the principal trade and manufacturing were carried on by Nürnberg, Augsburg, Cologne, Strasburg, and the ports of the Hanseatic League, such as Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen. Lisbon was the principal seaport in Portugal, Seville and Barcelona in the Spanish lands.

Rome

These urban populations were supported by manufacturing and trade. Manufacturing was still carried on, as it long had been and would be for a great while to come, by workers using their hands and a few simple tools. For the most part, in the middle of the fifteenth century such work was done by members of the craft guilds aided by their journeymen and apprentices who under them were learning the trade. But forces of decay were already at work and the guilds were beginning to decline. Journeymen were striving to establish craft associations of their own. Capitalists were beginning to furnish laborers with raw materials, which they would work up in their homes, afterward delivering the finished manufactured product to the capitalist from whom they received payment for the labor. Thus began the "domestic system" of manufacturing which presently to some extent superseded the older guild manufacture. In some places, moreover,

Industrial life

capitalists were beginning to assemble considerable numbers of workers, thus foreshadowing the factory system of a later time. The old merchant guilds or trading associations were now in decline. Much work was beautifully and carefully done; but with no machines and with rude, simple tools, no very large quantity of goods could be manufactured.

Commerce

Commerce then was considerably in advance of manufacturing. A little later, after the great geographical discoveries and the opening of new trade routes there would be a mighty commercial development, and some have seen in this a "commercial revolution." But there was at this later time no fundamental change in methods, and with respect to commerce there was no alteration comparable with that which occurred in manufacturing about the end of the eighteenth century, when the "industrial revolution" made an epoch in the modern history of peoples. Land communication then was poor, for in the Middle Ages there were no roads like those which the Romans had once built over Europe. Accordingly, most commerce was carried on by river and sea in ships urged on by sails or driven forward by oars. In good seasons most roads were poor. In bad weather they were often impassable. In many places robbers lurked. Everywhere the local nobleman exacted tribute or toll, if he could. At the frontier of almost every small jurisdiction and at the gate of almost every town which the merchant reached, tolls or customs or market fees must be paid. The seas swarmed with pirates, while ships in foreign ports were always liable to be confiscated for one reason or for another. Accordingly, since difficulties and risks were great, the merchant expected high profit, and since the costs of operation were high, his prices would be very high.

Obstacles to trade

There were numerous trade routes and centers of commerce. In the Mediterranean, long the main highway of

Routes and centers of trade

European commerce, Barcelona, Marseilles, and the Italian seaports traded with the Levant, purchasing oriental products—spices, and manufactured wares—with money and with goods of their own. The Genoese and the men of Barcelona had long had control of the route past Constantinople up into the Euxine. The Venetians had nearly a monopoly of the route down to Egypt. From western France there was flourishing trade in wine to England and to the Low Countries. Both Spain and England had long sent their wool to Flanders, though the English were now beginning to keep part of it to make up themselves. In the Baltic trade was mostly controlled by the *Hanse* or Hanseatic League, a confederation of numerous cities united for common protection of their trade. From eastern Baltic countries fish, timber, and furs, were brought to the German lands, the Netherlands, England and France, to be exchanged for wheat, wine, and manufactured goods, especially cloth. From northern Italy, through the mountain passes northward, ran routes to the Netherlands, and the valleys of the Danube and Rhine. From the profits of this commerce there was many a fine house in Milan or Venice or Genoa, in Augsburg or Nürnberg or Bruges.

Profits from trade

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Further bibliographical information bearing upon this chapter appears in connection with the chapters dealing with particular countries.

CHAPTER III

THE OTTOMAN POWER

He said: "There will be born to you a son, a very great man, whose name will be Osman. Many wars will he wage. Your posterity will be kings and first on the earth."

Interpretation of the dream of Ertogrul, recounted by Ali, translated from the Latin version of Iohannes Leunclavius, *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum* (Frankfort 1588) pp. 3, 4.

Sola ex tanta ruina uetustatis Constantinoplis superabat . . . Ecce nunc Turci . . . Constantinopoli capta . . . [Veneti] non Ponticam, aut Siriacam, seu Cretica solum, sed Adriaticam quoque nauigationem amisisse videntur. Neque ab re Albaniæ partem Turci tenent . . . Inde Brundusium ex parte Italiæ uicinum, quis tuebitur? . . . Videmus cladem Græcorum. Nunc Latinorum ruinas expectamus.

Letter of Aeneas Sylvius, August 1453: *Opera* (Basle, 1551), pp. 704–707.

L'empire des Osmanlins est ébranlé par les deux plus grands échecs qu'il ait jamais reçus . . . le grand vizir d'Allemagne est le fléau de Dieu. . . .

Montesquieu, *Lettres Persanes* (1721), lettre cxxiv.

Eastern Europe

Transition from the medieval to the modern period was brought about in western and central Europe by a series of profound and far-reaching changes, of which the most striking were included in the Renaissance, the Age of the Discoveries, and the Reformation. In the course of several generations the life and the outlook of a great many people in all the countries from Portugal to Poland were largely altered. These great alterations, however, had for a long time no effect whatever in eastern Europe. In the vast plain from the unknown icy wastes of the Arctic southward through Muscovy and Tartary

The Ottoman Turks

down to Asia, Lapps, Slavic people, Tartar oppressors, and others lived enveloped in solitude and distance, aloof from western Europe, little known to the Germanic and the Latin peoples, unaffected by what those peoples did. A little nearer, on the eastern Mediterranean shores, in Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula, the Ottoman Turks were in closer contact with western Europe, and for a long time they exerted some influence on their neighbors to the west. But the Turks, like the Slavs of the Russian plain, lay outside the great currents of western European life, and like them were almost untouched by Renaissance and Reformation. In constant contact with western Europe, they none the less went their own separate way. In their history there is no great transition from the medieval to the modern world. Before the Middle Ages had ended, their career of greatness had begun. First of all the strong states of modern Europe the Ottoman Empire developed its might and its power.

Europe and Asia

The history of the Turks is one of the episodes in long conflict between Asiatic and European peoples, of which the struggle between Greeks and Persians was an earlier one and the war between Russians and Japanese the latest. At that point where Asia and Europe so nearly approach, where communication between the two continents is best, about Gallipoli and Constantinople, the empire of the Turks was established. More directly the history of the Turks is the latest, perhaps the most important, episode in the invasion of Europe by Turanian or Mongol peoples.

Turanian nomad invaders

Three times has it seemed to contemporaries that European civilization would go down before Turanian invaders. In the fourth century the nomad Huns extended their power from central Asia into eastern Europe, driving before them those who then possessed southern Russia and the Danube country. Under Attila a vast dominion of Huns and subject peoples was rapidly built up, and armies were collected which threatened for a mo-

ment the remnants of European culture. But Attila was checked at the great battle of Châlons-sur-Marne (451); and dying shortly after, his power fell to pieces, his followers speedily disappearing among the more numerous peoples whom they had conquered. Some centuries later a related Turanian people, the Magyars, likewise carried their power across southern Russia and appeared in the ninth century in the valley of the Danube. For many a year they spread fear of their arms into all the neighboring countries. Their horrible devastations were carried into Italy, across Germany, and over France, until it seemed that the old terror of the Huns was revived, and it was as Hungarians that their enemies knew them. In 955 their power was broken by the German emperor, Otto I, on the Lechfeld near Augsburg, and they settled down in the valley of the Danube to develop a peaceful Christian state. At the beginning of the thirteenth century hordes of the short, slant-eyed Mongols of the central Asian highland were brought together in a mighty confederation by their leader Jenghiz Khan, who conceived the grandiose ambition of conquering the world. He and his descendants spread Mongol conquest over most of the earth that conquerors then could reach. Eastward they subdued the vastness of China. Southwest, the Bagdad caliphate, seat of Saracen civilization and power, was overwhelmed in hideous ruin. Westward they went across Asia, over the mountains into Europe, through the wide stretches of the steppes and the level country, where the Slavic princes were utterly subdued, onward over the Polish plain, and into Germany, where in 1241 a Christian army was utterly defeated at Liegnitz. Hitherto no warriors had resisted the swarms of their mounted archers; but now family affairs called the victorious leaders back eastward. For a great while thereafter, however, most of the Russian plain remained subject to Mongol princes.

Huns

Hungarians

Mongols

The Mongols in Europe

Meanwhile, a lesser branch of this same Turanian or

The Seljuk Turks

Mongol people, the Seljuk Turks, had been moving from west central Asia southwestward into Asia Minor. In the ninth century they had possession of the country of Bokhara, north of India, beyond the Himalaya Mountains. Thence spreading out to the west and the south, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries they conquered Persia, Mesopotamia, and the Mediterranean countries of Syria and Asia Minor. Their conquests were made at the expense of the Saracen states and of the Eastern Roman Empire. It was against the Seljuk Turks that the earlier Crusades were undertaken. The Turks had, before they overthrew the Saracen power, been mercenaries and auxiliaries in the service of the Saracen caliphate, and by the time they took possession of Jerusalem they had adopted the Mohammedan faith. During the thirteenth century their kinsmen, the Mongols, swept westward and in the course of the Mongol triumph most of the possessions of the Seljuk Turks were completely engulfed. It was during these struggles that another, a lesser, tribe of the same Turkish peoples began their rise. One branch of the Seljuk Turks had during the eleventh century conquered a great part of Asia Minor, and established the sultanate of Roum (Rome) with its capital at Nicæa. As a result of the First Crusade (1096–99) the Byzantine emperors had recovered Nicæa and the Seljuks, driven back, established their capital at Iconium. In the latter part of the thirteenth century their dominion began to fall to pieces after attacks by their foes. A tribe of Oghuz Turks under their leader Ertogrul, and afterward his son, Othman, gave substantial military assistance to the sultan of Roum. For this they received a considerable grant of lands upon which to settle, lands to be held against the foes of their lord. From the name of their leader Othman they were presently known as the Ottoman Turks.

Overwhelmed by the Mongols

Othman

In the fourteenth century there was in Asia Minor a favorable opportunity for able leaders to erect a strong

new state. The Seljuk sultanate of Roum was crumbling to pieces. The Byzantine Empire had never recovered from the sack of Constantinople (1204) by the Christian army of the Fourth Crusade. Constantinople had again become the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire (1261), but the power of that empire was gone, and it was constantly growing weaker under pressure of its enemies in Asia Minor and attacks by the Slavs from the north. In 1307, after the death of the Seljuk sultan of Iconium, various Turkish emirs or chieftains made themselves independent. Among them was Othman. He, and a line of eight able rulers who followed, built up a powerful state which after a while dominated all that part of the world.

Origin of the Ottoman power

For some time the rising Ottoman state profited at the expense of the decaying Greek Empire near by. During the first half of the fourteenth century the power of the Ottoman Turks was firmly established in a region about the valley of the Sakaria River. Of this state the capital was Brusa, captured (1326) just before Othman's death. His son, Orchan, blockaded Nicæa near by, and after some years, and following the defeat of the Greek emperor who attempted to relieve it, Nicæa surrendered (1330). The few remaining possessions of the Byzantine state in Asia Minor were soon taken, and the Ottoman dominions brought down to the Asiatic shores of the Hellespont, the Bosporus, and the Sea of Marmora.

About Brusa in Asia Minor

The success and the vigorous, warlike policy of the Ottoman sultans attracted the hardiest Turks from all over Asia Minor, and numerous other adventurers flocked to their standard. Hence, the Ottoman power was built up not merely upon Turks but upon the various populations of Asia Minor, some of whom were conquered, some of whom were attracted by advantages which the sultans could offer. The earlier conquests often meant no great hardship to the populations subdued. There was much confusion and insecurity all round about. The rulers in

Causes of early success

Constantinople could give little of prosperity and safety, so that it was an advantage to be incorporated in a new, orderly state. The Ottoman rulers wisely offered liberal conditions. When Nicæa surrendered she was treated so well that it seemed better for Greeks to be ruled by Turks than from Constantinople.

Weakness of the Byzantine Empire

In the second half of the fourteenth century the Ottoman dominions were largely extended, to the south, and likewise over the sea to the north, so that the Ottoman state became also a European power. Already the Byzantine power had nearly been destroyed. The little remnant of the Eastern Empire was torn by civil war and domestic strife. Meanwhile, the Servians, under their great king, Stephen Dushan, had built up a large Slavic state in the Balkans. Before his death in 1355, Stephen had pushed his dominion southward until of the Greek Empire nothing was left but narrow territories about Constantinople and about Thessalonica, some of the Ægean islands and a portion of the Morea, southern Greece. Even within their shrunken domain the power of the Byzantine emperors was feeble. Venetians and Genoese, rivals for the trade of the east, did as they would in spite of the emperor's wishes. In 1352 they fought a naval battle for commercial supremacy within sight of Constantinople. The Venetians were defeated, and the Genoese remained masters of the trade that came out of the Black Sea.

Conquests in Europe

In this period of civil war and increasing weakness, the Byzantine leaders had employed Turkish mercenary soldiers. Soon these mercenaries plundered their helpless employers, and then began to conquer the country for themselves. In 1354, the Turks seized Gallipoli, near Sestos, and opposite the ancient Abydos, thus controlling the narrow waterway out to the Mediterranean Sea. From a medieval castle (*Dardanelle*) which stood on its shores the strait of the Hellespont now came to be known as the Dardanelles. Thus the Turks had assured access into

3. GROWTH OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE, 13th TO 17th CENTURIES

Europe, and in Europe now occurred the principal growth of their power. Dissensions and dissatisfaction among the Greeks made conquest easy. In 1361 Amurath (Murad) I captured Adrianople, the principal city of Thrace. For a time it was capital of the Turkish dominions in Europe, and ever since it has remained a sacred place in the eyes of the Turks. Twenty years later the Greek emperor saved Constantinople and a little remnant of his territories by surrendering his other possessions and paying tribute for what was left him.

Power of the Servians broken

Amurath now turned his arms against the more powerful and vigorous Slavic states to the north. A Slavic confederacy was formed to resist the Ottoman advance, but in 1389 the Christian army was destroyed at Kosovo. That day the Servian power was irrecoverably broken. Amurath was killed in the midst of his triumph, but his work was ably carried on by his son Bajazet (1389–1403). The dominance of the Turks was strengthened seven years later when a crusading army, which had come from western Europe to join the Hungarians and assist the Slavs, was crushingly defeated at Nicopolis in the Bulgarian country. Bajazet, meanwhile, had extended his dominion also in Asia, reducing various emirates of the Seljuk Turks, which had established their independence on the break-up of the sultanate of Roum. The sorry remnant of the Byzantine Empire was now surrounded and in hopeless position. In 1400 he laid siege to Constantinople and would undoubtedly have taken it, if events had not suddenly altered all the fortunes of that part of the world. As it was, the Eastern Empire was given a last respite of fifty years.

Ottoman power broken for a moment

Another great Mongol leader had appeared, and again the menace of the Mongols grew like some sudden terrific storm-cloud over all the lands of the east. What Jenghiz Khan had once done was done again by Timur or Tamerlane (1336–1405). Tamerlane was a Mongol chieftain of Turkestan. He had great skill as an organizer, and

large ability in war. All neighboring Mongol tribes he brought under his sway, and then carried conquest in all directions far round about. With ever-increasing swarms of mounted archers he conquered central Asia, Persia, and a great part of India. These conquests, like those of other Mongol chieftains before him, were attended with fearful devastation, massacre, and destruction. Presently his enlarging dominion touched the expanding dominions of the Ottoman Turks, and a great struggle loomed up between them. Under threat of this impending danger Bajazet ceased his advance in Asia Minor and gave over the siege of Constantinople. For two years immense preparations were made for the conflict. Bajazet assembled a powerful army while Tamerlane's lieutenants subjugated Syria and Mesopotamia, capturing Bagdad and Aleppo, and burning Damascus. Presently Tamerlane entered Roum or Anatolia itself. In 1402 the matter came to issue in the plain of Angora, in one of the greatest battles in the history of the world. That day the heavy cavalry of Bajazet fought in vain against myriads of nomad bowmen. The Ottoman army was broken; Bajazet taken prisoner; and the Ottoman state, apparently, was on that day shattered to pieces.

The advance of Tamerlane

The disaster seemed irretrievable then. Next year Bajazet died in captivity. During the next decade his four sons struggled with each other about the succession to the remnants of his power. The Seljuk emirates recently conquered resumed independence. But this time of disaster soon passed. In 1405 Tamerlane died, even as he was preparing for the conquest of China. At once the Mongol power, based on the ability of one great leader, sank with the death of that leader. Very different it was with the Ottoman Turks. Their expansion had, indeed, been forwarded by the signal ability of a line of very able princes; but the strength of the Ottoman state was founded not merely on the valor and energy of leaders,

Recovery of the Turkish power

Effective organization

but upon an admirable organization gradually developed. Long before, when Hannibal had defeated all his opponents, annihilated the principal Roman army at Cannæ, and marched through Italy unopposed, the Roman Republic endured, and in the end the Romans overthrew him. Hannibal's resources were gradually exhausted, but the power of Rome was based not upon particular leaders or armies, but on the strongest military and political organization in the world then. So it was in the case of the Ottoman Turks. Since the time of Orchan (1326–1359), son of Othman, and the ablest organizer who appeared among the Turks, a system of administration and a political and military organization had been developed, and they were strong enough now to defy temporary defeat and disaster. By the beginning of the fifteenth century the Ottoman leaders had laid the foundation of a state stronger than any other in that part of the world. Now, a succession of other able leaders resumed the course of triumph that had merely been interrupted by the storm of the Mongol irruption.

Constantinople threatened again

The fragments of the Ottoman state were reunited by Mohammed I (1413–1421). His son, Amurath II (1421–1451), resumed the career of Turkish conquest in Asia and in Europe. In 1422 Constantinople was again besieged, but once more trouble in Asia procured a brief respite. It was evident, however, that the end was now not very far distant. Western Christendom was alarmed at the impending fall of the Christian bulwark in the east, but western Europe was divided, engrossed in local wars, and in the process of establishing the new nation states. The popes deplored the advance of Mohammedan Turks, and some of the church leaders saw that with Constantinople fallen, Rome herself might no longer be safe. Conditions had so changed, however, that the popes could no longer unite western Europe for crusades to the east; and for such help as the popes could give they insisted upon reunion

Little help from the west

Union of Christendom proposed

of the eastern church with the church of the west, under their own supremacy and headship. So desperate was the emergency that the Greek emperor was willing to accept these terms. At a church council held at Ferrara and at Florence (1438–9), union of the eastern and the western churches was agreed on. But if the Greek inhabitants of the Byzantine Empire would no longer fight to defend it, they had lost no zeal for the faith of their fathers. They would allow no submission; and the Roman church and the eastern church remained, as they had been, separate, to divide eastern from western Europe.

Further conquests in Europe

Meanwhile, Amurath II added to his conquests in Europe. The Servians attempted to establish again their complete independence. In a bitter struggle they were assisted by the Slavic people of Wallachia and Bosnia, by the Hungarians and finally by the Poles. At first the Turks were completely successful, and advanced on beyond the Danube. Presently, however, the allies, under the lead of the renowned Hungarian noble, John of Hunyadi, repulsed the Turks, drove them far back over the Danube, and then at Nissa inflicted upon them a great defeat. Amurath was forced to yield to the Treaty of Szegedin (1444) by which he abandoned the overlordship of Bosnia and Servia and yielded Wallachia to Hungary. But the Christians, taking advantage of a favorable opportunity that followed, broke the treaty and advanced farther south. After some success they were crushingly defeated at Varna (1444). The heavy-armed Hungarian cavalry scattered the Ottoman horsemen, but were in turn broken by the janissaries, the renowned infantry of the Turks. Again Servia and Bosnia were reduced. Ottoman conquest was then pushed westward toward the Albanian mountains where a Christian leader, George Castriotes, whom the Turks called Scanderbeg, long held the mountain strongholds and troubled the Turks with guerilla warfare.

The battle of Varna

Fall of Constantinople

Mohammed II (1451–1481) carried forward the work. First he resolved that Constantinople should be taken. Large preparations were made for the siege. The Greeks could offer little opposition, and such were conditions in the west that the other Christian states could do little for them. The Catalans of eastern Spain, and especially the Venetians and the Genoese, had long possessed valuable trading privileges in the Byzantine realm, and they did now bestir themselves to preserve their rights by saving the ancient city. Actually they offered almost all of the real resistance that the Turks now encountered. In the spring of 1453 Mohammed's great army closed in. The scanty garrison maintained the struggle for some time, and a Genoese fleet for a while kept open communications by sea. Toward the end of May, however, the Turkish artillery had made a wide breach in the walls. After a desperate assault Constantinople was captured (May 29, 1453).

Service of the Eastern Roman Empire

Thus came to an end the Eastern Roman or Byzantine Empire. In the fourth century the wide-extended Roman Empire had practically been divided into two parts: the western, essentially Latin, which had taken its culture from Rome, and the eastern, essentially Greek, which had looked to Constantinople. In the fifth century the Western Roman Empire had been extinguished as the Teutonic barbarians overran it, broke it to pieces, and established new jurisdictions and kingdoms. For a thousand years since that time new states and a new civilization had been arising from the old Roman culture, taken up by the Teutonic invaders and shaped by the Christian church. During all that thousand years the Eastern Roman Empire continued to endure. In much of that time it had grown in prosperity and power. The Byzantine emperors had ruled the most powerful and civilized state then existing, while Constantinople was renowned as the greatest city in Europe. Hence had gone forth, up through the

ICELAND
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORWAY
(United with Denmark and Sweden, 1397. United with Denmark 1450, by contract)
Christiania
SWEDEN
Stock
NORTH SEA
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
THE ENGLISH PALE
WALES
ENGLAND
London
Amsterdam
KM. OF DENMARK
Halmstad
Calmar
BALT
HOLSTEIN
Hamburg
MECKLENB.
Elbe
BRUNSWICK
Berlin
BRANDENBURG
Leipzig
SILESIA
Cologne
THE EMPIRE
Brussels
Calais
CHANNEL IS. (To England)
Rouen
Paris
Brest
BRITTANY
Seine
Loire
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
BOHEMIA
BAVARIA
Danube
AUSTRIA
Vienna
Bordeaux
SWISS CONFEDERATION
SALTZBURG
STYRIA
Garonne
DUCHY OF SAVOY
Venice
Trieste
CROATIA
Save
Avignon
Genoa
MILAN
VENETIAN REPUBLIC
KINGDOM OF CASTILE AND LEON
KINGDOM OF ARAGON
Duero
Tagus
Guadiana
Guadalquivir
Madrid
Lisbon
KM. OF PORTUGAL
KM. OF GRANADA
Marseilles
CORSICA (To Genoa)
BALEARIC IS. (To Aragon)
SARDINIA (To Aragon)
Rome
Naples
KINGDOM OF NAPLES
KM. OF BENEVENTO
KM. OF SICILY (To Aragon)
Ceuta
MEDITERRANEAN
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300
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4. EUROP

40°
50°
60°
70°
SAMOYEDES
Petchora R.
NOVGOROD
Dwina R.
FINLAND
MUSCOVY (RUSSIA)
Volga R.
Kama R.
Moscow
TEUTONIC ORDER
Niemen R.
LITHUANIA
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
TARTAR HORDE
Volga R.
Ural R.
CASPIAN SEA
Pruth R.
MOLDAVIA
BESSARABIA
Odessa
(To Genoa)
WALLACHIA
BLACK SEA
Tiflis
Kura R.
Araxes R.
Constantinople
EMPIRE OF TREBIZOND
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
(To Genoa)
Smyrna
Athens
(To Venice)
CRETE
CYPRUS
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
30°
40°

1450

Balkans and up from the shores of the Black Sea, the eastern Catholic Christianity and rudiments of civilization which the various Slavic peoples afterward developed themselves. During these centuries the rising tide of Mohammedanism had surged against the Christian world. It had overrun Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, all the near and middle east from the Black Sea to the Indus River, all the north African coast from Egypt westward to the mountains that watch the Atlantic, and rushing on at Europe had enveloped Sicily and Spain and burst into southern France. In the time of this mighty onrush, had the Saracens shattered the gateway of eastern Europe, as they did break through in the west, it may be that the cross would have fallen to the crescent, and that turbaned teachers would, as Gibbon once thought, have expounded the prophet's laws in Oxford and Paris. During all this deadly peril to the Christian world, while western Europe was divided, turbulent, and weak, the remnant of the Byzantine Empire had stood like a bulwark, with Constantinople the one sure fortress.

The bulwark of the Christian world

Now the bulwark was gone, and the Mohammedan Turks were well established in Europe. For the moment there was panic. It seemed that there might be no limit to the progress of the Turks, for Christian Europe could not combine, and there was yet no single power with enough strength to hold the invaders back. At this time Italy was divided into city states and various jurisdictions from which neither union nor strength could be expected. In Spain union had not yet been accomplished. The German lands were divided into innumerable jurisdictions; above them was the emperor with only nominal power. The Slavic peoples were agreed only in hatred and envy of each other. The English had just been driven from France, and were about to plunge into the anarchy of the Wars of the Roses. France was just emerging from the terrible Hundred Years' War, and needed many years to

Danger following its fall

remedy the weakness and division resultant. Yet during those thousand years of the Middle Ages, in which the Byzantine Empire had held up its head, the foundation of superior civilization and strength had been well laid in western Europe, and the new Christian states would soon be strong enough to save themselves, and then slowly drive back the Turk.

Turkish conquest proceeds

For some time the Ottoman power was immensely expanded. Mohammed II extended his dominion in the Balkans, penetrated Albania, overran Greece, and conquered some of the islands near by. As Ottoman armies approached the Adriatic, all Italy was alarmed, and Pope Nicholas V sought vainly to unite the west for defense. Actually the powerful mercantile republic of Venice, at the head of the Adriatic, was the strongest opponent, but in 1454 both Venice and Genoa made peace, hoping thus to keep something of the old commercial privileges that they had enjoyed. Then Mohammed turned north, and though at Belgrade he was for the moment repulsed, in the course of the next few years he completely reduced Servia, then Wallachia to the east, then Bosnia and Herzegovina to the north. In 1463 Venice, whose possessions on the lower Adriatic were more and more threatened, made alliance with Hungary whose frontiers the Turks had now reached to the north. The allies were encouraged by the pope, and joined by Scanderbeg, the Albanian leader. After an exhausting struggle of thirteen years, during which the Venetian fleet gained some successes, but during which Venetian resources were exhausted and her commerce ruined, a Turkish army crossed the Isonzo, as an Austrian army crossed it in 1917, and all the country near by was ravaged. In 1479 the Venetians made peace, ceding some of their possessions, but saving the remnant of their commerce. By this time the Genoese commerce in the Black Sea regions had been almost entirely destroyed. The Turks now invaded Transylvania, Slavonia,

Venice seeks peace

and Hungary, but in the autumn of 1479 the Hungarians inflicted a terrible defeat, and temporarily their progress northward was ended.

Continued Turkish success

Meanwhile, the Ottoman Empire had been extended southward and eastward. In the beginning the Ottoman state had been merely one of numerous Turkish emirates in Asia Minor. It had grown great mostly by taking the possessions of the Byzantine state, and by expanding northward up the Balkan peninsula at the expense of the Christian Slavs. Accordingly, while its origin was in Asia, the basis of its greater fortune and power was laid in Europe rather than there. Mohammed II greatly enlarged his dominions in Asia also, overcoming the neighboring Turkish states and conquering the little empire of Trebizond, which had continued to be ruled by Greeks. On the north side of the Black Sea he reduced the Tartars of the Crimea to pay tribute. In 1480 a Turkish army landed in southern Italy, and for a moment it was believed that Rome would fall, as Constantinople had recently fallen. But Mohammed died the next year, and for some time Ottoman growth now ceased.

Conquests in the Levant

Bajazet II (1481–1512) was afterward remembered less as a conqueror than for efforts to improve his empire and to promote science and the arts. He made some small conquests in a war with Venice, and Ottoman fleets began to ravage the western Mediterranean coasts. On the whole, however, no large advance was made in his time. Conquest was resumed under his successors, Selim I (1512–1520) and Suleiman (Solyman) I (1520–1566). Selim greatly extended the Ottoman dominions in Asia. In 1514 he entered on a war with Persia, as a result of which he carried his frontiers considerably eastward. Three years later he had overthrown the Mamelukes' power and completed the conquest of Syria and Egypt. The Abbasid dynasty in Egypt now came to an end. In 1517 the last representative yielded to Selim the title of

imam (priest) and the standard of the Prophet Mohammed. In consequence, the Turkish sultans now became the heads of Islam (*subjection*) or Mohammedanism, a position which they held until the abolition of the sultanate in 1922.

Suleiman the Magnificent

Under Suleiman, the Magnificent or the Great, Ottoman power reached its highest point. In 1521 he captured Belgrade, the great Christian fortress on the Danube, which had so long barred Ottoman progress north. Now the way into Hungary and up the Danube lay open. In 1526 the power of the Hungarians was broken at the battle of Mohács. Buda and Pest were taken, and the greater part of Hungary fell under Turkish rule. King Louis of Hungary perished in the flight from Mohács. The Hungarian nobles elected as his successor Ferdinand of Austria, brother of the Emperor Charles V. Hence it was that a part of Hungary was added to the Austrian possessions, and that in after times all of Hungary became first a dependency and, after 1867, a partner of the Austrian power. Against Austria Suleiman advanced shortly after, and in 1529, with an enormous army and 300 cannon, laid siege to Vienna. All the strength of Germany was united in the face of this peril; the garrison of Vienna made skilful and heroic resistance; and the Turkish army was largely destroyed in the retreat that followed. Turkish hosts would besiege Vienna again, but in the future, as on this occasion, it would be found that here was a permanent barrier to Ottoman conquest.

Ottoman sea power

Meanwhile, Suleiman gained further territories from Persia, and Ottoman power was strengthened in Syria, in Egypt, and elsewhere. For two centuries the Knights of St. John had maintained an outpost of Christendom in the island of Rhodes, southwest of Asia Minor. To Christian peoples they seemed the last of the crusaders against the infidel Turk. To the Turkish rulers they appeared as a nest of marauders and pirates, an intolerable nuisance to peace and navigation, seated in position to cut com-

munication, by water, between Constantinople and the eastern Mediterranean basin. In 1522, after a valiant defense, Rhodes was conquered. The Knights of St. John thus expelled were given possession soon after of Malta, a small island south of Sicily. Here also they were soon an outpost against the advancing tide of the Ottoman power. In 1565 Suleiman attempted the conquest of Malta also, but here he was completely frustrated after a long and memorable siege.

The zenith of Ottoman power

Some further acquisitions of territory were made after this time. Turkish power was extended to the north of the Black Sea until the Tartars of a large part of what was afterward southern Russia owed the sultan allegiance. Far to the westward also, along the southern shores of the Mediterranean, the Ottoman dominion was enlarged. Algeria had become a Turkish dependency in 1519. Tunis became one in 1575. Yet it afterward seemed that in Suleiman's time the zenith of Ottoman power had been reached. His dominions embraced almost all that the Eastern Roman Empire had contained at the time of its greatest extent, and some provinces which the Byzantines had never possessed. In the sixteenth century the Ottoman Empire was the most powerful and extended with which Europeans had any contact. From beyond the Tigris on the east to the frontier of Morocco on the west, from the Sahara and the Arabian deserts on the south to far beyond the Danube on the north, innumerable lands and peoples were subject to the Ottoman yoke. All the eastern Mediterranean was completely under Turkish power, and all the western Mediterranean coasts were swept by Turkish and by Barbary pirates. The army of the Sultan was then by far the most powerful in the world. His war fleets sometimes had complete command of the southern seas. The only rivals comparable in power were first the empire of Charles V and afterward the dominions of Spain. Events in the Holy Roman Empire were re-

Extent of the Ottoman Empire

peatedly influenced by proximity of the Ottoman power. It was partly because of Turkish invasions that the German Reformation could not be crushed. England, France, Spain were less influenced solely because they were so far away. Actually, however, at this time France, in her unequal contest with Charles V and with Philip II, repeatedly sought and obtained the sultan's alliance and aid.

Turkish organization

To this position of preëminence the Ottomans had risen through having developed an organization in many respects superior to any other then in existence. Their central governmental system was a strong despotism more powerful than anything that the German emperors were ever able to erect, and as well developed, perhaps, as that of the Spanish dominions under Philip II or that of France under Louis XIV. This central despotism, resting on a basis of local feudalism, was admirably adapted for the eastern peoples whom it governed. More important was the military system which formed the foundation of Ottoman power and long made that power a terror to all peoples near by. At a time when the Christian states of Europe depended upon small forces of mercenaries or levies of militia, the sultans maintained a standing army stronger than anything since the great military forces of the Roman or the Byzantine Empire, and more terrible than anything that appeared later on until the armies of Louis XIV.

The sultan

In the Ottoman state, government was concentrated in the hands of the sultan, who was head of the state in all matters religious and civil. He was *imam*, the chief priest, and *padishah* (great king). In western Europe he was known as *Grand Signior* or great lord. He was sole and supreme legislator, giving forth his *firmans* (commands) and *hattisherifs* (decrees). The collection of these ordinances made up the law of the land, to be obeyed by the people and followed in administration of the state. As they were given forth as the will of the sultan, so they could be altered at his will. He was head of the executive and ad-

ministrative system in his dominions. He had absolute control of all matters of taxation and finance. He was at the head of judicial business; it lay in him to execute punishment and maintain the laws. He was in the highest position in the military system, commander-in-chief of the army. In him lay the conduct of foreign affairs and all the matters of state. He was the supreme head of the church in the Ottoman dominions, and after 1517 he was the spiritual head of *Islam*.

The grand vizier

In theory the power of the state, of all kinds, was concentrated in the sultan's hands. Actually, as in all other cases where a despotic sovereign was the ruler of large dominions, many of the sultan's tasks were performed by subordinates whom he appointed. A great part of his authority was delegated to a powerful assistant, the grand vizier (*vezir*, bearer of burdens), who had, after the time of Mohammed II, very great power. The grand vizier, though always removable at the sultan's will, had during tenure of authority power of life and death over the people, and capacity to decide as he deemed well in all matters of state. Under a strong sultan he was the principal minister; under a weak sultan he was the virtual ruler of the country. In the minds of the Turks the administration of the state was conceived as one of the tents of their nomad forefathers, with various doors (in French, *portes*) where the different kinds of business were done. So the palace of the grand vizier was conceived to be the principal door or seat of Ottoman administration, and in western Europe it came to be known as the *Sublime Porte*.

Other officials

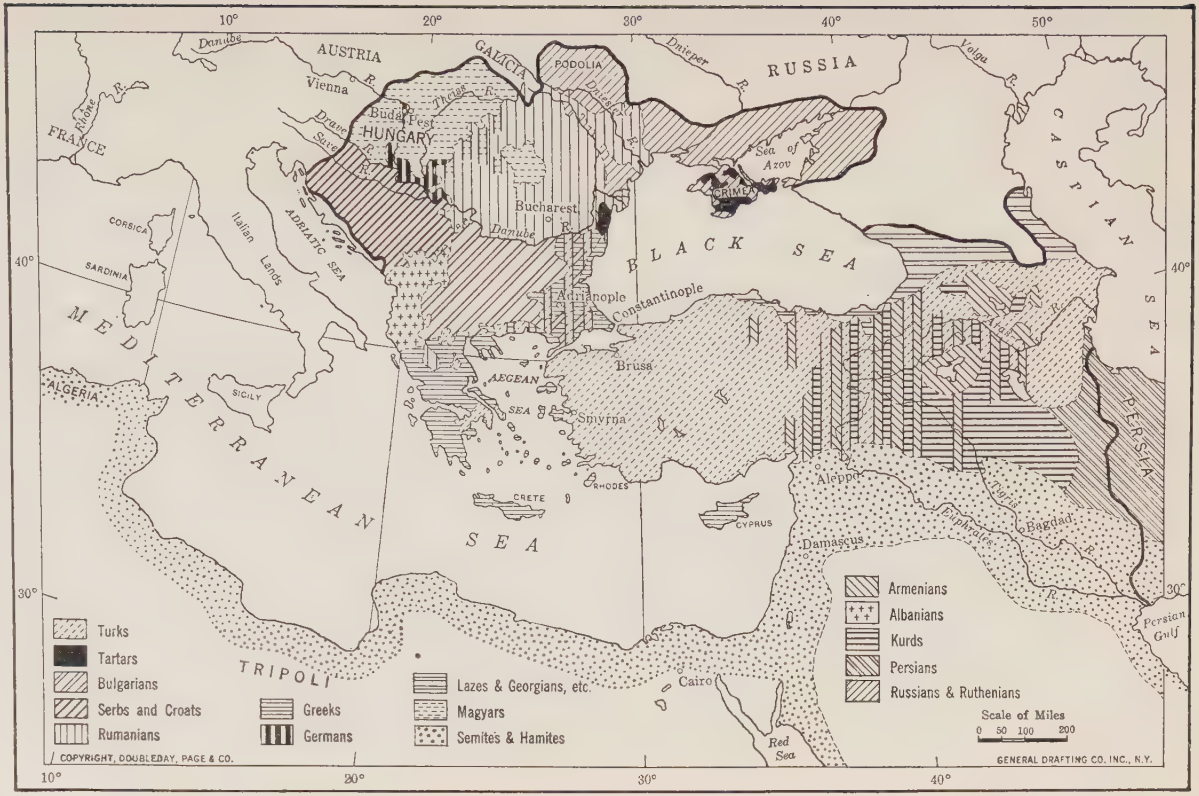
In addition to the grand vizier there were six, or fewer, viziers, who assisted in central administration and judicial business. As in England or France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, affairs were largely decided in a council, in Turkey the *divan*. This council consisted of the grand vizier and the assistant viziers, the two treasurers (*defterdars*), the secretary (*nishandshi*), two or three judges

of the army (*cadiaskers*) and the principal commanders of the military and naval forces (*beylerbeys*). Such a council was in structure not unlike the English cabinet council of the eighteenth century. The *divan* was convened at the Sublime Porte, and it sat four times a week. Here foreign affairs and matters of state were decided. Here petitions or appeals were heard, and here decisions were given in the manner of an oriental law court.

Religion

Inseparably connected with Ottoman government were religion and administration of religion. The legal and political system of the Turkish dominions rested entirely on a religious foundation. The sultan was high priest (*imam*) and religious head of the state. Originally the Ottoman princes had been merely emirs or subordinate rulers within the Seljuk dominions; and even after they became sultans of a wide-extended empire they had no title to be *caliphs* or successors and representatives of Mohammed, the prophet. One of the fundamental principles of *Islam* was that all Moslems should be governed by a single *imam*, who must be a member of the tribe of Koreish, the tribe of the prophet himself. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, this imamship was in the hands of the last of the Abbasid caliphs of Cairo. In 1517, when the sultan Selim had conquered Egypt, Mohammed Abu Jafar, the last caliph of the Abbasid line, resigned the caliphate to the sultan. Selim was also recognized by the *sherif* of Mecca, who sent him the keys of the *Kaaba* or sacred shrine. He thus became the protector of the holy places and head of the Mohammedan world. Consequences followed which were of the utmost importance in the politics of the world even four centuries later. In the Ottoman dominions the very law codes were based upon teachings of the Mohammedan faith. Two great codes were drawn up, one in the reign of Mohammed II, another in the time of Suleiman I. Both of them were based upon the *Koran*, the *Sunnas* or traditional sayings

The sultan becomes caliph



5. RACIAL MAP OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AT ITS GREATEST EXTENT

of the prophet, the "apostolic laws" given out by the prophet's disciples and apostles, and the *kiyas* or canonical decisions given out by the great *imams* of early Mohammedan times.

Religious position of the Turks

In the Ottoman dominions education was largely instruction in religion, and administration of justice was largely the enforcing of religious precepts. Christians might sometimes rise to high political power, but all that concerned religion, education, and the administration of justice was restricted entirely to Turks or fellow Moslems. The Turks thus had privileged position in the midst of more numerous subjects. According to the precepts of *Islam* it was of the utmost importance to give justice and protect the oppressed. Some modern critics believe that under the earlier sultans administration of justice, and along with it spirit of obedience to the law, was better in Turkey than in any other country of Europe. At the bottom of the judicial system were the *cadis*, who held their courts much like the justices of the peace in England, and who also drew up contracts and wills. Above them were the *mollas* or judges, the lesser *mollas* in the smaller cities, and the greater *mollas* in cities like Constantinople, Damascus, Cairo, Adrianople, Mecca, and Medina. Still higher were the *cadiaskers* or judges of the army—two in the time of Mohammed II, one for Rumelia (Europe), another for Anatolia (Asia), while a third was instituted for Syria and Egypt after the conquests of Selim. Highest of all was the *mufti* or *sheik-ul-Islam*, the highest interpreter of religion and the law, but subordinate to the *caliph* and not often venturing to oppose him.

Administration of justice

Turkish feudalism

The Turkish empire was the result of conquest. Its territory had been acquired by the sword. It was the mission of Mohammedans to conquer other peoples, and impose *Islam* upon them, or else hold them in subjection. In Europe and parts of Asia Minor the Turks lived in the midst of far more numerous Christian subjects. Accord-

ingly, the lands conquered and the people dwelling therein were apportioned among the Turkish horsemen (*spahis*) to be held on terms of military tenure, much as England was parcelled out among the vassals of William I after the Norman conquest. The Turkish fiefs, however, were not held by hereditary right, but solely by military tenure, so that no great feudal aristocracy ever developed. There were *saim* or holders of large fiefs, and *timarli*, holders of small ones. Upon the basis of these military tenures local government and administration were erected. Several fiefs large or small (*siamets* or *timars*) formed a *sanjak* (banner = province), under a lord of the *sanjak* (*sanjakbey*). Several *sanjaks* together formed an *ejalet* (government) ruled by a *beylerbey* (lord of lords). Higher *beylerbeys* ruled over groups of *ejalets* which constituted *pashalics*, and the most eminent of them all ruled as governors-general of Anatolia and of Rumelia.

Local organization

The military force upon which Ottoman power was based, by means of which had been extended the Ottoman dominions, consisted partly of a feudal host and partly of the most powerful standing army then existing in Europe. A great part of the lands of the Ottoman Empire were held by feudal tenants on condition of a stipulated military service to be rendered when called for. The holder of a small fief of a certain value or under served himself, or procured the service of one horseman fully equipped. The holder of a larger fief must provide one horseman for every 5,000 *aspers* (about $1,000) of the annual yield of the fief. About the middle of the sixteenth century it was estimated that altogether some 200,000 *spahis* served by virtue of military tenure. In addition there was a body of paid cavalry, the *spahis* of the Porte, and a small chosen corps who formed the particular bodyguard of the sultan. These paid horsemen numbered about 40,000. Finally, there were the unpaid cavalry (*akindshi*) and certain auxiliary horsemen. The

Military organization

Feudal horsemen

Peasant horsemen

akindshi were mostly peasants from the fiefs, who enjoyed exemption from certain obligations in reward for their military service. In war they formed an advance guard, everywhere seeking plunder and spreading wide desolation about. They were supposed to number 200,000 but seldom did more than a seventh of that number go out, and gradually this force was dispensed with entirely. The mounted auxiliaries were reckoned at 125,000. Altogether there was supposed to be a cavalry force of more than half a million men. Apparently sometimes almost half that number took the field.

The janissaries

The military genius of the Turk was naturally for cavalry service, but the Ottoman government organized what was for a long time the most famous and most terrible body of infantry then in existence. Early in their career of conquest the Turks exacted a tribute of boys, especially from their Christian subjects. Some of these youths, according to apparent aptitude, were prepared for official service; while others were selected to be foot-soldiers in the wars. This infantry force was first organized by the sultan Orchan, and its members were styled *yani chari* (new soldiers), whence they became known to western Europe as janissaries. They were subjected to the strictest military discipline. That they might be wholly devoted to this profession and solely in the sultan's service, they were not permitted to marry. On the other hand, they were maintained in good living and their pay was high. Carefully instructed in the Turkish language and in the Mohammedan faith as well as in the art of war, they became not only the best infantry force in Europe, but more fanatical in the service of *Islam* than the native Turks themselves. It was the janissaries who broke the Servians at Kosovo and the Hungarians at the battle of Varna; and it was they who at last stormed through the breach at Constantinople. Their profession was war, and they lived for war and for conquest. Their very existence

Long irresistible in war

made a policy of aggression necessary or easy to carry out. They were attached to warlike sultans, and despised those who wished peace. Under Suleiman they numbered some 12,000 men. Small as this force may seem at present, it must be remembered that at the time the only standing armies in western Europe were the bodyguards of kings, generally containing a few hundred soldiers, save for the standing army of the French kings, which about the middle of the fifteenth century contained some 7,000 men, and the army which the kings of Spain built up a century later. The kings of England during this period had merely a small bodyguard of gentlemen at the court. In time of emergency English kings raised armies of mercenaries or else called out the militia. So did the emperor and the German princes. The Italian city states hired mercenary hands of Swiss pikemen or German lance-knights. In permanent, powerful, organized military force the Ottoman state was far in advance of the powers of western Europe; and to a considerable extent in the fourteenth century it began to do what France began a century later.

Early standing armies

The position of greatness and of superiority over less well organized states which the Ottoman power possessed in the sixteenth century was owing to better military organization, to religious zeal, and to the powerful impulse of a youthful nation led by energetic and able rulers. For some time the Ottoman Empire was an object of dread to many of the people of Europe; and it long seemed to threaten the independence of every neighbor whom its arms could reach. During the sixteenth century, however, it was definitely checked, and Christians regained supremacy on the sea. In the seventeenth century, after various defeats, it recovered, and a great Turkish army advanced into the heart of the Holy Roman Empire. But German and Polish armies saved Vienna from the Turkish host in 1683, and shortly after Ottoman strength was largely broken by a series of disasters. During this time, the

Beginning of Ottoman decline

Great disasters

principal Christian states were consolidating strength and enlarging their dominions. They had definitely commenced that rapid progress in advancement and power that was destined to make them the most powerful states in the world. Meanwhile, the Ottoman Empire had entered a period of stagnation and decay.

The crisis in the struggle between Christians and Turks

For a time, however, during the sixteenth century the Turks threatened to get control of the western Mediterranean—as they already held the eastern half of that sea—and overrun the shores of Italy and Spain, while their armies pushed farther up the valley of the Danube. For a while the danger seemed terrible enough. England was far away, with small interest in the Mediterranean yet, and with naval power not organized and mostly still undeveloped. Such small naval strength as the German trading cities had was confined to the Baltic Sea and the North Sea. The attention of the French kings was mostly given to enterprise on land. The great naval powers of Christian Europe were Spain and Venice. The maritime power of Spain had to be scattered about an empire that now reached out all over the world. The Italian maritime cities were in decay. The naval and commercial greatness of Genoa was ruined. The Venetians had now for a hundred years held by sea the frontiers of the Christian world; and they had sustained dangerous rivalry or exhausting conflict with the Turks while their commerce was steadily declining and their naval strength slowly abating.

Turkish power on the sea

The eastern Mediterranean had become a Turkish lake. There Ottoman sea power, based upon Alexandria, the Ægean ports, and Constantinople, encountered little opposition. Turkish war-galleys swept westward to harass the commerce of the Christian peoples and plunder the coasts of Italy and Spain. During the earlier half of the sixteenth century western Europe was largely absorbed in a contest between France and Spain, which developed into a struggle between France and the Haps-

burg power. In this conflict France was for a while beset on the one side by Spain and on the other by the Netherlands and the German states, ruled or partly controlled by Charles V and afterward by his son, Philip II. In the course of this danger, France scrupled not to seek an alliance with the Turks. Sometimes French warships coöperated with Ottoman fleets, and on certain occasions French Mediterranean ports were used as bases for Turkish forays.

The Barbary pirates

Nor was this all. In the western Mediterranean, as in the eastern half, the southern shores were held by Mohammedan peoples. Tunis, Algeria, Morocco were overrun by the Arabs in the seventh century, in the course of that onrush which finally carried *Islam* from Egypt to Spain. After this time the north African coast remained aloof from Europe and European culture. During the sixteenth century Tunis and Algeria became dependencies of the Ottoman Empire. All this coast, from the ancient site of Carthage to the Strait of Gibraltar, was infested by Moorish corsairs, whose galleys swept back and forth over the sea, plundering ships, raiding the Christian coasts, and carrying off the inhabitants into terrible slavery, which Cervantes has described in one of his writings. For a long time the name of the Barbary pirates was held in terror. Watch towers were built along the shores of Italy and of Spain; bells were rung to warn the populace to flee when the sails of the pirates were descried. Many a sailor, many a peasant was seized and carried off to terrible and hopeless servitude in Algeria or Morocco. Of late the scourge had become more dreadful, since many of the Moors, driven out of Spain, crossed to Africa and sought in revenge and desperation to wreak vengeance on Christian peoples.

Dreaded in the western Mediterranean

Conflict at sea between the Christian states and the Mohammedan Moors and Turks came to issue in 1571. Suleiman was dead, but an able grand vizier was carrying

The decisive conflict

on the work of aggression under the great sultan's son, Selim II (1566–1574), and an attack was prepared on Cyprus, still the outlying possession of Venice. Urged on by the pope, Pius V, a great league was now formed, whose principal members were Spain, Venice, and the pope. A fleet of 264 ships with 75,000 men was assembled. The parts were commanded by the ablest naval captains of the day; over it all, as captain-general, was Don Juan of Austria, half-brother of Philip II of Spain. Against them was gathered an armada of 300 Turkish warships with 120,000 men. For the most part, on both sides, the ships were galleys driven forward by rowers, depending upon oars more than on sails. Off Lepanto, on the south coast of Greece, the forces of eastern and of western Europe met in mortal combat. Long before, mastery of the Roman Empire had been fought for in a battle between the navies of the east and the west off Actium near by (31 B. C.). Long afterward the war fleet of the Turks was destroyed by the navies of Great Britain and France at Navarino, not far away (1827). At Lepanto, in a desperate struggle, the Turkish admiral by maneuvering his ships sought to outflank and surround the fleet of the Christians; but his opponents, frustrating this design, closed with the Ottoman vessels. A terrible struggle followed between the military forces on the two sides, fighting much as they would have fought in a combat on land. The Spanish and the Venetian ships were heavier and stouter. In the end the Turkish fleet was nearly destroyed.

Lepanto, 1571

After Lepanto

From this notable victory small results followed. The allies lost time in quarrels and indecision, instead of carrying the war to Constantinople; and the hostile demeanor of the French made it almost necessary to go no farther. Another Turkish fleet was fitted out almost at once. Two years later Venice made a separate treaty with the Porte, abandoning Cyprus, which the Turks had taken,

and agreeing to pay tribute. Despite Lepanto, then, the Turks won the fruits of the war. And yet it afterward seemed that this battle, like the defeat of the Spanish Armada a few years later, had marked a great turning point. In the Ottoman Empire, as in Spain, internal decay was at work, which would make great alteration as time went on. Never again did the danger from a Turkish armada seem so threatening to western Europe. After gradual decline Ottoman power became small even in eastern Mediterranean waters. On the other hand, the power of the Barbary pirates was not broken, and did not decline. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries their depredations went on, and during all this time collections continued to be taken from the charitable in Christian countries to redeem Christian slaves held by the Moors. When England became strong in the Mediterranean during the eighteenth century, she was able for the most part to protect her ships and her sailors from these corsairs, but other nations continued to suffer. Not until the nineteenth century were the Moorish pirates suppressed, and their depredations not finally ended until the Barbary coast was taken by France.

The power of the corsairs not checked

On land the Turks continued a formidable menace, though less and less now influencing the destiny of other great powers. Several times during the sixteenth century they threatened the German countries. Their invasions had been one of the factors that enabled the Protestant Reformation to sustain itself against the wishes of the emperor Charles V, since on several occasions he was forced to use against the Turks armies he would gladly have employed against his Protestant subjects. Indeed, he was several times forced to grant the Protestants favorable terms in order to get their assistance. After a long and varying struggle, however, the power of the Turks on land declined also. In 1607, notwithstanding victory over the Germans in the plain of Keresztes, the Ottoman

The Turks in the sixteenth century

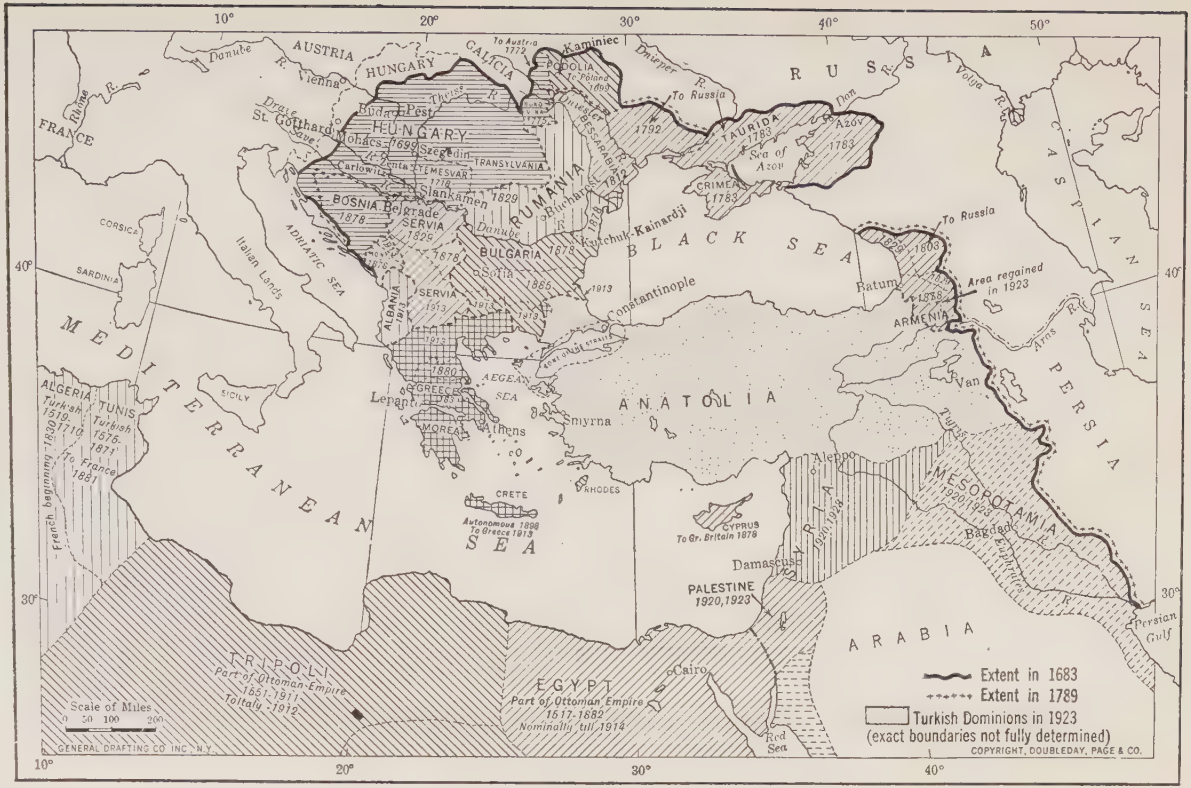
government made the Peace of Sitvatorok, in which it gave up no territory, but in which it at last acknowledged the emperor as an equal, and agreed to abandon the tribute always demanded from Austria before that.

Rapid decline

The weakness evidenced by these concessions, so different from the previous haughty demeanor of the Porte, was increased by disasters and internal dissensions. The janissaries more terrible and turbulent at home, were less effective against opponents in war. Weak sultans were set up and overthrown. In 1621 the sultan Osman II (1618–1622) attempted the conquest of Poland, but met with disaster. A period of loss, confusion, and civil war followed. Sometimes there were intervals of better conditions and of some success. In 1638 Amurath IV (1623–1640) recaptured Bagdad from the Persians, and in the reign of his successor Ibrahim (1640–1648) Crete or Candia, the last distant possession that Venice had preserved, was partly overrun.

Recovery of Turkish strength

A great recovery took place in the time of Mohammed IV (1648–1687). In 1656 an aged but very able Albanian, Mohammed Kiuprili, was made grand vizier. His strong, stern rule crushed disaffection and soon restored order. The Turks now attempted again to extend their conquests northward, and they resolved to take all of Crete. On the death of Mohammed, his son, Achmet Kiuprili became grand vizier (1661). Achmet was the ablest Turkish general of the seventeenth century. In 1663 he led a numerous host against the Austrian dominions. Not since the time of Suleiman the Magnificent had such danger alarmed central Europe. A call for help went out to the Christian powers, and even Louis XIV of France, who had been allied with the Turks, sent assistance to his Hapsburg rival. At St. Gothard near Pressburg in Styria the allies under the Austrian commander, Montecuculi, encountered the Ottoman invaders. In the military history of the Turks this was a decisive battle. For the first time the


10°
20°
30°
40°
50°
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
GALICIA
PODOLIA
Kaminiec
To Austria 1774
To Poland 1793
To Russia
RUSSIA
Danube R.
Vienna
Dniester R.
Dnieper R.
Volga R.
Don R.
FRANCE
Rhone R.
Budapest
HUNGARY
Mohacs 1699
Szegedin
TRANSYLVANIA
Carlowitz
TEMESVAR
1718
Slankamen 1829
BESSARABIA
1812
1792
TAURIDA
1783
Sea of Azov
AZOV
1783
CRIMEA
1783
CASPIAN SEA
BOSNIA
Belgrade
SERVIA
1878
1826
RUMANIA
Bucharest
1878
Kutchuk-Kainardji
1774
BULGARIA
1878
Sofia
1885
1913
To Russia
1829
1878
1803
BLACK SEA
Batum
1878
Area regained in 1923
ARMENIA
Constantinople
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Italian Lands
ADRIATIC SEA
ALBANIA
1913
1913
1913

janissaries were routed. Yet, the Austrians were glad to make peace, and by the Treaty of Vasvár (1664) the Turks kept some of their conquests. Five years later they wrested all of Crete from Venice. In this long struggle, however, between the Venetians and the Turks (1645–69), both sides had ruined their naval and economic resources.

The last great Ottoman threat

The final great threat of the Turks against Austria came somewhat later. In 1678 the portion of Hungary ruled by the Hapsburgs revolted, and the rebels were encouraged and assisted by the Turks. The Holy Roman Empire was being constantly threatened or plundered by France; and the emperor, Leopold, would gladly have kept peace with the Turks. Urged on, however, by the grand vizier, Kara Mustapha, the sultan assembled an army of 200,000 men, and in 1683 this host marched up the Danube valley in order to lay siege to Vienna. The Ottoman force defeated the Austrians who opposed them, and then encamped about the city. A determined assault, such as that long before on Constantinople, and like that which some years before had taken Bagdad, would most probably have captured Vienna; but the Turkish commander proceeded deliberately to reduce the city by siege.

Vienna saved, 1683

The place was heroically defended by a small force under Count Stahremberg. Meanwhile, the forces of the empire were gathering, and John Sobieski, king of Poland, was preparing to lead an army to the rescue. When at last Vienna was in desperate straits, the relieving army appeared. Next day it boldly fell on the Turks and utterly defeating them, drove them off with great slaughter in ruinous rout, taking from the abandoned camp an incredible spoil. All over Europe admirers of the Polish leader repeated lines from the Scriptures: "There was a man sent from God, whose name was John." Never again did a great Turkish army threaten Europe, and steadily thereafter the Moslem wave receded through the

South Slavic countries slowly down toward the Balkans.

Wider bearing of the Turkish defeat

Actually the failure before Vienna was of great significance in European politics then. Louis XIV of France was constantly encroaching on the empire, and he cherished large schemes, that could only be accomplished by the emperor's defeat. Accordingly, he much desired the continued success of the Turks, and had himself sought alliance with the Polish king. Had Vienna fallen, and the Turks gone on in success, probably Austria would have been so weakened that she could not for some time have made effective opposition to France. Actually now after 1683 Austria and the empire were delivered from the Turkish menace, and were able to assist opposition to the king of France, which first checked his aggressions, and afterward defeated him in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14).

The Holy War

After this signal triumph the Austrians and the Poles won further successes. In 1684 Poland, Venice, and the emperor formed the Holy League, and then declared war on the sultan. Two years later they were joined by the tsar of Muscovy, who wished to extend his possessions southward to the Black Sea. In the so-called Holy War (1684–99) the Turks suffered their first great losses. The Austrians advanced into Turkish Hungary. In 1686 Buda, which the Turks had held for a century and a half, was taken, and by the end of the next year almost all Hungary had been recovered. In this war the Venetians made their final great effort. Their warships controlled the waters and captured numerous places along the Adriatic and in Greece. In this struggle one of the most glorious monuments of antiquity was largely destroyed. The Venetians bombarded Athens, and a bomb exploding in the magazine which the Turks had placed on the *Acropolis*, the *Parthenon* was fatally shattered. In Moldavia the Poles had no success, and the Russians were

The *Parthenon* largely destroyed

unable to enter the Crimea. But the Venetians and the imperial armies went on from one success to another. In 1688 Belgrade was taken and a great part of Bosnia overrun. The Turks for a moment recovered some of their losses, but in 1691 they were defeated in a great battle at Szalankamen. It was in this war that Prince Eugene of Savoy gained his earlier triumphs. At the head of the imperial army he defeated the Turks at Zenta (1697), a battle in which the grand vizier himself was slain. The year before the Russians had taken Azov, at the mouth of the Don, and so got their footing on the Black Sea. The Venetians, exhausted though they were, overran all the Morea, and continued to take places along the Dalmatian coast. Crushed by these disasters the Turks accepted a disastrous peace. By the Treaty of Carlowitz (1699) the Porte ceded to the emperor all of Hungary saving the province of Temesvar, all of Transylvania, most of Slavonia, and part of Croatia. Austria now became, what she remained afterward for such a long time, a German power ruling subject Slavic provinces, in which a minority of Germans governed a numerous Slavic population beneath them. Venice gained certain islands of Greece, certain places along the Dalmatian coast, and all of the Morea or Peloponnesus. Poland regained the districts of Kamenick, Podolia, and the western Ukraine. By a treaty made with Russia three years later the Turks gave up Azov and a district about it. It was evident that the crescent was waning.

Eugene of Savoy

The Peace of Carlowitz, 1699

Russia begins to be the principal foe

The principal European opponents of Turkey had for a long time been the empire and Austria but a new opponent was rising now. A series of able Russian rulers were developing a powerful state. Its expansion in Europe would thereafter be made at the expense of its western neighbors, the Swedes, the Poles, and the Turks. In the reign of Achmet III (1703–1730) the Turks assisted Charles XII of Sweden when he fled to take refuge among

them. In 1711, indeed, the Russians crossing the Pruth into Moldavia were entirely surrounded and were presently glad to accept an agreement by which they abandoned Azov, and agreed to cease interfering with the Tartars and the Cossacks. In 1735 the Russians began another war with the Porte, and two years later Austria declared war also. In the course of this struggle the Russians overran the Crimea, and the Austrians conquered Servia and Moldavia. The Turks defended themselves with much success, however, and jealousies arising, the allies concluded separate treaties of peace (1739), by which Austria gave up her conquests in Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, and Russia merely regained Azov.

Peter the Great at the Pruth

A period of tranquillity followed, in which, none the less, decay continued. In 1768 the Turks declared war on the encroaching Russians. In this struggle they met great disasters. The Russians conquered Moldavia and Wallachia in Europe, and Armenia and Circassia in Asia, while their fleet issued from the Baltic and rounding Europe got control of the waters which the Turks once had ruled. The Frenchman, Voltaire, urged Catherine II, empress of Russia, to set the Greeks free; and the British government, contrary to its policy a century later, was quite willing that Constantinople should be taken from Turkey by Russia. But the Eastern Question now began to loom up in the politics of Europe. Austria and Prussia, and soon even England, grew jealous of great aggrandizement for their new rival, Russia. In 1771 Austria undertook to assist Turkey, but somewhat later the Ottoman army was completely beaten and the Turks forced to accept the peace of Kutchuk-Kainardji (1774). By this treaty Russia restored most of the conquests in Europe and in Asia, but Turkey renounced certain rights in Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia—which more and more now looked to Russia—while she abandoned altogether her sovereignty over the Tartars, whose country

Russian conquests

Kutchuk-Kainardji

became somewhat later the southern part of Russia itself. As reward for assistance Bukovina adjoining Transylvania was given to Austria by Turkey.

Turkey no longer a great power

By the end of the eighteenth century the Ottoman dominions were still extensive, but Turkey was no longer reckoned one of the great powers of Europe, and she had settled into such weakness and decay as had prevailed in Spain a century before. Her armies would often fight stubbornly in defensive warfare; but they were now badly organized, and their offensive campaigns were no longer feared; while Turkish sea-power was virtually gone.

Causes of Turkish decadence

The causes of this decline are interesting, for the Turks had once been the most enterprising and aggressive people in Europe, and their organization had seemed more effective than that of any of their neighbors or rivals. The principal aptitude and interests of the Turks had never been for the sea; hence, after a while, their naval power easily abated. Their military strength declined absolutely as time went on; and relatively, as the western peoples progressed and advanced, it declined more greatly still. The principal basis of Turkish military power was the feudal system, and from deep underlying causes, in the course of centuries feudalism became less effective all over Europe. During this time the peoples of western and central Europe developed an ability of invention which presently made their equipment more effective and their weapons more terrible than those which the Turks possessed.

The janissaries less formidable

The janissaries, once so formidable, became, as the Pretorian Guard had once been in the Roman Empire, masters of the government and a turbulent menace to the state; and when after a while they were allowed to marry and engage in trade, their military ardor declined. The spirit of fatalism, that possessed the Turks along with other Mohammedan peoples, was contrary to progress and advancement. Those who believed in *kismet* tried not to alter or make things better. Finally the Turks never

displayed any ability in constructing a nation from the peoples whom they subdued. In the conquered countries they were only a minority, and multitudes of their European subjects remained in the Christian faith. A great part of the population of the Ottoman Empire was held as half alien and inferior, and the Turks ruled by dividing their subjects. In other parts of Europe great nations were slowly being formed; but the Turks remained, with diminishing strength, intruders ruling over a larger conquered population that never had Turkish national feeling, and at no time had strong devotion to the Ottoman state.

No great Turkish nation formed

Conquered peoples held by force

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CHAPTER IV

THE RENAISSANCE

Mitto tibi orationes Ciceronis in Verrem recte quidem scriptas, sed ut videbis male emendatas. Qui enim corrigere voluit, eas plane corrupit. Quamobrem tuæ diligentiæ erit, non quæ postea mutata sunt, sed quæ prius erant, transcribi jubere. . . .

LEONARDI BRUNI ARRETINI (1369–1444), *Epistolarum Libri VIII* (Florence, 1741) i. 49.

Was this the face that lancht a thousand shippes?
And burnt the toplesse Towres of Ilium?
Sweete Helen, make me immortall with a Kisse:
. . . . . .
I wil be Paris, and for loue of thee,
Insteede of *Troy*, shal *Wertenberge* be sackt,
And I wil combate with weake *Menelaus*,
And weare thy colors on my plumed Crest:
Yea, I wil wound *Achillis* in the heele,
And then return to *Helen* for a kisse.
O thou art fairer then the euening aire,
Clad in the beauty of a thousand starres,
Brighter art thou then flaming *Iupiter*
When he appeared to haplesse *Semele*. . . .

CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE, *The Tragicall History of D. Faustus* (c. 1588, ed. London, 1604) scene XIII.

Change and mankind

CHANGE is the condition of earthly things, of mankind and mankind's surroundings. With the more important changes history is largely concerned. Since alteration is the sole condition upon which things may be made to be better, the strong and progressive often desire it. Because changes frequently make matters worse conservatives often oppose them. Actually alteration is unending. The most unchanging countries have endured the slow metamorphosis of time, and in some the whole face of things has again and again been altered. None the less,

during most of the time that we know of, things have changed very slowly with most of earth's peoples.

Status and slow alteration

When European explorers took possession of Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they found most of that continent held by people whose status had varied so little that they still remained in primitive conditions utterly forgotten in Europe. For the most part it was so in the Americas down to the end of the fifteenth century. There most of the inhabitants preserved semi-savage conditions not known in Europe for thousands of years. In China and in India, the home of nearly half of mankind, there had once been large progress, and an old civilization had developed; but then custom and convention had hardened, and despite much violence and political revolution, larger progress had come to an end. From such rigidity and repose Japan awakened a half century ago to marvellous alteration and triumph. In west Asia, in northeastern Africa about the valley of the Nile, and in parts of Europe, alteration was once more continuous and sometimes progress was rapid; though for many hundreds of years now these African and Asiatic districts have fallen back into torpor, while eastern Europe has seldom risen much from it.

The western half of Europe

In western and central Europe, however, toward the end of the Middle Ages, a series of mighty changes began which profoundly altered conditions. These changes resulted partly from the quality and high development of some of the people, partly from capacity to take up the best done before them, partly from geographical position, and from interaction of numerous causes. From these changes followed much misery and many evil results. Out of them also grew progress and enlargement of power, that put the people of western Europe far ahead of all other peoples, made them long the teachers and masters of the rest of the world, and gave a great part of the world directly into their keeping.

Medieval civilization

In the earlier Middle Ages the western half of Europe was a backward and out-of-the-way part of the world. In England, in the Spanish, the French, the Italian, and the German lands, there was a strong and vital civilization intensely interesting to the student now; but the people of all these lands were in culture, refinement, and possession of knowledge, far behind the inhabitants of the Byzantine Empire and of the Saracenic dominions beyond. To the Greeks of Constantinople the Frankish crusaders were simple-minded, bold, rough soldiers to be used but kept out of the way; and they seemed merely barbarians to some of the Saracens whom they encountered. There was no other city in Europe to be compared with Constantinople; and Bagdad was then the center of the civilization of the world. The dying Byzantine Empire still had the inheritance of the Greek civilization of old. This antique culture along with what had been developed in India and Persia was studied and enlivened and transmitted by a long line of Saracen thinkers and writers. Thence from time to time a little came over to western Europe, especially in the period of the Crusades (1096–1272). But western Europe lagged far behind. It had not yet established much contact with ancient civilization nor developed a better culture of its own.

The earlier awakening or renaissance

For the last three centuries, however, of medieval times progress and change in west Europe had gone forward so rapidly that it is only by comparison with the much larger and greater alteration which followed that advancement in these times can seem small. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was a magnificent outburst of artistic and creative energy. It was then that Dante, greatest writer of the Middle Ages, composed his *Divina Commedia*, one of the half-dozen greatest books in the world. It was also one of the most striking periods in the history of architecture and sculpture. In Spain the mighty cathedrals at Burgos, Toledo, and Leon; in France

the vast and glorious edifices at Chartres, Amiens, Bourges, Beauvais, Paris, and Mont-Saint-Michel; in England the simpler but very beautiful buildings at Salisbury, Canterbury, Gloucester, Lincoln, Durham, and York, afford the finest church architecture existing; and the vast multitude of statues and carvings which some of them still retain are the living mirror of the life of the time that produced them.

Latin in the Middle Ages

For a long time also there had been considerable writing in western Europe. The small number of learned people whom the conditions of these times could produce used the Latin language. This had been handed down along with other parts of the civilization of the Roman Empire. For a long time it was the basis of such culture as existed in the new barbarian kingdoms; and long afterward, in the feudal period, Latin continued to be the principal tie binding together the educated people of the various countries. Especially had it been taken by the church. Since the church was common to all these peoples, since it aspired to be Catholic or universal, it must have one language to bind its members together. Latin was used in the church services—though often the lesser clergy knew of it very little—and it was used by the higher clergy in keeping their records, and for intercourse with each other in church assemblies, synods, and councils. During most of this time few could read and write excepting the clergy. Hence the numerous lives of the saints and works of divinity and devotion are in medieval Latin, while the historical accounts of this time, the monkish chronicles, are in the same tongue. For a long time, indeed, this "low" Latin, so filled with words which Cicero and Virgil never had seen, but so much simpler in construction than classical Latin, and hence so much easier to read, was the principal written language of western Europe, as its parent Latin had been.

The "low" Latin

Meanwhile, with much less erudition but with more

reality and living content, vernacular literatures were growing up in different districts, embodying the language spoken and written by people in the different portions of western Europe. Long before, in these provinces of the Roman Empire Latin had generally come to be spoken, though probably alongside it continued to be used some of the dialects of the conquered peoples. Doubtless this spoken Latin was generally much simpler than what has come down in the classical writings—so filled with inflections, so involved in structure, so frequently packed with meaning. What was spoken, most probably, was simple in construction, and direct, as spoken language is apt to be, with the numerous inflections of the words generally dropped. This Latin survived as the principal part of the language of the people in all those countries, except Britain, which had been parts of the Roman Empire—among the Spaniards, the French, the Italians, and others. In each case the Germanic conquerors brought in many words, but nine tenths of the people's vocabulary was finally taken from the Latin. In no case, however, was the resultant tongue Latin with a mere addition of alien words. The vocabulary was mostly derived from the Latin, but, in the various districts, each word had gradually been changed more or less largely. The Latin *pater* (father) ultimately became *padre* in Italian, *padre* in Spanish, *pao* in Portuguese, *père* in French. In countries once held and still peopled by Germans, and in Britain, which Germanic tribes made completely their own, Germanic dialects were spoken, while kindred Scandinavian tongues prevailed farther north. In outlying portions of Europe —in Brittany, in Wales, in Ireland, in the Highlands of Scotland, remnants of Celtic held their own as the tongue of the people.

Language used by the people

The Romance tongues

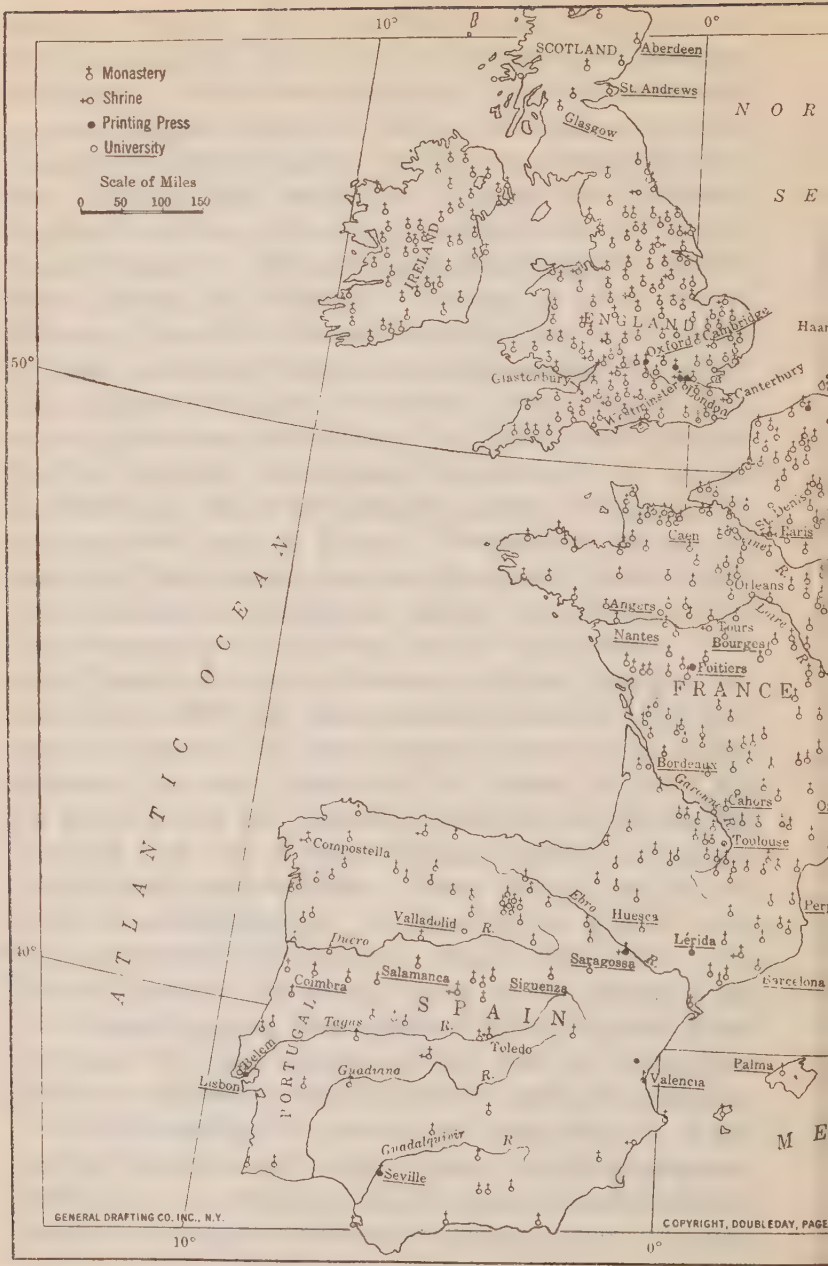
From these languages spoken by the people fine old literatures were developed. The Celtic people, especially the Irish, had their tales, their legends and songs, and epic

Vernacular literatures

poems of heroes. From the Welsh came the stories of Arthur, ultimately one of the great themes in the literature of Europe. Among Scandinavians, especially in Iceland, appeared sagas of kings and heroes, with their marvellous content of northern myth. Germans in Suabia produced the *Niebelungenlied*, while their kinsmen who conquered England had long before given *Beowulf* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The later English language reached its flower during the fourteenth century in the poems of Chaucer. In all the Teutonic dialects there was a wealth of lesser poems and ballads, especially among the English and southern Germans. Of ballads, poems, and songs a copious store was amassed by all of the Romance peoples, the best being the love songs of the troubadours, written in Provençal—the French tongue spoken in what now is the southern part of France. Meanwhile, among the northern French, many long epic poems and tales in verse were composed, embodying stories of Arthur and of Charlemagne, and traditional deeds of the Franks. The most famous of these is *Chanson de Roland* (Song of Roland, about 1100), the first great monument of the literature of France. In Spain among many other things appeared the epic *Poema del Cid* (Poem of the Cid). In Italy, where the language remained nearest to the Latin, a long line of poems display gradual divergence from the rude spoken Latin. Then suddenly, at the end of the thirteenth century, the literature of Italy at once finds its grandest culmination in Dante (1265–1321). His *Divine Comedy* is the living mirror of the Middle Ages; yet it appears as the sure herald of something new about to come. It was, indeed, in Italy that the immediate successors of Dante brought forth the Italian Renaissance.

The *Chanson de Roland*

Notwithstanding the beauty and force of much of this writing, however, and in spite of much excellent progress, the change and advance in these times appeared afterward, small when compared with what now was begun. In after



7. MAP OF WESTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE, SHOWING PRINCIPAL S
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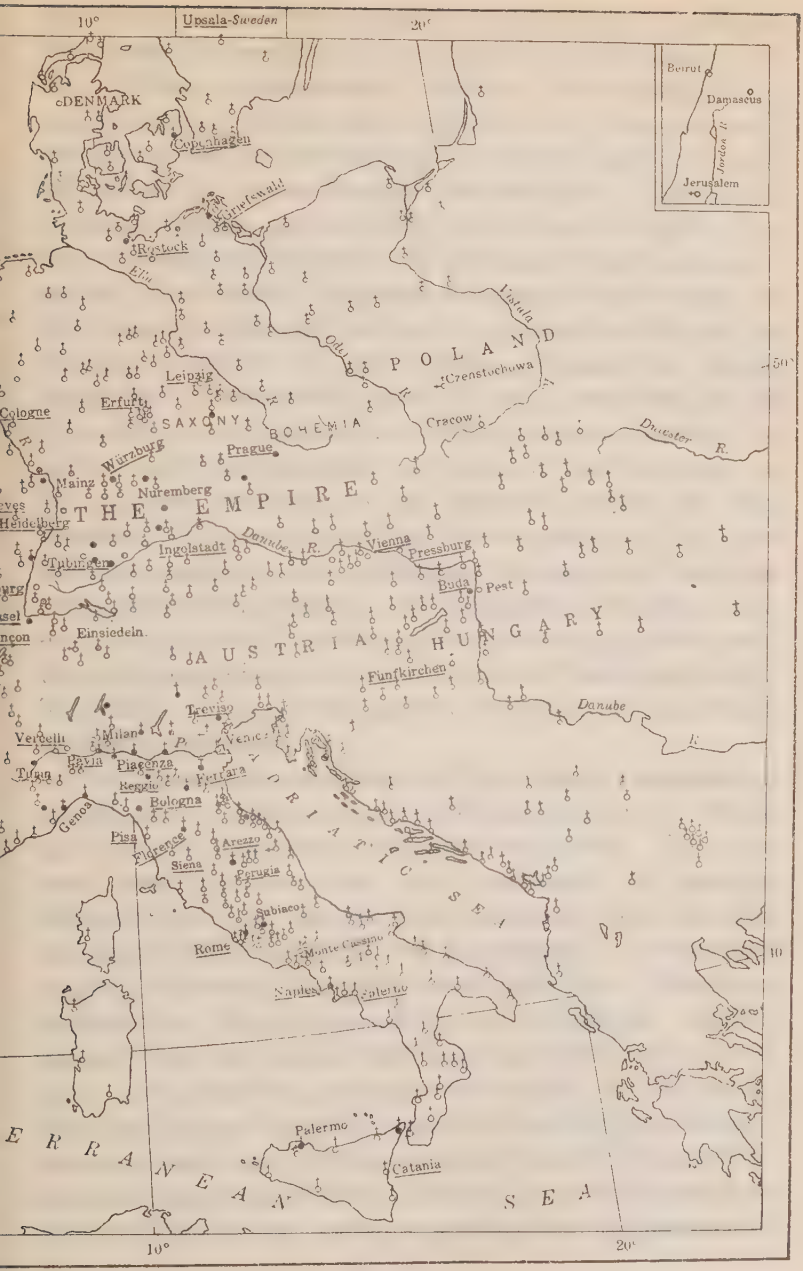

ONASTERIES, UNIVERSITIES, AND PRINTING PRESSES FROM ABOUT
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Obstacles hindering progress

days, indeed, it often seemed that there was in medieval European life much that prevented any large change and any striking advancement. This was not primarily because so many people were illiterate then, since not until the second half of the nineteenth century could even half the people in western Europe read and write. Nor was it because Europe was so much broken up in knight's fees and counties and duchies. It was much more because a simple agricultural organization prevailed over most of the country, and this has never advanced civilization or the arts very far. It was, directly, because the church controlled such education as there was, and much as the church had contributed to civilize western Europe, its system and the principles on which it was founded opposed great obstacles to any progress outside its own bounds. It is very true that later on some of the popes became leaders in the intellectual changes and were patrons of the Renaissance. In the opinion of many, however, by so doing they seemed to revert to paganism, and this had something to do with the later Protestant revolt. Thereafter the popes returned to the policy of the church in medieval times.

The Roman Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church, like all great ecclesiastical organizations, declared that its foundation was the truth and that its teachings embodied the truth. This had been from the first, and so it remained. It logically followed that there had at no time been any error, and that the great doctrines could not be changed. The church leaders, especially the popes, were infallible. Doctrines enounced by them were not to be questioned. Such a system does not preclude all progress, since in course of time new conditions produce new things to be added. But nothing can be added contradicting doctrines already enounced, and none of the old must ever be abandoned. On these principles have been erected some of the greatest organizations in the world, especially the Mohammedan

religion and the Roman Catholic faith. It is only the vicissitudes of time and the teachings of modern psychology that have made many people consider such premises invalid.

The church and education

Directly or indirectly the church controlled all medieval education. The earliest schools were in the monasteries, and the monks and higher ecclesiastics almost the only persons who could write. In course of time a few great schools of learning, or universities as they were known (*universitas*—corporation of teachers, or of students), arose, as at Paris, Salamanca, Oxford, and Cambridge. But in these universities many of the most important teachers were ecclesiastics; theology was the most important study; and the methods of theologians and churchmen prevailed.

Medieval studies

In medieval schools the liberal arts to be mastered by a cultivated man in the course of his study were the *trivium*, or group of three—grammar, rhetoric, logic—regarded as the very instruments for further study of the more important things, and the secondary group of four, the *quadrivium*—arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. Arithmetic then was only the most elementary mathematics, not capable of being used in intricate or large calculations. Geometry embodied some of the simpler theorems handed down from the Greeks. Astronomy was mostly astrology, a study of stars for foretelling future events. Above these preliminary studies, or such of them as the beginner believed he might need, lay the greater ones—theology, most important of all, offering then the best road to advancement; and law, of which the field was second only to that of the church. Medicine also was studied, especially at the university of Bologna.

Medieval education

Study of theology was often necessary for those who aspired to more important positions in the church. They must master the sacred lore of the Bible, the doctrines of the church, and the comments and elucidations made by

church fathers and accepted by the church as correct. Study of the law was largely study of the Roman law embodied in Justinian's code, though more or less in different places it embraced consideration of what was being developed in local courts. In both these fields the principal requisites were careful mastery of the writings, the words, of others and vigorous reasoning therefrom. In both of them the principal instrument was logic; the principal method deduction. For the most part there was almost nothing of scientific work. The alchemists did, indeed, lay the early foundations of chemistry. Roger Bacon and some others had apparently crossed the threshold of chemistry and physics. But generally there was not much attempt at experiment and study by observation and trial. The method of reasoning by induction—making many observations or experiments and drawing from the numerous results some single conclusion—was not yet employed.

Theology and law

The methods of the medieval schoolmen, or learned men of those times, had to do principally with theology, and with philosophy closely related thereto; but in general their methods characterized study of all other matters. In the scholastic system some authority or received opinion was taken as the premise or foundation from which to proceed, and from this was developed a conclusion believed necessarily true. The method of the schoolmen was deduction, and the syllogism was the logical process which they liked to employ. The simplest form of syllogism was one with such a major premise as "All men are mortal," a minor premise —"A is a man," whence followed the conclusion: "A is mortal." In the development of philosophy such logical method had been carried very far by the old Greek masters. The syllogism is the simplest form of reasoning, the one that is, perhaps, most often performed correctly. Deduction always has been, and, doubtless, always will be, one of the most important

The scholastic method

The syllogism

processes employed by the human mind. But deduction, however justly employed, cannot by itself accomplish the largest results. The method at present employed is first to ascertain things by study, observation, experiment, and then, from the data so procured, attempt to learn laws and causes. Here the formal medieval method was defective. It relied on deduction, without any large amount of ascertained information to furnish the premises from which the reasoning could be done.

Scholasticism and the church

The modern student relies upon experiment. The medievalist leaned upon authority taught and accepted. This followed from the influence of the church on education, and from the theologians' attitude toward learning. A great part of the activity of the acutest minds of the Middle Ages was devoted to religious and philosophical speculation on the basis of dogmas sanctioned by the church. These premises had the authority of the church behind them. Extraordinary ingenuity was employed in trying to ascertain further information by using them and making deductions from them. When, as was sometimes the case, the conclusions were at variance with what the church required to be believed, the unfortunate speculator was driven to retract, or held as a heretic, mistaken and errant.

Discovery and invention hindered

While a large part of all learned work had to do with theology and religion, some scientific work was attempted. On the basis of authority, however, and merely with the aid of syllogisms and deduction, very little could ever be accomplished. The authority here was the teachings of the church with the addition of some old scientific work done by the Greeks, especially Aristotle, learned of not directly from the remaining works of the masters, but from translations made by the Arabs—these translations then done into Latin. Hence, very little of important scientific discovery was made during the Middle Ages. The mariner's compass was, indeed, invented, but its use

was discovered empirically by sailors, not by learned men. Gunpowder was introduced into Europe, but it is believed to have been brought from the East. There was little hope of learning anything more about the parts of the human body or about the properties of various metals, so long as the schoolmen searched Aristotle or the church fathers, instead of experimenting with the objects themselves. Altogether, scholastic philosophy and learning are reckoned among the most barren achievements ever accomplished by earnest and powerful minds. The principal result is sometimes thought to have been that in the intense activity and application employed in reasoning with words, the meanings of various words were more sharply defined and determined than had ever before been the case.

Lack of experimentation

Absorption in theology, obedience to the authority of the church in all intellectual matters, reliance upon scholastic methods, were partly the cause, partly the result of the medieval attitude of mind toward things of the world. After the Bible the most famous and influential book of the Middle Ages was St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (City of God). Here it was expounded that there were two kingdoms: the less important—the kingdom of the earth, and the city or state of God, which man would know in the life hereafter. The one could be ignored and despised, the other should be cherished and sought for. The monastic ideal was that dangerous temptations of this world should be shunned, that they could best be avoided by withdrawing from the world, as far as might be, in some religious community apart. There the world, the flesh, and the devil might be driven away by prayer, meditation, and fasting. The monastic ideal was, perhaps, the most striking element in medieval thought. Those who held it deliberately strove to turn away their thoughts from man, the world, the pleasures and beauties of the world, and fix them upon religion, the fight against

The monastic ideal

The world to be shunned

sin, and attaining salvation in the world hereafter. Not but what most people were principally occupied with earthly things and not but that there were many filled with joy and eager in contemplation of the beauties around them. None the less, much of the best thought went into other channels, and religious and ascetic ideals absorbed a great part of the best of the thought of the educated men of the time.

Causes of change

A great change was being prepared by gradual alteration in western Europe. From the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onward the power of some of the stronger rulers was being increased, and this brought more of stability and order. Some of the crusaders had come back, their minds filled with wonder at the high and brilliant civilization they had seen in the east. In France, in western Germany, in Spain, in England, especially in Flanders and in northern Italy, cities had grown strong and great, capable of being centers of prosperity and culture. In Flanders and above all in Italy now, new thoughts and achievements began to attract much attention.

Petrarch, "the first modern scholar"

Francesco Petrarca (1304–74), a younger contemporary of Dante, was like Dante of a Florentine family. The glorious development of Italian literature was carried forward by him. In Italian he wrote poems of such excellence and beauty that they influenced the literature of his own country and that of all western Europe as well. Half a century before, the Provençal poets spurning the monastic ideal, had written of love and beauty and youth, but the arm of the church had been stretched out against them; then the crusade against the Albigenses had crushed the literature and culture of the southern French. Now Petrarch in his poems turned away from monastic and medieval conceptions. He rejoiced in the beauty of beautiful objects; he took keenest pleasure in the things of nature and the world. To him and men like him, the courtesy of men, the loveliness of women, the glory of the

sea, the majesty of mountains, the sparkle and flash of sunlight, the beauty of the southern sky, were far more than emaciated saints carved by altars, or abiding horror of sin and damnation. So there was developed the ideal of humanism, the ideal of those deeply interested in man (*homo*, *humanus*), and of all man's surroundings and problems. Petrarch himself considered that his most important literary works were his Latin letters (*Epistolæ Familiares*) and his poetical writings in Latin. He and others prided themselves now on finer Latin scholarship and on knowledge of the writings of the masters of old; for in the old classical writings they saw beauty and perfection of form, and much of the humanistic spirit that was so greatly firing and quickening their minds.

Humanism

For the most part, knowledge of the classical writings of Rome and especially of Greece had greatly declined in western Europe in the Middle Ages. Greek had been almost entirely forgotten, and there were times when probably not half-a-dozen scholars in western Europe could read very much of it. What was known of the literature of Greece was a little transmitted by Latin writers, or some indirect acquaintance with a few works through the translations of Moorish or Arabic scholars. Greek was still the living speech of a large population in Asia Minor and about the Ægean, and the works of the old Greek masters were still cherished at Constantinople; but with this Greek world most of western Europe had little to do. With old Latin works the case was better, for Latin continued to be the language of nearly all scholars in western Europe. The great Roman classics had been largely forgotten, however, or else had been purposely neglected. An intolerant spirit pervaded the church with respect to all pagan writings, and it had often been regarded as sinful to read them. Accordingly, notwithstanding that some of the classics were only preserved because they had been copied

The classical writings largely forgotten

Preserved by the monks

in the *scriptoria* of the monasteries—especially in the houses of the Benedictines—to a very great extent they were now forgotten and covered with dust. Boëthius, who had written in the sixth century, the last and one of the least of the classical Latin writers, was the favorite in the Middle Ages, largely because of what seemed the religious tone of his work. Horace, Plautus, Cicero, and Lucan, when thought of at all, were apt to be shunned as pagans. Virgil was remembered as a great thinker and a magician rather than as author of the noblest poetry that Rome had produced. So little were the classics regarded that probably from many manuscripts works were erased to give place for monkish lives of saints or religious discourses and stories.

The Latin classics were in some places kept and enjoyed

That knowledge of the excellence of classical literature lingered on in some places there can be no doubt. At the school of Paderborn in Germany in the eleventh century Virgil, Horace, Statius, and Sallust were studied. A little later a certain teacher of Chartres led his students to the Latin writers and based his instruction in rhetoric upon what Quintilian and Cicero had written. In the twelfth century the Englishman, John of Salisbury, was devoted to Cicero and Horace. "Thou art my master," says Dante of Virgil, and it is under the guidance of Virgil that he imagines himself to traverse the depths of the Hell he created. During the early renaissance of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries some of the best Latin writers were loved and enjoyed—Cæsar, Suetonius, Livy, Ovid, Martial, and Lucan, while Terence was particularly liked. But the attitude of the scholastic teachers was strongly against cultivation of the pagan classical writers, and devotion to

The schoolmen hostile

the beauty of their style. Scholastic influence favored study of theology and metaphysic, and the Latin thus used was a humble instrument—the low Latin—without any grace of style. In England, in Germany, and in France, during the later thirteenth and the fourteenth

centuries, study of ancient literature rather lost than gained ground.

The classical Renaissance in Italy

In Italy the scholastic influence had always been much less than elsewhere. Now, with growth of the new spirit of humanism which characterized Petrarch's time and which he did so much to forward, there was immense revival of interest in the writings of Greece and of Rome. More men began to read such old Latin works as were to be found. Then, stimulated by a new spirit, which speedily heightened to a fine enthusiasm, they searched far and wide to find others. Old libraries and monastery rooms were ransacked for possible treasures. Some travelled about searching for manuscripts with all the zest of a lover, or of one who is seeking his fortune. The wealthy employed agents to look through the muniment rooms and cellars of religious houses, and explore every likely place. This search was richly rewarded with treasures. Petrarch found a copy of Quintilian's *Institutions*. An agent of the Vatican discovered the lost code of Plautus. The *Annales* of Tacitus were found in Germany and sent to Rome. Most famous of these collectors was Poggio, who recovered Lucretius, Vitruvius, Silius Italicus, and one of Cicero's orations. These men, filled with the spirit of their quest, conceived themselves liberators, releasing beloved friends from the darkness and prison of ages.

Revival of the study of Greek

Of the heritage bequeathed by Greece there was much more to recover, since knowledge of the Greek literature and language had nearly perished in western Europe. In the early Middle Ages the Irish monks almost alone had done something to keep it alive, but when Ireland was overwhelmed by the Danish invasions, this feeble light was extinguished. When in the fourteenth century Italian humanists tried to learn Greek, there did not exist for them even the means of beginning the study of a tongue so different from any they knew. Petrarch laments that

Boccaccio and others study Greek

he was never "so fortunate" as to learn it. Boccaccio, his friend and devoted disciple, is the first Italian scholar of the Renaissance known to have made any progress in Greek. The revival of this study in the west was made possible by persuading certain highly educated Greeks of Constantinople to settle in Italy, especially in Florence. First and most important was Manuel Chrysoloras, who lectured at Florence in 1397, and composed a Greek grammar for learners. Enthusiastic students crowded his hall, to learn what they could. A wonderful new era seemed now to open. After seven hundred years Greek was being brought back. "My dreams at night were filled with what I had learned by day," says Bruni, one of the pupils.

Greek literature recovered for western Europe

Quest for Greek manuscripts soon went far beyond the search that was made for the Latin. Students and book-lovers sought them because they loved them; wealthy men and princes because of prestige that came from possession. Such search was made as now goes on for the rarest printed books. There was nothing to be found in Italy or the west, but Constantinople was a vast treasure-house. During the last half century before that city fell to the Turks (1453), scholars and students went there to hunt, and also the emissaries of merchants and princes. In 1423 Aurispa, one of the most zealous searchers, returned to Italy with 238 Greek manuscripts; and others brought almost as many. Soon there sprang up a regular business of importing manuscripts of classics, and another business of making copies of the manuscripts acquired. Vespasiano da Bisticci of Florence acted as agent in procuring manuscripts, and employed numerous copyists to make transcriptions in beautiful writing.

Greek manuscripts found and copied

Few readers now will ever realize what this revival of learning, this rediscovery of the great writings of old, meant to the humanists of Renaissance days. In the works of the best Latin writers they had language used

with a nobility, a majesty, a force, that Dante alone had attained since then. No one since that time had had the marvellous simplicity and strength of Cæsar, nor the brevity and skill of Tacitus, nor the beauty and ease which Cicero displayed. Study of these works raised the student to a loftier level, and gave him something of the noble superiority of mind that comes from a higher education. It became now the ambition of cultivated men, as it had been the ambition of Petrarch, to discard the ruder Latin that had so long done service, and write in the polished and grander style which the Latins themselves had so finely developed.

Influence of the Latin classics

More precious were the treasures from Greece. Much that was best in the literature of Rome had been borrowed or copied from the Greeks, and no Latin writer had ever quite entered the company of those who made the glory of the literature of Hellas. The manuscripts being brought now from Constantinople contained the most important body of information that existed then in the world. They contained also the best and most beautiful writings that had ever been composed, writings which in literary quality remain still unrivalled save by the best in the English, the French, and the German literatures alone. The Greeks had carried almost every kind of writing to perfection. Homer had been the first of poets, and his *Iliad* remains the greatest epic in the world. Their tragedians, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripedes, along with Aristophanes, the comic master, stand in the rank of dramatists next below Shakespeare. Thucydides is still first among historical writers; Xenophon and Herodotus remain among the best and most entertaining. The Attic orators were the masters of written oration, and Demosthenes is the greatest orator whose speeches remain to be read. The beauty of the prose in the *Dialogues* of Plato is still, perhaps, almost unequalled; the philosophic content of his writings reveals him among the greatest of

Influence of the Greek classics

Perfection of the old writings

The glory of Greek literature

thinkers. In sheer loveliness of writing, in beauty and perfection of form, in just proportion, in pathos, nobility, clearness, in force of expression, the literature of Greece was then beyond all compare. Notwithstanding what has been written in modern literatures, since the Renaissance, this literature still stands proudly first; and a certain preëminence it still may have a thousand years from our time. Moreover, it was not merely literary excellence which some of these manuscripts embodied. Science, philosophy, most branches of learning, had been carried by the Greeks far beyond anything done before, and far beyond anything done again for fifteen hundred years after their time. Aristotle had been the "master of those who know." This work was not entirely lost to Europe in the Middle Ages, but now it could be better revived, and studied from the original sources.

The Renaissance: intellectual rebirth and expansion

After long generations of simplicity, in the midst of disorder and confusion, changing conditions had gradually brought forth in some favored parts of western Europe, especially in northern Italy, people keen, fresh, strong, at the very threshold of finer development. To them now came this fine inheritance, bequeathed from olden times. As they received it, the quickening of soul, the heightening of spirit, the broadening and deepening of mind, made for them such a vast metamorphosis of things, that this revival of antique letters seemed indeed to have caused a renaissance (*renasci*, to be born again), a rebirth of intellect and soul. A new spirit came to many men now: a clearer and more wonderful perception of what beauty was, a strange, fierce joy in beauty, a more enlightened and critical spirit, a disposition to question mere authority—as the Greeks would have done—and seek rational explanation of causes, a contempt for medieval superstition and submissiveness, a desire to know and understand.

New spirit and new outlook

In any event, large alterations would have followed, but

now occurred an event which effected a vast revolution. Hitherto it had not been possible to have many books. To write out the manuscript of any large work was often the labor of years, as the monks performed it. Even when groups of expert copyists worked more quickly, as they were now doing with the manuscripts brought to Florence and Venice, the copies were costly and there never could be very many. From ancient times in China there had been the device of cutting words on blocks of wood, and imprinting these words by means of ink upon paper. In the later Middle Ages not a few "block books" had thus been printed in Europe. But sometime about the middle of the fifteenth century, either the German, Johannes Gutenberg of Mainz, or, more probably, the Dutchman, Lourens Coster of Haarlem, changed the whole process by using movable type, that is, a type for each letter. There is much obscurity about this subject, but probably the invention of movable type is to be ascribed to Coster, and it would seem that the first book so printed was the *Speculum Nostræ Salutis* (Mirror of Our Salvation), about 1440. The invention was long attributed to Gutenberg, probably because he along with Schöffer and with Fust, a rich citizen of Mainz, made considerable improvements, and first carried out printing on a large scale. The oldest large printed book was a Latin Bible (the *Forty-two-lined Bible*, or the *Mazarin Bible*) printed about 1455.

The invention of printing

Movable type

The new art was spread rapidly over Europe, and made possible many of the larger changes that followed. A printing press was set up in Naples in 1465. A large establishment was founded in Rome two years later. Others arose almost immediately after in Venice, Milan, and Verona. In 1470 there was a press in Paris. Twenty years later printing had reached Constantinople and by that time was well known in every large city of Europe. The art had been introduced into England in 1467 by William Caxton. Ten years later appeared the first book

Spread of the art of printing

printed in English, and by 1491 Caxton had printed most of the important English writings then existing. A Greek grammar was printed in Milan in 1476, and the *Pentateuch* in Hebrew characters six years later. In 1516 a polyglot Bible was printed at Genoa, in Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldaic, Greek, and Latin. The letters of the type were modelled after those in the handwriting of the manuscripts, and as various hands occurred, various printed letters resulted. Pointed, angular letters, afterward known as Gothic type, were much employed at the start. They were closely related to the type generally used in printing German at present. The Roman type, usually employed now in western Europe, in the Americas, and everywhere in English-speaking countries, was introduced at Rome in 1467. The sloping, so-called Italic type, was made at Venice about 1501. Some of the great printing establishments became renowned for the multitude of the books which they issued, and also for the goodness of their work —the Aldi of Venice, the Estiennes of Paris, Plantin of Antwerp, Elzevir of Amsterdam and Leyden. *Elzevirs* and *Aldines* now are eagerly bought in auction rooms by book-collectors. The German Benedictines, Schweinheim and Pannartz, issued many first printed editions (*editiones principes*) of the Latin classics at Rome. By 1515 Aldo Manuzio at Venice had issued twenty-eight first printed editions of the Greek classics.

Various styles of type

The invention of printing was one of the greatest steps in the history of human progress and change. Without it the Reformation might not have taken place, and the Renaissance could scarcely have become a large movement. The hope of the democracy, that some hundreds of years later on was to rise so high, would be based largely on better education of the masses of the people. Without a great number of books, education could never have been spread very far beyond the few people in the upper classes. Hitherto a single book written by hand

Consequences of the invention of printing

had been a rare and a precious possession, and a few hundred manuscripts formed large libraries during the Middle Ages. Now, with the invention of printing by movable type, books could be produced increasingly cheap and in numbers increasingly larger. Accumulated information and the discoveries and advancement of each generation were now easily preserved, and as easily handed on to all who could use them. The good would not be without some evil. In the future it would be found that as greater numbers could be informed and instructed, so because of printing and resultant propaganda could more people be deceived and deluded. It was the benefits, however, that were most important, and few inventions have contributed more to the advancement and well-being of mankind.

Numerous copies of books

It was a fortunate coincidence that material upon which printing could be done was becoming more abundant. In the Middle Ages the monks had not seldom lacked material for their writing. Parchments, made from skins, were generally employed, and while many were used, the supply was never sufficient for large numbers of copies of the same manuscript. The Egyptians had used a substance made from the vegetable fibre of their plant, papyrus, and the name *paper*, taken from this word, was afterward given to similar materials introduced into Europe. In the second century before Christ the Chinese are said to have made a paper from cotton and other vegetable fibres. The art of making paper was carried across Asia, and then along the Mediterranean shores by the Arabs. Paper from cotton was made in Spain in the eleventh century; and the art subsequently carried into neighboring countries was improved by the using of linen. The increasing supply of paper was indispensable for the printing of numerous books.

Paper

Linen paper

The results of the acquisition again of the literatures of Greece and Rome, and the wide diffusion of the beauty and

Consequences of the diffusion and extension of knowledge

the knowledge in these literatures through the printing of numerous books, can scarcely be estimated now. A much larger number of people might read, if they could; a much larger number wished to learn to read; schools multiplied; education was considerably extended. To many people it was as though a vast, new, enchanting world, hitherto hidden, was suddenly opened to view, and lay all inviting before them. A vast extension of knowledge ensued—first from learning what the ancient masters could teach, then from further invention, discovery, and creation by the moderns themselves. Hence a wonderful creative period followed the earlier stages of the Renaissance. Moreover, widening of knowledge was accompanied by greater exactness of knowledge. Statements could now more easily be brought together, carefully studied and compared, than had been possible when much depended upon oral tradition, recollection, and hearsay. Hence men became more sceptical and more critical, less disposed to give implicit submission to authority, more insistent upon reasons and proof.

Devotion to classical literature

The most immediate result of the Renaissance of classical letters seemed to be extravagant devotion to the literatures of Greece and Rome. The more ardent and appreciative souls revelled in their glory and beauty. There was many a one entranced at the loveliness of what he now read, who was filled with joy like some happy youth in the freshening breeze of the morning. For many this was the springtime of the modern world. Others who felt less strongly followed what was the mode. Everywhere in Italy it was the fashion to read Greek and try to speak and write Latin as the Romans had done. A considerable body of excellent modern Latin poetry was composed, not, indeed with the old spirit, but almost with the best Latin style. Poliziano of Florence was one of the first and greatest of these writers, and John Milton, the Englishman, one of the best and last. Latin continued

to be the written language of cultivated men all through western Europe.

The classics in education

One result was a profound and lasting change in education. The old *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* were displaced; and study of the classics became all-important. To learn Greek was desired by those who sought higher education; the learning of Latin was indispensable in any good education at all. The minds of educated people were filled with illustrations and passages drawn from classical sources. Latin was the language of diplomatic intercourse and of important state papers, and continued to be so down into the seventeenth century, when for these purposes it began to be superseded by French. During this time, in the western half of Europe, Latin was the language in which learned men did much of their writing, the language in which were written all books designed for European circulation. Down into the eighteenth century it continued to be the custom in much writing in the modern languages to intersperse Latin quotations, and, less frequently, also quotations from the Greek. There is some Latin in the plays of Shakespeare, more in those of Ben Jonson; there is Latin and Greek in Rabelais's *Gargantua;* perhaps every essay in the *Spectator* has prefixed a quotation from the classics. It was the custom for English statesmen to illustrate their parliamentary speeches with lines from Horace and Virgil as late as the French Revolution. Hence the thought and the style of the ancients became embedded in modern thinking and life. It was only after the middle of the nineteenth century that study of the classics began to be assailed in educational systems. Even then, so highly were they regarded, Greek and Latin long held their own. They were finally dispossessed because of the great number of new important subjects which modern conditions had produced, and which imperatively demanded attention. Gradually new subjects, especially science, history, modern literature, and social

Quotations from the classics

and economic studies, pushed the classics aside. Such was their excellence, however, and such the undoubted value they had, that some continued to cherish them; and doubtless, even amid the complexity of modern conditions, a few will long continue to do so.

Abiding influence of the classics

The influence of the classics went far beyond the circle of those who could read Greek and Latin. Translations of most of the classics were made into the various modern tongues, and renderings of the favorite authors had wide circulation. Even more important was the fact that the old stories told by Homer and Virgil and Ovid were retold by numerous modern writers in countless allusions and brief relations. The mythology and folklore of the Greeks and the Romans, the heroic tales in Homer and Virgil, the lives of their great men told by Plutarch, the history and legend in Thucydides and Livy—all of them were imbedded in modern literature, and became part of the texture of the minds of modern men. It is not possible to read with understanding Milton's *Paradise Lost* without being steeped in classical myth; the plays of Shakespeare are full of allusion; so are the poems and writings of many another. Rome, with its ancient ruins and modern garb, remains in many senses the capital of the civilization of western Europe. And as one sails now from the eastern Mediterranean up through Hellenic waters, it is not merely the numerous islets, the promontories and stony mountains, or the insignificant country that he sees. In mind's eye there extends beyond a radiant, enchanted kingdom, mother of the Renaissance and queen of the past —in intellectual and esthetic things the source of much that is best in the modern world.

"The glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome"

In Italy the revival of ancient learning began; there also began the creative outburst that followed. From Italy the Renaissance spread to neighboring countries. In 1494 the French under Charles VIII invaded Italy. They had great success; then they were driven out by the Span-

iards; afterward they returned again and again for some time. A period followed in which there were repeated invasions of Italy by Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Germans. By some of these invaders returning the spirit of the Renaissance was carried to their own countries, and the movement that began in these lands was assisted by eminent Italians resorting there also. Within a century the Renaissance movement had reached England, and not long thereafter it was affecting all of the west half of Europe. Everywhere, to a greater or less extent, there began what had first appeared in Italy—a revival of classical scholarship and learning, a new appreciation of beauty, a great intellectual expansion, then a wonderful period of creative activity. In many countries the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the grandest period in their literature and art.

Extension of the Renaissance

There was a wondrous literary outburst in Italy, in Spain, in France, and in England. There was glorious lyric poetry. There was admirable writing of history as by Macchiavelli of Florence; the drama was carried to its highest excellence in modern times by Lope de Vega and Calderon in Spain, by Marlowe, Shakespeare, Jonson, and a host of others in England. Admirable long narrative poems were written by the Italians, Ariosto and Tasso, and the Englishman, Spenser. Camoens in Portugal produced the first great modern epic, *Os Lusiadas;* and *Paradise Lost*, the greatest of modern epic poems, was written by the Englishman, Milton, the last great spirit of the Renaissance. Cervantes in his *Don Quixote* carried Spanish literature to its highest point. Perhaps the Frenchman, Rabelais, and the Englishman, Marlowe, reveal best the exuberance, the enthusiasm, the unfettered strength, the zest of life, the high spirit, which characterized this time when the old was cast aside by men who rejoiced in the new.

The great age of modern literature

In Italy, where monuments of Græco-Roman art had

Culmination of the fine arts

survived through the Middle Ages, both in architecture and sculpture, an artistic revival accompanied the revival of classical letters and the literary outburst that followed. They were accompanied also by a development of painting which carried that art beyond anything attained in old times. The artistic revival of the Renaissance was taken from Italy to France, Spain, Germany, and England; but, unlike what occurred in the realm of literature, less was anywhere done that in excellence and magnitude rivalled what Italian masters achieved. In Italy now the greatest painters in the history of art brought their work to perfection: Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo, Titian, and a host of other ones lesser. Some of Leonardo's work was done in France, under the patronage of Francis I. In Spain the paintings of Velázquez proclaimed him one of the greatest artists of all time. Sculpture was carried almost as high as the greatest of the Greeks had taken it, by Ghiberti, Donatello, della Robbia, and Michelangelo, greatest of them all. There were in the best of this work a proportion and a beauty nearly equal to what the Greeks had achieved; while warmth of feeling and vividness of emotion were expressed, which the Greeks had not sought to portray.

Renaissance architecture

The increasing wealth of such cities as Milan and Florence and Venice, which arose from their commerce and trade, and the vast revenues which western Christendom yielded to Rome, made possible magnificent achievements in architecture. Throughout northern and central Italy churches and public buildings were reared in the style now known as "Renaissance." The pointed arch and window of medieval architecture—the "Gothic" style, now yielded to the column and the dome, to rounded windows and arches taken from Greek and from Roman examples. Grandest of all these buildings was St. Peter's, in Rome, the work of Bramante, Michelangelo, and others, in which two of the popes took the keenest and liveliest interest.

The Renaissance would in any case have been one of the important epochs in the history of western Europe. To some extent it ended an old time and made the beginning of a new one. More truly, it was a great part of the immense transformation from medieval to what we call modern life. But the intellectual transformation, the widening outlook, the creative ability that followed, were also the result of another great episode in the history of Europe's people. This period was also a time of wonderful geographical discoveries during which a great new part of the world was revealed, and all the world became better known. So the spirit of the Renaissance combined with the quickening impulse that came from finding America and reaching Asia again. The two interacted, producing new consequences in countless ways, so that other new worlds of knowledge were eagerly sought for and entered. The minds of many people were now so filled with curiosity and so constantly urged on to action, that in the course of a few generations intellectual environment was different from that of the Middle Ages.

The Renaissance contemporaneous with the great geographical discoveries

Intellectual environment changed

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CHAPTER V

GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES AND EXPANSION OF KNOWLEDGE

Venient annis sæcula seris
Quibus Oceanus vincula rerum
Laxet, et ingens pateat tellus,
Tethysque novos detegat orbes
Nec sit terris ultima Thule.
SENECA, *Medea*, ii. 375 (before 66 A. D.).

Eu sou aquelle occulto e grande cabo,
A quem chamais vôs outros Tormentorio;
Que nunca á Ptolomeo, Pomponio, Estrabo,
Plinio, e quantos passaram, fui notorio:
Aqui toda a Africana costa acabo
N'este meu nunca visto promontorio,
Que para o polo Antarctico se estende,
A quem vossa ousadia tanto offende.
Adamastor, giant of the cape, to the Portuguese sailors: LUIZ DE CAMOENS, *Os Lusiadas* (1572), v. 50.

Á Castilla y á Leon
Nuevo mundo dió Colon
Motto on the Coat of Arms granted to Columbus (1493).

The medieval world of European men

IN THE Middle Ages the world in which the people of western Europe lived was a small and restricted one, though from poor means of communication and slow travelling then it may have seemed of unending extent. To the north lay the polar seas with icebergs and mists where only a few hardy fishermen and whale-hunters ventured. Eastward was the Polish country, and beyond the expanses of the Scythian plains stretching on into legend and fable. To the south lay the Mediterranean on which sailed ships from Italian towns, southern France,

and Aragon; but across, farther south, lay northern Africa, lost now to the European community, held by the Moors, with the desert beyond them. Eastward one might sail to Alexandria or Constantinople, but beyond was country held by Saracens or others, with India behind the veil of the distance, and other less known places beyond. Westward the Atlantic Ocean, limitless, ominous, unexplored. It seems now to have been a small world that they had, straitly circumscribed and hedged in.

Some knowledge from travellers eastward

Some had ventured beyond it, but not very many. From the twelfth century onward, missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church were pushing eastward along the Baltic converting Esthonians, Livonians, and Finns. The Slavs of the vast country southward had meanwhile been won for the Greek Catholic faith. Some missionaries went farther, on into Asia beyond; and in the thirteenth century some of them crossed over the central part. In the latter years of that century the Venetian, Marco Polo, went as far as China and Zipangu (Japan), and returning to Europe wrote a marvellous tale of adventure. Generally, however, by land enormous distance barred the way. Eastward by sea it was impossible to go, for Islamic countries lay between, and all the seas between Africa and southern Asia were kept by Moslem sailors and traders. Moslems also barred the way to the south, for they held all the Barbary coast; hence it was that Arabs not Christians penetrated the Sahara Desert and took their caravan routes to the southward.

The sea

Westward a little was done, but terror of the sea halted all but a few. It was difficult to carry much food and water, and not easy to resist great storms. During the earlier period there was much doubt, too, among the generality of men, about what lay on beyond. There were those who said that as from north to south it grew constantly warmer, so at last the south was bounded by a zone of eternal fire. Others affirmed that monsters and

giants of the deep kept the secrets of the sea, that they would destroy any rash intruder. Some said that by sailing to the west one would presently reach the end of the world, then drop into the abyss of the nothingness beyond. Ships then were small, and not built or equipped for extended voyage. For a long time it was impossible to sail very far from the land and keep much sense of direction. The helmsman might steer by the sun or at night by the stars, but then he could keep no exact route for long, and in cloudy weather he was helpless. Hence, sailors at first depended mostly on landmarks, and it was only the boldest who would venture far away from such guidance. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, however, sailors were beginning to use the mariner's compass, which employed in some rude way the magnetic needle pointing to the north.

Terrors of the deep

Yet from time to time daring sailors or storm-driven wanderers had gone far across the mysterious waters. At the end of the tenth century certain Norsemen came to Vineland—modern Newfoundland, it may have been. Norsemen had already gone to Iceland and Greenland, and these places were kept, but the more distant Vineland was abandoned, and then for a long time forgotten. It may be that others reached the western side of the Atlantic—a Welsh prince in the twelfth century, Genoese sailors in the thirteenth, and Portuguese later, while long before, Saint Brandan, an Irish missionary, was said to have discovered a fair, distant isle; but none of the accounts are now more than legends. During the first half of the fourteenth century Portuguese mariners with Italian pilots visited the Madeira Islands and the Canary Islands, a short distance out from the African coast, west and southwest of Morocco. These islands had been known in days long past, but for a thousand years the men of Europe had forgot them. A map of 1351 shows also that the Portuguese had gone to the Azores, the most distant

Early voyages over the Atlantic

Island outposts

outpost west of Africa and Europe, out a thousand miles in the Atlantic. In the fourteenth century the Spaniards took possession of the Canary Islands, and in 1432 the Portuguese occupied the Azores; after which these islands were distant, isolated European frontier possessions out in the waste of waters. During the fifteenth century the Portuguese were slowly pushing their way down the African Atlantic coast. Presently they looked out beyond the Azores and dreamed of discovering Antilha, a rumored country to the west. Portuguese ships did set out from Lisbon to search for this country, and in 1486 a Portuguese lord obtained from his king the grant of Antilha, if he found it within two years' time.

Northwest Africa and the Portuguese

Other explorations of the Portuguese had led to far greater results. In the era of geographical discoveries theirs was the first great achievement. During the fifteenth century they slowly went down the African coast to the southward, then on northeastward to Asia beyond. The Barbary shores and control of the waters all about had long been held by the Mohammedan Berbers. They and Arab traders had crossed the Sahara southward with their caravans, and on an Arab map of the twelfth century the fertile country beyond appears as the land of Bilad Ghana. Gradually Portuguese and perhaps Spanish sailors crept down the Moroccan coast. Cape Non (not), beyond which older generations had believed men might not pass, was reached and gone by some time during the fourteenth century, and the more southerly Cape Bojador appears on a Catalan map of 1375. In 1415 the Portuguese captured Ceuta, a Moorish stronghold opposite Gibraltar.

Prince Henry the navigator

Portuguese leaders, especially the *Iffante* (Prince), Dom Henrique, conceived the plan of adding the Azores and the Madeira Islands to the homeland and taking possession of Guinea (Ghana) with its black people (*negros*) for the Christian faith before the country could be entirely won by the Moslems. Guinea could then be made a de-

pendency of Portugal and administered by a military religious order.

Exploration of the western African coast

The schemes thus conceived were carried out year after year, growing greater as they progressed. Slowly Portuguese explorers ventured farther along down the coast. Presently to the zest of exploration and conquest was added the profit of seizing the black natives as slaves. Negroes seized in these plundering raids were carried back to Portugal and to Spain, and there sold in complete servitude as chattels. Such was the beginning of modern African slavery in Europe. From Europe it was later carried to America, where it entered on a vaster growth. In 1435 Gil Eannes passed the still dreaded Cape Bojador. In 1445 the Senegal River was reached, and in 1460 Cape Verde. The coast of Guinea now became a dependency of the Portuguese crown. The *Iffante* died in 1460, but the catching of slaves for the Portuguese estates, the traffic in tropical products, and further exploration to the southward continued. Slowly Portuguese ships pushed eastward along the southern part of the great north African bulge until the Niger River was reached, and by 1481, at last they came to the place where Africa again bends southward. Three years later the Congo was reached. In 1486 Bartholomeu Dias was sent out to reach the farthest point of Africa south. Next year he passed the *Cabo Tormentoso* (Cape of Storms), afterward known as the Cape of Good Hope. In a later time this rounding of Africa's end seemed to the Portuguese the dramatic moment in the history of their efforts, and their great epic poet, Camoens, writing in his *Lusiad*, of another expedition pictured the storm giant, Adamastor, rising from the deep to forbid the way, then vanishing as he threatened in vain.

Dias discovers the Cape of Good Hope, 1487

In the two generations during which this work of exploration was being conducted, the Portuguese plan had slowly undergone alteration. Originally they hoped

Portuguese ambition increases

to acquire Guinea, rule its natives under a Portuguese military order, holding the country as an outlying province, convert the inhabitants to Christianity, and develop the trade there for their own profit. Something like this had once been done by Germans in Prussia and in Austria centuries before. In the course of the years, however, while the African coast was being discovered, the possibilities of trade and commerce were seen to be greater and greater, until at last men understood that if the end of the barrier could be reached, then a new free route by water might be opened to the riches of the east.

Sea traffic in the far east

Behind the curtain beyond what west Europeans knew, for ages now the water routes below Asia had been controlled by Arabs, who were the great traders as far east as the China waters. From the myth and the wonder and strangeness of their exploits here it may be that some of the stories of Sindbad the Sailor arose. Chinese and Japanese junks and Malay boats, trading down the east side of Asia, brought cargoes to the great emporium of far eastern trade, Malacca, on the Strait of Malacca, not far from where the modern Singapore stands. Eastward hither came the Arab merchants, and sailing back westward through the southern seas came to the great middle trade city, Calicut, on the southwestern coast of India. From this distributing point eastern wares went west, to the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea, finally reaching Alexandria or Constantinople, where European traders bought them for western Europe.

The Portuguese establish a water route to India

For a long time the Arabs had controlled all the land approaches to these waters; and of late a more insuperable barrier had been made by the Turks. But if southern Africa could be turned, then bold mariners with a stout ship might steer northeastward to Calicut itself. This now was done. In 1498 Vasco da Gama, after rounding the cape, sailed northward again, arrived at Calicut, saw the wonders of India, and returning, reached Portugal

next year, his ship loaded with rich oriental products. This was the beginning of the great period in Portugal's history, and it was the beginning of a new era in the history of Europe. Portuguese navigators and captains followed up the work. The Arabs were largely expelled from their old markets. Portuguese colonies were acquired, and for some time a monopoly of the trade between western Europe and the far east, especially of the much-prized commerce in spices, was in Portuguese hands. So vast a prize was beyond the resources of a small country like Portugal to hold, but the immense, silent, deserted palaces of her countryside still attest the opulence and grandeur that were hers for a while when she opened the way to the east.

Vasco da Gama

While the renown of these deeds was reaching over Europe another series of events was beginning, more striking, perhaps even then, and destined to be more important in the future. A sailor of Genoa, in the service of Castile, sailing westward to find India, brought a new hemisphere to the knowledge of Europe.

A new world found to the west

In the Middle Ages most people who thought about the shape of the earth conceived it as flat. Above were the heavens, at no great distance, with the stars fixed therein, and sun, moon, and planets moving across. Beneath were the subterranean regions of Hell, with Purgatory less certainly fixed—though they were both described in detail by various medieval writers. On the confines of the earth dwelt monsters and giants in dim, mysterious regions. Beyond were the ends of the world. Different ideas were held by educated people and the learned. In antiquity philosophers had clearly explained that the earth was a sphere. The Pythagoreans affirmed it, and Aristotle declared it possible to sail from Europe and so come to Asia's eastern coast. This idea was held also by Seneca and Strabo. The Greek astronomer, Cleomedes, asserts that in his time nearly all philosophers and learned men held

Old ideas concerning the earth

the conception of the spherical shape of the earth. Notwithstanding that the multitude thought of it as flat—as some people continue to do even now—and notwithstanding that church fathers like Lactantius and Augustine argued against the earth being a globe, and that Christian geographers like Cosmas Indicopleustes described the earth as a plain, belief in its sphericity was cherished by Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century, distinctly described in the *Inferno* of Dante a little later, and affirmed by various others. Doubtless many experienced mariners held to the same opinion.

Christopher Columbus

During the twenty years or more before the Portuguese reached the Cape of Good Hope, Christophoro Colombo (1446-1506) of Genoa made many distant voyages, and pondered much on new maps and on antique lore. Thrilled at the great maritime exploits that filled his time, he presently conceived the idea of sailing westward around the sphere of the earth until across the Atlantic Ocean he should reach Asia, and especially India, whose wealth he much hoped to attain. He believed the world smaller than it was afterward determined to be, and he was certain that except for scattered islands no land lay in between western Europe and eastern Asia to the west. During many years he encountered nothing but discouragement. For men and ships he applied in vain to Genoa —now sinking into decay from the loss of her trade, to Portugal, to England, and to the Spanish kingdoms. At length in 1492 he gained the ear of Isabella, queen of Castile, at the moment when she and her husband, Ferdinand of Aragon, had completed the conquest of Moorish Granada, and laid firm the foundations of a great Spanish state.

The great voyage: discovery of America

Accordingly, in August of that year he was able to set sail with three ships, the largest covered with a deck, but of less than one hundred tons burden, the others two caravels—merely large open boats with cabins for the crew at the bow and at the stern. Much wider than he ex-

pected was the sea; and as day after day passed with slow sailing westward, farther away from the known, farther into the mystery of the hitherto unsailed waters, his crews were at the point of mutiny and he in danger of death. At length on October 12, after a voyage of seventy days, he reached one of the islands, now known as Bahamas, but which he called San Salvador. Such was the discovery of the New World.

A new continent

Columbus believed that he had reached some outpost of Asia, to Europeans unknown before. He was certain that the new islands were "Indies." In subsequent voyages, as he found more new lands, he always hoped that sailing a little farther he would reach the waterway leading to the ancient riches of the east. He died believing he had reached Asia by the west, as the Portuguese had reached parts better known by sailing to the east. In the course of a few years, however, it was evident that an immense new barrier of land had been found, and that Asia lay somewhere beyond. In 1497 Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, in the service of England, discovered the immense continental barrier, later known as North America. During a second voyage Columbus discovered numerous islands and in 1498, on a third voyage, the vast continental land mass itself, in the part now known as South America. In 1500 Cabral, with a Portuguese fleet, stood westward to get better winds for his voyage down the African coast, and presently reached, on the southern coast of the new continent, a district subsequently claimed by the Portuguese and held as Brazil.

The outlines of the new land partly determined

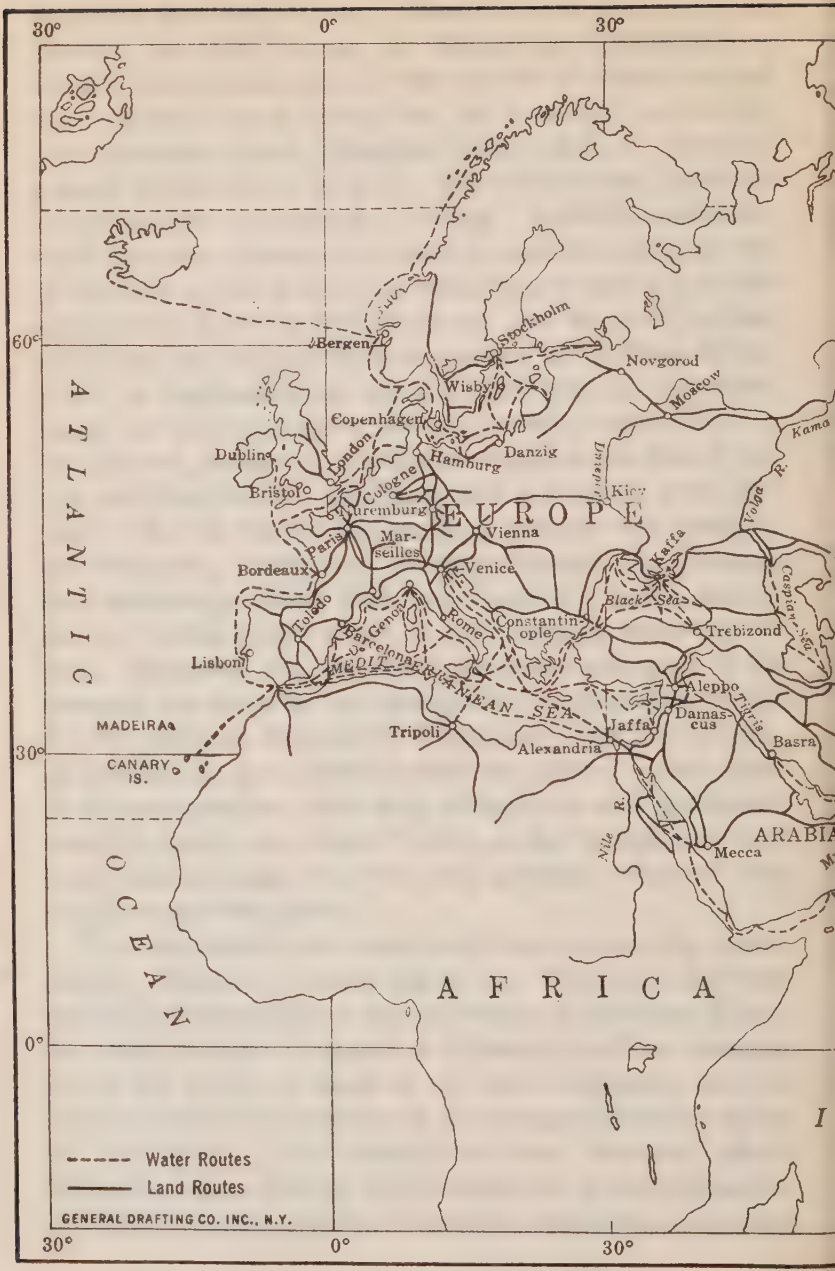
Discovery and exploration proceeded rapidly now. The great islands of the West Indies were occupied one after the other by Spaniards. In 1513, Balboa, one of their ablest and most dashing explorers, penetrated the tangled forests of the Isthmus of Darien, now Panama, and struggling up over the mountains, saw the great ocean fading off in the distance below. Beyond, far over this sea, lay, it might

be, India and farther Asia. That this was true, was soon shown. In 1519 Fernão da Magalhães (Magellan), a valiant Portuguese sailor in the service of Spain, set sail with a fleet to reach India from the west, and so find for the Spaniards what Columbus had failed to discover, a route to the riches of Asia. His voyage was, perhaps, the greatest in the history of sailing. Striking southwestward over the Atlantic, he strove to find the southern end of the land mass, as once his countrymen had sought the southern limit of the African coast. As he sailed farther southward he came to the huge estuary of the Plate River, broad in appearance as the sea, and this, as afterward many another opening in the new world's coast, had to be explored, before the navigators could know that it led into the heart of the continent and not to an ocean beyond. But at length, far south, a passage was reached, and Magellan, conducting his ships through the tortuous and wind-swept strait that now bears his name, passed out on to the ocean which is the highway westward to Asia. Magellan did not reach the uttermost goal of his triumph, for when he had spanned the mighty face of the Pacific, and had claimed the Philippine Islands for Spain, he lost his life in a skirmish with the natives. But some of his companions, after long vicissitudes and hardships, reached Spain once more (1522), a day completely lost from their calendar, the first men, perhaps, who had ever sailed around the globe.

Magellan: first circumnavigation of the globe

The new world called *America*, 1507

Thus the identity of a new world was completely established. Soon a new name was given. Obviously here was no India or Zipangu nor any possession of the Great Khan. In 1499 Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine sailor, voyaged along the southern coast of the new continent, and returning wrote a description of the strange countries which he had seen. This description soon attracted much attention, and Martin Waldseemüller, a cosmographer or writer upon geography in Lorraine, composing a popular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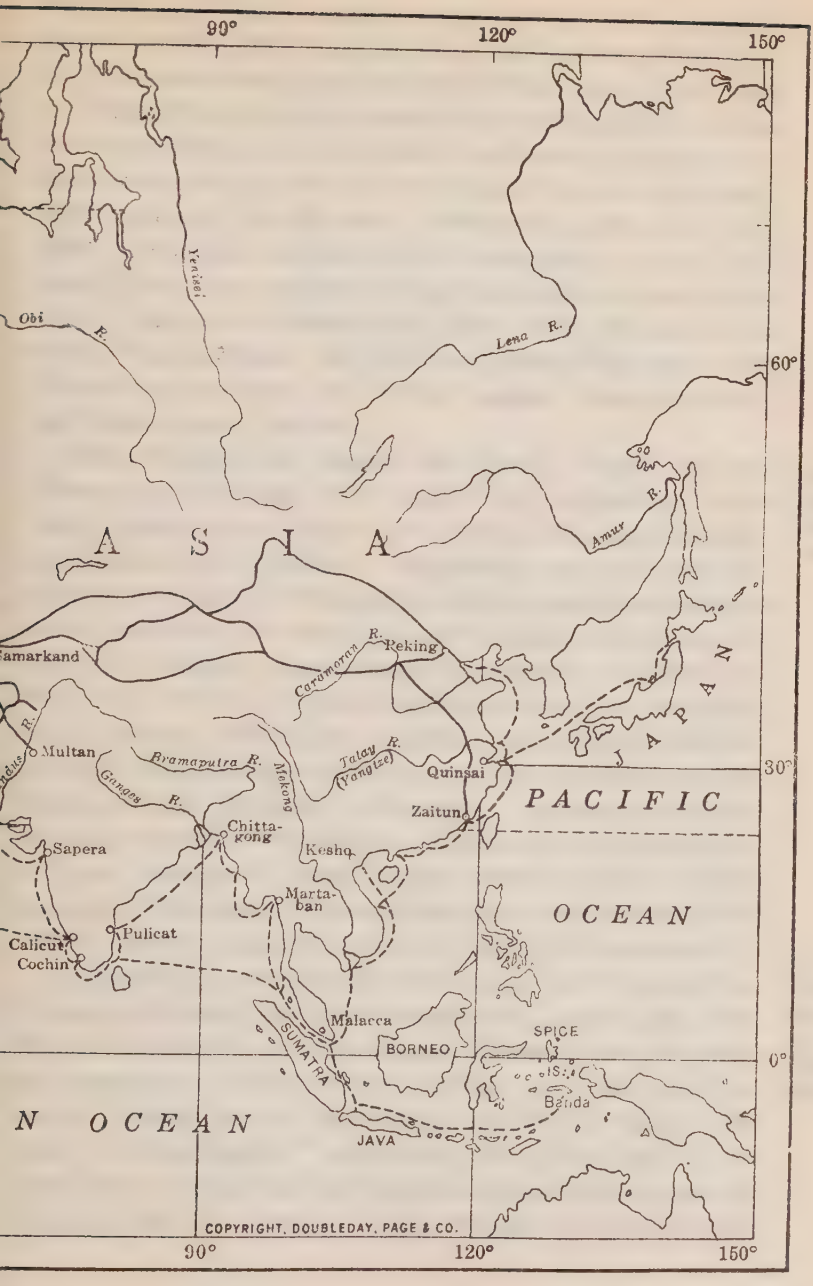
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ROUTES

description of this country suggested that it be named [terra] *America* after Amerigo who had found and described it. This name was speedily fixed to the new country, and as further discoveries extended men's conceptions of what the new country was, and made it evident to all that these lands were no part of Asia, the name America was gradually extended to all parts, north and south, including what Columbus himself had discovered. Never, one would think, has so slight a cause extended a name so far. Yet, it should be remembered, that while *Asia* seems to mean "eastern land" and *Europe* "land of the west," all *Africa* is called from the *Afri* or nomad tribes who long ago lived about Carthage.

For Amerigo Vespucci

After Balboa had found the Pacific Ocean beyond Darien, and Magellan had reached it by sailing far to the south, many an explorer devoted himself to searching for some short way through. Especially was this the case during the time that Portuguese held the great water route of the south to the east, and on the other side Spaniards held the southern route past the extremity of America to the west. Many an explorer sailed far up a river searching for a passage, and many a gallant one battled with the currents and ice-floes north of America and north of Asia hoping to win through to the goal. In vain, for such a passage was not to be found. Centuries later man himself cut through the Suez Canal (1869) to make a short passage to the east, and somewhat later the Panama Canal (1914) to make a shorter route to Asia going westward.

Search for a passage through America

In America itself the age of romance and exploration, the age of the *conquistadores* (conquerors), now began. The West India islands and the Darien Isthmus were occupied by Spaniards. Hither came tidings of a strange and wealthy people on the mainland, and fainter rumor of a vast "Indian empire" somewhere far in the south. In 1519 Cortez and a body of warriors began the conquest of Mexico, and the story of their strange adventures and

Effects of the discoveries upon European people

Conquistadores

mighty deeds still rivals the *Odyssey* itself. In 1531 Pizarro and another small body of adventurers began to overrun the huge but torpid civilization of the Incas in Peru. Now began to come back across the ocean great Spanish ships laden with silver bars or ingots of gold. Back also came strange stories of new lands, with undreamed-of treasure, with ancient cities, with picturesque savages, with untracked virgin forests, and endless expanses. And as these tales were brought back and were scattered about western Europe, there was one of those periods in the history of mankind that is like youth in the life of a man. For the bold and the enterprising and even for those who only stood by and listened, the world was larger and brighter, and more wondrous. Romance, fortune, and fame seemed all round about. Spirit of boldness and spirit of adventure fired the mind and the heart. The Latin letters of Peter Martyr and his treatise *De Orbe Novo* (the New World) were widely read, and then translated for others to read. Accounts of discoveries and voyages were eagerly gathered and greedily devoured. Everywhere were young men who burned to go forth and see; everywhere older ones who saw with wider vision a larger and more interesting world. In 1512 the knightly Spaniard, Ponce de Leon, set forth to find the fountain of perpetual youth. In 1516 the Englishman, Sir Thomas More, his mind enlivened, perhaps, by stories coming over, wrote *Utopia*, his description of an ideal land with many things better than he and his contemporaries had. Montaigne in France, Shakespeare and his contemporaries in England, wrote under the influence of the mighty spell of the new, the unknown, the great.

The new spirit of the times

Material results

The effects of the geographical discoveries on the people of western Europe were far-reaching and very profound. In the first place, the material resources of the European peoples were enlarged and enriched, and the greatness of some of these peoples was largely increased. Products

New resources and riches

unknown to Europe before were introduced from America, and became thenceforth things not to be dispensed with. Such were the potato and tobacco. The potato was introduced by the Spaniards after they had overrun Peru. By the end of the sixteenth century it was known in Italy and the Netherlands, and somewhat later in Germany and England. For some time it was merely a rarity, but in the eighteenth century it became a staple article of food in Ireland, and during the nineteenth it came to be an indispensable part of the food supply of many of the European peoples. Likewise the Spanish explorers everywhere they went found Indians smoking leaves of a plant. This plant, soon known as *tobacco*, was introduced into Spain in 1559; and brought to England by Sir Francis Drake's men in 1585. From Portugal it was introduced into France by the diplomat, Jean Nicot. First used as snuff it was presently smoked, and smoking soon spread over Europe. The traveller, Hentzner, in his *Itinerarium* (1612), says that everywhere in England he saw people smoking "Nicot's herb, which they call by the American name, Tabaca." For a long time tobacco was denounced by moralists and by the church. In Turkey smoking was made a capital offence. In England James I wrote a book, *Counterblaste to Tobacco*, against it. All prohibitions failed, however, and use of tobacco grew to be one of the most prevalent things in Europe. Opinions still vary, but a vast number of people all over the world hold that the soothing or narcotic qualities of tobacco bring them temporary solace and enjoyment.

Tobacco

Increased quantities of gold and silver

The geographical discoveries seemed at the time to bring enormous riches to Europe, and to a considerable extent this was so. During the century after da Gama and Columbus one of the things that most struck the minds of observers was the unprecedented quantities of silver and gold coming to Europe. Nothing like it had ever been known before in Europe, and only twice in the past had

there been anything comparable with it—when Alexander's army conquered the Persian Empire, and when afterward Roman conquerors brought westward the treasure of the Hellenistic world. In western Europe during the Middle Ages the precious metals had been scarce, so that their purchasing power was very great, and prices of commodities very low. According to the author of *Fleta* (thirteenth century) the average price of wheat was four shillings a quarter, that is about six pence a bushel; and according to the account book of an English convent in the early part of the fifteenth century an ox could be had for twelve shillings up, a sheep from one shilling and two pence, and eggs twenty-five for a penny. During the sixteenth century prices constantly rose, and in 1574 the Frenchman Jean Bodin, in his treatise *Discours sur les Causes de l'Extrême Cherté* (Treatise upon the Causes of the Very High Prices) specifically declared that the rapid rise was due to the huge influx of precious metals. Importation of gold and silver, however, would by itself have done no more than make prices greater; but with America and especially with the far east now an increasing trade was developed and large quantities of commodities were brought in on terms very favorable to Europeans. All this enhanced European activity and trade not merely from the importation of raw materials and precious commodities, but also because of the spirit of enterprise and the great activity engendered.

Rise of prices

The relative importance of various parts of Europe now greatly changed. In the early Middle Ages the Byzantine Empire, with its seat at Constantinople, nearest to the east and itself the principal seat of European culture, was the wealthiest and most powerful community in Europe. Later on, as Byzantine power decayed, wealth and grandeur came to central Europe—to the industrial cities of Flanders and the great Italian commercial cities. Now western Europe became most important. Hitherto Eng-

Power and greatness shift to western Europe

land, the Spanish peninsula, France, farthest away from the east, had been the outlying parts of Europe. Now, after the discoveries, and after the establishing of the new routes, Portugal and Spain, afterward England, Holland, and France had the best position for commerce. At the same time industrial activity was being fostered in England and France.

Enlargement of horizon

For the better educated and for a great many of the more active-minded the great discoveries brought consequences still more profound. Previously the world appeared small; now it seemed wondrous and large. Before, life and thought had been much circumscribed, and changes were made very slowly. Hence, it might very well seem that everything that was had always been so ordained by God, and was destined so to remain. Now, more than ever before, men knew of immense countries and populations living under other conditions, and they presently learned of immense new districts in America almost unpeopled, in which the arrangements might be, perhaps, whatever men chose to have them. Consideration of this brought forward conceptions of new and better conditions in these new places, and presently in Europe itself. Sir Thomas More, Montaigne, Bacon, and others dreamed of systems different and better. The writings of these men and many others are characterized by a largeness of view and a feeling of the largeness of things, that were destined in time greatly to alter men's ways of looking at matters. Here, then, was a set of large causes working to render men less willing to regard all things as fixed under a system expressed in old conditions and ordered by authority of the church. There was constant tendency now toward intellectual unrest and ferment, increasing disposition to question, scrutinize, discover, innovate, and undo.

New, better conditions conceived of

The consequences of all this were increased by speculation, and by discoveries in widely different fields. Where people had hitherto generally believed the earth to be

New conception of the world and the universe

flat, they were now for the most part compelled to conceive it as a sphere. For Europeans the world had once been limited to Europe and other vague districts beyond. The geographical discoveries revealed new continents and peoples. But soon another revolution in ideas began to make the earth seem relatively smaller again. Men's conception of the heavens was changed. From the time of Ptolemy, the Greek astronomer of Alexandria in the second century, even educated and well-informed people who understood that the earth was a sphere, believed that it was the center of the universe, and that the most important part of the universe was the earth. Above, not very far distant, were the heavens in which were fixed the stars, which revolved about the earth, while the sun and the moon like the planets wandered or changed their position. So the earth was the center of things, and man, its possessor, the most important of all things. For him the earth had been made. With reference to him God had regulated all things. These regulations were embodied in the teachings and doctrines of the church. Now, for many people, all this was altered by the speculations of astronomers and mathematicians. Nikolaus Koppernigk or Copernicus (1473–1543), of a German family in the Polish-Prussian city of Thorn, devoted himself to study of the heavens, and attempting to explain the motions of the heavenly bodies, suggested that the sun, not the earth, was the center of the universe, and that the earth and other similar bodies revolved in orbits round the sun. His theories were fully explained in his book, *De Orbium Cælestium Revolutionibus* (Of the Motions of Heavenly Bodies) published at Nürnberg in 1543, but completed some years before. For he was at once excommunicated by the pope. His speculations were substantiated presently by others. The laborious work of the Danish astronomer, Tycho Brahe, was indeed used to defend the theory that the earth was the center; but Tycho's work

The Ptolemaic system: the earth center of the universe

Copernicus declares the sun is the center, 1543

Kepler

was the most accurate astronomical computation done down to that time; and the immense mass of his calculations and observations was used by a friend and disciple, the German Kepler (1571–1630), who placed the theory of Copernicus on a solid foundation. Kepler declared the sun to be the center, and enounced the rules, known as "Kepler's Laws", which were long taken as fundamental principles in astronomy, and were afterward the basis from which Newton constructed his general theory of gravitation.

New knowledge of the human body

Revolutionary progress was made in another field. If there was a great universe (*macrocosm*) in which man lived, he was himself a small universe (*microcosm*) of wondrous interest and importance. In medieval Europe not much had been known about the organization and structure of his body, nor how the parts or organs of the body worked, or what produced health or sickness. Defects and diseases were looked upon as God's intentions or as punishments from God to be borne in patience. There was, indeed, some science of medicine, but the only skilled physicians in Christian countries were the Jews. What other medicine there was concerned itself with the use of healing herbs or else with prayers, incantations, and magic. Long before, Greek students of anatomy and physiology, among whom Aristotle had notable place, had dissected and studied human bodies; but during medieval times the church regarded such investigation as audacious and grievous sin. Now, however, a notable advance was made.

Vesalius

Andreas Vesalius, a Fleming (1514–64), physician to Charles V and afterward to Philip II, dissected corpses, and explored again the realm of the human body. His principal work, *De Corporis Humani Fabrica* (1542), was the foundation of modern anatomical knowledge.

Thus the earth, the heavens, man, man's surroundings seemed different from what people had been taught to believe them since beyond the memory of man. And as

Critical and sceptical spirit increases

belief died in so many conceptions of a former time, many became sceptical of still other things. All through the Middle Ages the great citadel of belief had been the church and its teachings. But as circumstances changing seemed to show that some of these teachings were mistaken, others began to be questioned. The earlier period of the Renaissance had seen some of this in Italy. In 1440, Lorenzo Valla, examining critically the alleged *Donation of Constantine*, upon which some of the principal pretensions of popes had been founded, pronounced it a forgery. He went on to denounce bitterly the abuses which, he said, prevailed in the church. The spirit of the Renaissance and the spirit of change all about, together with much discontent, led increasing numbers of people to do this likewise.

Erasmus, personification of the Renaissance

In some respects the typical figure of the new times and of the spirit of the revival of learning was Desiderius Erasmus (1465–1536), a Dutchman of Rotterdam. When a youth he was compelled to enter a monastery, but since he had entered unwillingly, he was afterward allowed to withdraw, and subsequently relieved of his vows by dispensation of the pope. He studied in various places, particularly Paris. At the invitation of wealthy friends he went to England, and was for some time a professor of divinity and Greek at Cambridge. The last twenty years of his life were spent on the continent again, largely at Basel. Gradually he became what Voltaire was a long time after, the principal literary personage in Europe. His numerous letters afford a very valuable picture of his era. His learning was extensive, and his taste high and refined. He edited, though uncritically and from a single manuscript, the first edition of the New Testament in Greek, along with a Latin translation. He was widely loved and respected and admired, and his service in furthering the cause of ancient literature and the humanism of his time was immense. He also regarded with critical

gaze the church of his time, and spared not to ridicule the habits of the monks and superstitions so little in accord with the newer spirit which he represented. In spite of his critical disposition, however, Erasmus was conservative by nature. He never would break with the past nor renounce its principal teachings. But there were many more radical than he. They and the times now conspired to bring on what seemed then the greatest revolution of all.

Conservative, yet he criticized the church

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CHAPTER VI

THE REFORMATION

Sant Peters schiffleyn ist im schwangk
Ich sorg gar vast den underganck
Dic wallen schlagen all seyt dron
Es wuert vil sturm und plagen han
Gar wenig warheit man yetz hoert
Die heylig gschriff wuert vast verkoert.

SEBASTIAN, BRANT, "Sat Peters Schiffli": *Das Narrēschiff* (Nürnberg, 1494).

Amore et studio elucidandæ veritatis hæc subscripta disputabuntur Wittenbergæ, præsidente R. P. Martino Lutther. . .

5. Papa non vult nec potest ullas poenas remittere præter eas, quas arbitrio, vel suo vel canonum, imposuit.
6. Papa non potest remittere ullam culpam nisi declarando et approbando remissam a deo. . . .
7. Nulli prorsus remittit deus culpam, quin simul eum subiiciat humiliatum in omnibus sacerdoti suo vicario.

MARTIN LUTHER at the Wittenberg Church (1517): W. Köhler, *Luthers 95 Thesen* (Leipzig, 1903).

This Iudgment is grounded vpon an Act of Parlament directly repugnāt to the lawes of God & his holy Church the supreme gouernement of which, or any part thereof, no temporall Prince may presume by any temporall law, to take vpon him, as rightfully belonging to the Sea of *Rome*. . . .

Speech of SIR THOMAS MORE to the court which condemned him to death, July, 1535: W. Roper, *The Life of Syr Thomas More* (Paris, 1626), pp. 152, 153.

Difficulties pertaining to the history of religions

IT IS still difficult for a writer to approach that episode in European history which to many is known as the Reformation. He who deals with the history of religions cherished by numerous devoted adherents, will, if he takes one side or the other, be untrue to modern ideals of historical writing, and often offensive to those of the opposite

side. Yet if he tries to write objectively, without bias, he may be taken as lukewarm, without feeling for religion, offending both and not pleasing either. These difficulties, which must be faced, will be partly removed if the reader can have confidence that the author, while he may be mistaken, has tried not to be, that he wished to be fair and state both sides fairly, writing the best that he knew in good faith.

The Reformation a Protestant revolt and revolution

The Reformation was a part, the most revolutionary and violent part, of the changes that brought the Middle Ages to an end. It was that part of the alteration of the times which affected religion and the church. To its supporters it was a glorious chapter in the advance of mankind and development of human freedom—a grand "reformation" of something corrupt and beset with abuses. To opponents it was no reformation and no bettering of things, but an evil calamity that came to the best of all institutions—wild revolution, the work of radical zealots assailing the finest heritage from the past—the degradation and abasement of the Renaissance, not culmination and not fulfillment. Hence, the very word "Reformation" will be abhorrent to many. They will think of it as a misnomer, a term false and misleading. Some prefer to speak of the "Protestant Revolt", which does, to many at the present time, describe very well what took place. If the author were employing his own term, he would use the objective "revolt" rather than "reformation", so filled with subjective and partisan meaning. Yet "Reformation" has long been used, and has become one of the great historical words. It has been much in the minds of many generations of people. It was employed from the first by those who took part in the movement. They always thought of themselves as reformers. In 1563 John Foxe, the English martyrologist, speaks of the "Churches reformed", and another Englishman writes of "the Reformation" in the year of the Spanish Armada. Opponents made use of

The term "Reformation"

the term even while they denied its meaning. In 1563 a certain one declares that he and his comrades are troubled "for nocht assenting generalie to your prætendit reformatioun"; and in 1612 a French ambassador refers to "the pretended reformed religion" (*la Religion prétendue reformée*).

The Renaissance and the church

From the Renaissance in its larger sense began the Reformation. When the Renaissance was taking place in Italy, the church there did not oppose, and some of the highest ecclesiastics were zealous in recovering ancient writings and in the revival of classical learning. Pope Leo X (1513–1521), of the Medici family of Florence, which had done so much to encourage humanism, literature, and art, was one of the foremost patrons of the Renaissance. He and many another Italian churchman rejoiced in the classics, in statuary, painting, and good architecture, in collecting manuscripts and fine old books. The church, indeed, had been the principal patron of learning all through the Middle Ages, and the Roman Catholic Church has ever been distinguished, above most other churches, for broad culture and sympathetic appreciation of the art and the music of its time.

The "Christian Renaissance"

Moreover, there was a very considerable "Christian Renaissance", as some have called it. In the thirteenth century in England the great scholar, Roger Bacon, expressed the wish that the church might cause to be translated certain portions of the Scriptures as yet untranslated and especially that she might collect and publish the works of all the church fathers and commentators on the Scriptures. During this period Robert Grossteste, bishop of Lincoln, made a large collection of manuscripts, several Greek ones among them. During the Renaissance in Italy, while scholars and men of letters were seeking manuscripts of the classical writers of old, churchmen interested themselves in procuring manuscripts that related to the Christian faith, and several collections were estab-

The *Vatican Library*, about 1450

lished. Most important was the *Vatican Library*, founded by Pope Nicholas V (1447–1455), in which were many of the writings of the Latin and the Greek church fathers. In this library also was a Greek manuscript of the Old and New Testaments, the *Codex Vaticanus*, dating from the fourth century—the best and most important known manuscript of the Bible until the discovery of the one on Mount Sinai in 1859. This library was extended and enlarged by succeeding popes, especially Leo X, until it contained a goodly number of manuscripts concerning the Christian religion and the church.

Biblical scholarship and printing of Bibles

After the invention of printing, numerous Bibles were issued in the *Vulgate* Latin and also in translations, and churchmen rather encouraged this than strove to prevent it. An attempt to print a complete Bible in the original was made by the great Spanish cardinal, Ximenes. He assembled about him able helpers, and great efforts were made to bring together and compare the best manuscripts —though the importance of the *Vatican* codex was not realized, and it was not used. Ximenes is said to have expended half a million ducats upon the project. The result was the *Complutensian Polyglot Bible* (1514–17), so called because the Scriptures were printed in the different original tongues, and because the work was done at Alcalá de Hernares, of which the ancient name was Complutum. Of this stupendous work only six hundred copies were printed. Less important for scholarship, but more important in its effect, was the Greek New Testament of Erasmus, published at Basel in 1516. Erasmus used only a few manuscripts and relied almost entirely on one, even venturing to fill in a gap by making his own Greek translation from the *Vulgate*. But his was not merely the first Greek Testament circulated in western Europe; it was cheap and easy to use; and was hence of enormous importance.

The Greek New Testament of Erasmus

Thus the church and its members took part in the Ren-

aissance, both with respect to biblical and patristic learning and also with appreciation of humanistic studies and ideals. In some respects it was the most liberal and generous period in the history of the church. How far all this might have gone, and what might have been its results can never be known; for the spirit of the Renaissance, going on now in one direction, produced in the Reformation a violent assault on the system and doctrines of the church. In the mortal struggle that ensued the church drew back from the humanism and liberal spirit in which it had shared. When at last the combat was ended and western Christianity remained divided in hostile camps, humanism in the church was largely dead, and Renaissance tendencies now for the most part flowed onward outside its bounds.

Churchmen liberal and humanist at first

At the time of its greatest influence and power in the Middle Ages, there had often been discontent with the church's organization and with the conduct of church officials. In the twelfth century, in the southern French land of Toulouse, the Albigenses developed different doctrine and practice from those which were sanctioned by Rome, but the popes incited the north French against them, and by the middle of the thirteenth century the inquisition had crushed them completely. In the fourteenth century, in England, John Wiclif (1320–84) attacked what he regarded as abuses in the church—corruption of the clergy, simony, idleness, and concentration of too much power in the hands of the pope. This was during the period of the Babylonian Captivity, when England was aloof from the popes at Avignon. From assaults on the ecclesiastical system, Wiclif presently proceeded to attack basic doctrines of the church, especially transubstantiation.

Earlier revolts from the church

Wiclif denies transubstantiation

Transubstantiation was one of the cardinal dogmas in the Roman teaching. In the Gospels it was related how Jesus at the Last Supper, shortly before his crucifixion,

Transubstantiation

had broken the bread and given it to his disciples, saying: "Take, eat, this is my body," and afterward had shared the cup, saying: "Drink ye . . . for this is my blood." Celebration of the Lord's Supper was the most important sacrament in the Christian church, and had been celebrated in all Christian communities. In the Roman Catholic Church it was early maintained that during the celebration of the mass, in which this sacrament was perpetuated, there was a "real presence" of the body and blood of Christ in the bread and the wine of the communion; and that this was so because of the miracle of transubstantiation, change from substance of bread into that of body and of wine into that of blood of Christ. This fundamental doctrine Wiclif denied, but his teachings were condemned at London in 1382, and he was proclaimed a heretic. Protected by a powerful patron he died shortly after in peace; but at the Council of Constance (1414–18) the church again condemned his doctrines, and somewhat later his body was dug up and burned.

Wiclif's influence

Large consequences followed Wiclif's work. He was the author of the first translation of the Bible into English (about 1356–84), his version being based upon the Latin *Vulgate*. For a time he had many followers in England, called by their enemies *Lollards* (foolish talkers). During the fifteenth century stern persecution seemed to cause this sect to disappear, but obscure survivors handed the doctrines down from one generation to another. His influence, however, extended much more widely. A Bohemian princess was queen of England in his time, and afterward her followers carried Wiclif's doctrines back to their own land. There the heresy thrived and spread under a native leader, John Hus (1369–1415). Like Wiclif, Hus denied the absolute authority of the pope, questioned transubstantiation, denounced papal indulgences, masses for the dead, and auricular confession, and proclaimed that the Scriptures should be the supreme guide in matters of

religion. Excommunicated by the pope, he was yet protected by a throng of adherents in Bohemia. Finally he was invited to appear before the council of the church at Constance. The pope promised him safety, and the Emperor Sigismund gave him safe conduct. But once there it was said no faith need be kept with heretics. He was condemned to death, burned alive, and his ashes thrown into the Rhine. His adherents banded together to defend their religion and avenge his death. A terrible war ensued. Under the able leadership of the blind general, John Ziska, the Hussites gained numerous victories. Finally, after they had split up into various groups, the more moderate, the *Calixtines*, returned to the allegiance of emperor and pope, on condition that communion in both kinds be allowed them—that is to say, in the celebration of the communion the laity should share in the cup as well as the bread. To some extent the teachings of Wiclif and Hus lingered on.

John Hus burned as a heretic, 1415

The period of the Renaissance and the great changes accompanying almost inevitably brought altered conditions for the church. The very spirit of the times, the invention of printing, the influence of the new knowledge, and a new way of looking at things were certain to have their effects. Hitherto, whatever the attitude of the church might have been, there was no possible way by which the Scriptures could be in the hands of many, for numerous copies of the manuscripts of the Scriptures could not be made. Hence, throughout the Middle Ages, it was not from the Bible that people in general obtained information about their faith, but from the priests and fathers of the church. By the great mass of the people obedience was given to "authority," not to the Bible. But it was otherwise after the invention of printing. While Homer and Tacitus and other classic writers were being eagerly published, it was soon found that there was wider demand for the Bible. Gutenberg, Fust, and

The Renaissance

Demand for the Bible

Schöffer printed the *Forty-two Lined Bible*, in Latin, in 1455, the first large task they undertook, and Fust, the associate of Gutenberg, printed a Bible in Latin and German in 1462. The Pentateuch was printed in Hebrew in 1482; a polyglot Bible in five original languages in 1516; the convenient Greek Testament of Erasmus, with Latin translation, in 1516; the great *Complutensian Polyglot* was in circulation by 1522. In Germany seventeen editions of the Bible, in High German or in Low German, appeared before 1517. English translations also were printed, that of the New Testament by Tyndale in 1525, that of the entire Bible by Coverdale ten years later. Men now read the Bible, or had it read to them, eagerly, reverently, and with wondrous attention. There are in the Scriptures numerous passages, difficult to understand, and properly, as many think, susceptible of different interpretations. Hitherto the church had, though with some difficulty at times, imposed its own interpretation. There were now many more readers at a time when people were disposed to question, ask for proofs, and make interpetations for themselves.

Dislike of alleged abuses in the church

This attitude led many people to be less patient with what they regarded as bad administration and abuses in the church. Of these some had ofttimes before attracted attention. Civil authorities had long been hostile to the great ecclesiastical power of the church, and to what seemed like encroachments of spiritual authority upon temporal power. Governments and many of the peoples under them had for a great while objected to the vast amounts of money drawn to the church—money in many cases sent out of the country, where it was paid, to Rome. In many instances the clergy had grown lax and careless. There was simony or purchase of office; there was pluralism, or holding of several benefices by a single incumbent; there was neglect of spiritual duties by lazy or worldly prelates. Stories had long been circulated con-

cerning the luxury, idle living, and immorality of many of the friars and monks. Finally many of the old practices of the church, which had formerly been little questioned, to some now in the midst of the newer thought seemed gross or vain superstitions.

Conflict between ecclesiastical and temporal power

During the Middle Ages there had been a long series of conflicts between civil power, represented by emperor or various kings, and ecclesiastical power of churchmen under the popes. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the popes had asserted their right to appoint, or invest with office, all the important ecclesiastics—such as archbishops, abbots, bishops—in Christendom. After a violent struggle in Italy and in the empire and prolonged difficulty in England, this question was in some places decided by a compromise—the right of investiture being shared by sovereign and by pope. During all this period the church asserted that the clergy were distinct and superior to laymen, hence that they must not be tried in secular courts.

Ecclesiastical courts

Everywhere finally the church succeeded in establishing its own courts. In these ecclesiastical courts were tried all cases concerning churchmen and the church, while attempt was made to bring there all laymen also, whenever the matter at issue concerned morality and religion –and it was found in practice that these categories could be construed to cover almost all conceivable cases. So far as this succeeded, it greatly weakened secular authority; for everywhere one of the principal means of increasing the power of the central government was establishing throughout the ruler's dominions the authority of his own courts. Moreover, since church courts would not inflict penalty of death, everywhere desperate criminals to save themselves declared that they were clergymen or clerks, so as to be taken under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts and then get "benefit of clergy"—the milder penalty adjudged there. In England during the twelfth century there was a desperate conflict between the king and the clergy con-

Wealth of the church

cerning this. In England and elsewhere gradually the secular courts triumphed, but the process of winning the victory was difficult, costly, and slow.

Acquisition of wealth by the church had long aroused envy and aversion. Early in the Middle Ages, when the church was the center of enlightenment and civilization, it was well that churchmen should have much property and power, but as times changed so that to many there seemed less necessity of this, the devotion or superstition of a great many others continued to increase the possessions of the clergy. Finally it was estimated, doubtless with much exaggeration, that in some countries the church possessed from a quarter to a half of all the property existing. Grateful men and women, repentant sinners, evildoers in terror of damnation and Hell's fire, dying bequeathed money or estates to the church, some for the glory of God, some to pay for masses and prayers that their souls might soon be released from Purgatory's pains. What the church received the church retained, as it seemed, for ever. To the medieval mind church property seemed held in *mortmain*, in the unyielding grasp of the dead hand of the saint. The church did not die, as mortal men. Its property was never bequeathed or divided, or escheated to the lord or the king.

Wealth drawn to Rome

Much of what was given to the church left the country of its origin and went to Rome. Some was paid in papal taxes, or fees in the papal courts, or gifts from the faithful to the pope. Some went to the pope in payment by successful candidates for benefices or ecclesiastical offices which the pope bestowed. Moreover, the pope often appointed Italian ecclesiastics to wealthy benefices in the different countries of Europe, and they frequently preferring to reside abroad, paid a substitute or neglected their cures and drew the revenues out of the country. In the rudely organized and comparatively poor countries of western Europe in the Middle Ages, this was

greatly resented by secular governments which found it hard to raise revenue enough, and by the people who found it difficult to pay. Hence almost every government tried, usually with little effect, to prevent the flow of riches to Rome. At the same time the wealth of local churches was viewed with envy and greedy desire.

Immorality of some of the clergy

On the whole, it cannot be doubted that throughout the Middle Ages the conduct of most of the clergy was helpful and good. But certain vices had often been noticed, and they had incurred much hatred and blame. The faults especially noted were sexual immorality and idle, luxurious, useless living. In the early ages of the church the clergy had married when they so desired, and this custom had continued in some Christian countries of the west down into the eleventh century, and even later. There had, however, from very early times been the monastic ideal, that the high service of God demanded a purity untouched by any sexual association. Later on, the popes desired an organization with all members free from earthly or family ties, bound only to God's service and the church. Gradually, therefore, was enforced the rule of sacerdotal celibacy: no ecclesiastic might marry. From this great advantages accrued to the church; but a great amount of inevitable immorality followed. Of this there cannot be doubt. The stories in Boccaccio's *Decamerone*, in the writings of Aretino, in the *Epistolæ* of Ulrich von Hutten, all assume it as common knowledge. In the *Rolls of Parliament* of England for 1449 there is a petition from priests themselves concerning the matter; and a bull of Pope Innocent VIII (1488) concerns it. Evil conditions prevailed, particularly in some of the communities of monks and nuns, and official charges were made against them. Moreover, the great abbeys and monasteries, whose inmates had once been so distinguished for diligence and learning, had long since grown wealthy, and wealth had brought sloth and ease and in-

Contemporary condemnation

dulgence. This was true not only of many of the monks but also of the wealthier secular clergy. "The bishops are more voluptuous than Epicureans," said a preacher in 1423; and somewhat later the Italian Savonarola thundered against the unchastity and luxury of priests and prelates. The doctrine did, indeed, prevail that sin on the part of the ecclesiastic did not affect performance by him of his holy functions, but under the new influences all this was more and more questioned. More people now condemned evil living among the clergy and considered the hosts of monks and nuns as a burden of idle creatures.

Objection to practices and customs

Many customs and observances in the church had long excited the opposition of some. Auricular confession, it was said, brought the clergy into the inmost recesses of family life, a position not infrequently abused, and also gave ecclesiastics too great power over laymen. Many of the ceremonies and accompaniments of worship excited the ire of some critics. They said that religion was obscured by superstition, that the worship of God was made inferior to the adoration of saints and the Virgin, and that there was in the church a great deal of virtual idolatry, in the adoration of images, pictures, and relics. Here, indeed, was one of the fundamental issues that arose in the Reformation. The Catholic Church was a large, inclusive organization. It had been very wise and very skilful in dealing with great numbers of people in different stages of culture and with different intellectual outlook. It had won to its fold many people in low intellectual estate.

Sensuous impressions and human conceptions

A great many of these people were simple minded and humble; many of them comprehended through the senses much more vividly and successfully than through the understanding. For the most part the dogmas of church fathers were unintelligible to them. They conformed to these dogmas under guidance and authority of the priests and bishops above them; but thought of these dogmas little, if at all. What was most vivid in their

religion was belief in Hell—a fearful place of torment for the wicked; in Purgatory—where most people must atone for their sins; in Heaven—where the blessed had their reward. God, the Son of God, the Virgin Mary, Mother of God, angels, the Devil were all conceived in terms anthropomorphic. In a very human way the Virgin Mary and those dead holy men and women, the saints, seemed near in sympathy and in understanding. To them simple folk often prayed for intercession with God. The church did not teach them to do this but sanctioned it, and, as things were, did so wisely.

Images, pictures, and relics

Statues of the Virgin, images of the saints, pictures of scenes in the life of Christ or in the history of the church adorned almost all places of worship. Often their appeal was even more direct to the simple and the humble than were the anthropomorphic conceptions of their own minds. Accordingly, images were reverenced, and often prayers were addressed to them. Furthermore, a great many relics of saints or things associated with holy persons or places, such as a nail from the true cross, the bone of some saint, part of the vestments of Jesus, or a fragment of the crown of thorns, were held in highest reverence; miracles were ascribed to them; and to the shrines which contained them came throngs with prayers and gifts. All of this was very human; much of it had prevailed in all religions; and a considerable amount of it survives in most religions down to the present. But there were always some who regarded these things with contempt. In the Eastern Catholic Church there had been a bitter struggle about it. In 754 a council of the church at Constantinople condemned image-worship, and a strong body of opponents, the *iconoclasts* (image-breakers), pointed out how justly Mohammedans derided Christians as worshippers of idols. None the less, in the east and in the west the practice was sanctioned. It is certain, however, that some among the upper intellectual classes regarded these things with the

The iconoclasts

same contempt and ridicule that educated Greeks of Plato's time had for stories about Zeus or the Gorgon. During the intellectual changes which this period of alterations brought about, a larger number of people lost the old reverence for images and relics. Some now had only a calm and haughty contempt. Others hated the "superstitions" and "idolatries" so much that they would overthrow even the church that gave them its sanction.

Growth of national feeling

Finally there were social and political causes at work perhaps as potent as any of the others were. During a part of the Middle Ages there had been almost no national feeling. In some places, as in Ireland, men were bound by personal or tribal ties to their chiefs; generally they were bound by manorial or by feudal ties to the lords above them. There were almost no large, strong states. Vaguely many men felt themselves to be citizens of an "empire," but this was a shadowy thing, and the tie that connected its members sometimes scarcely existed. In western Europe the only important bond was the common Catholic religion, and the one great, strong organization that united people was the church. In the later Middle Ages, however, larger and larger groups were bound close together by a strong authority above them and by a common feeling among the people themselves. At medieval universities groups of students born in (*nati*) the same district were called nations. At the University of Paris, for example, there was the Italian nation, the English nation, and so on. This term "nation" was gradually extended to all the people living in a district or country bound together by language and similar customs, or having the same government above them.

Enlargement of the meaning of "nation"

By the end of the Middle Ages the kings of England, of France, and of Spain had erected strong nation states. In them the national tie binding subjects to sovereign had come to be stronger than the old ecclesiastical tie binding members of western Christendom to the pope.

Antagonism of nations and rulers to the power of the church

There was usually no question about obedience to the pope and the church in religious matters, but as a result of national feeling temporal sovereigns could usually count now on the support of their subjects in ecclesiastical disputes with the church, such as paying of taxes, taking church property, and so on. Everywhere there was strong tendency both in smaller areas like the German states, and larger ones like the kingdoms of France and England, for temporal rulers to strengthen their power by taking to themselves prerogatives which the church had once had, and to increase their resources by seizing church property, especially that of the monastic orders. Furthermore, if rebellions arose about religious matters, sovereigns would be apt to work with the rebels and protect them so that they might in the midst of the conflict seize property and power from the church. Sometimes the movement went beyond what these rulers had expected, but then on occasion they afterward joined with the rebels in religious revolt.

The conciliar movement in the fifteenth century

With so many factors so working, it is probable that in western and central Europe there would in any event have been great alteration in ecclesiastical affairs with much religious unrest and disquiet. Whether this would have brought revolution and large secession cannot be known. Many Catholics had long acknowledged that there were abuses in the church. They had wished to bring these abuses to an end, and reform the church from within. During the fifteenth century three church councils were held. To end the Great Schism a council was assembled at Pisa (1409), but when it failed to accomplish its purpose, another was assembled at Constance (1414–18). The Council of Constance attempted also to reform abuses in the church, and declared the authority of a general council superior to that of the pope. This doctrine was reaffirmed at the Council of Basel (1431–49), and some further efforts were made to remedy abuses, especially by

Efforts to limit the power of the pope

the representatives from German lands. But the conflict between councils and pope was partly a struggle to substitute for the centralized power of a strong executive, the pope, power of an oligarchy of the more important ecclesiastics, and it is doubtful whether this would have forwarded the better interests of the church. When the Schism had been healed papal power increased again.

The papacy not interested in reform of the church

In 1459 Pope Pius II issued the Bull *Execrabilis*, in which he declared it a most wicked thing to appeal from the pope to any council of the church. The effort to amend abuses likewise came to naught. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, at a time when there was unusual intellectual ferment and religious disturbance, it was evident that no reform from within could be presently hoped for. Control of the ecclesiastical system of the Roman Catholic Church was again completely in the hands of the pope and of the Italian ecclesiastics beneath him. They were absorbed now in Italian politics and the Renaissance, in the revival of classical learning and the fostering of art. Julius II (1503–1513) was a general, a statesman, and a patron of art, intent upon enlarging the papal territories round about Rome, and making Rome more beautiful and greater. Leo X (1513–1521) was a cultivated dilettante, patron of sculptors and artists, devoted to architecture and the classics. The tendency of the times, however, was strongly toward change or reform. Accordingly, a series of incidents now brought it about that the change came violently and carried great numbers of people outside the church.

Indulgences

The Reformation arose in Germany, with sale of indulgences the immediate cause. Throughout the Middle Ages the pope, as vicar on earth of Christ, had claimed the power of remitting obligations or duties, such, for example, as abstaining from flesh upon fast days. He also asserted the power of remitting from a penitent sinner the penance due for his fault. To obtain forgiveness for a sin com-

mitted, a sinner must, according to the doctrine of the church, repent and do penance. In contriteness he must regret the sin, and resolve to do it no more. For the sin committed he must do pains or penance, such as fasting, pilgrimage to a holy place, some useful or charitable work. It was, however, with penance that churchmen dealt most, and one of the most usual penances exacted came to be payment by sinners to the church, the payment to be used for some spiritual or churchly purpose. Furthermore, the theory had been developed that while many men and women had done less of good than they should have, others—especially the saints—had done much more of good works than was necessary for their salvation. There was, then, a surplus or "treasury" of good deeds. Of this treasury the church was custodian, the pope administrator of it. In return for a payment or gift to the church, he might transfer from this "treasury" to a penitent sinner the necessary quantity of good deeds.

Penance: remission could be purchased

These doctrines were greatly extended and the practice, some thought, was greatly abused. Many, who could afford to do so, paid to be relieved from fasting or from onerous things prescribed by the church. The *Tour de Beurre* of Rouen cathedral was built with money paid for indulgences to eat butter during Lent. Many troubled little about repentance, but paid for an indulgence in respect of a sin committed, then believed they were absolved from the sin. Whatever the doctrine of the church was, undoubtedly some churchmen abused it. Indulgences were sold with little care about the sinner's repentance. Unscrupulous persons did not hesitate to sin, confident they could buy absolution. Nay, some had the hardihood to buy indulgence for sins they planned to commit later on. Moreover, one might buy an indulgence for another, even for some dead sinner, and remission was believed to be just as efficacious. In an age of much superstitious terror, many were willing to pay largely to

Alleged abuses of indulgences

Fostered by pity and by terror

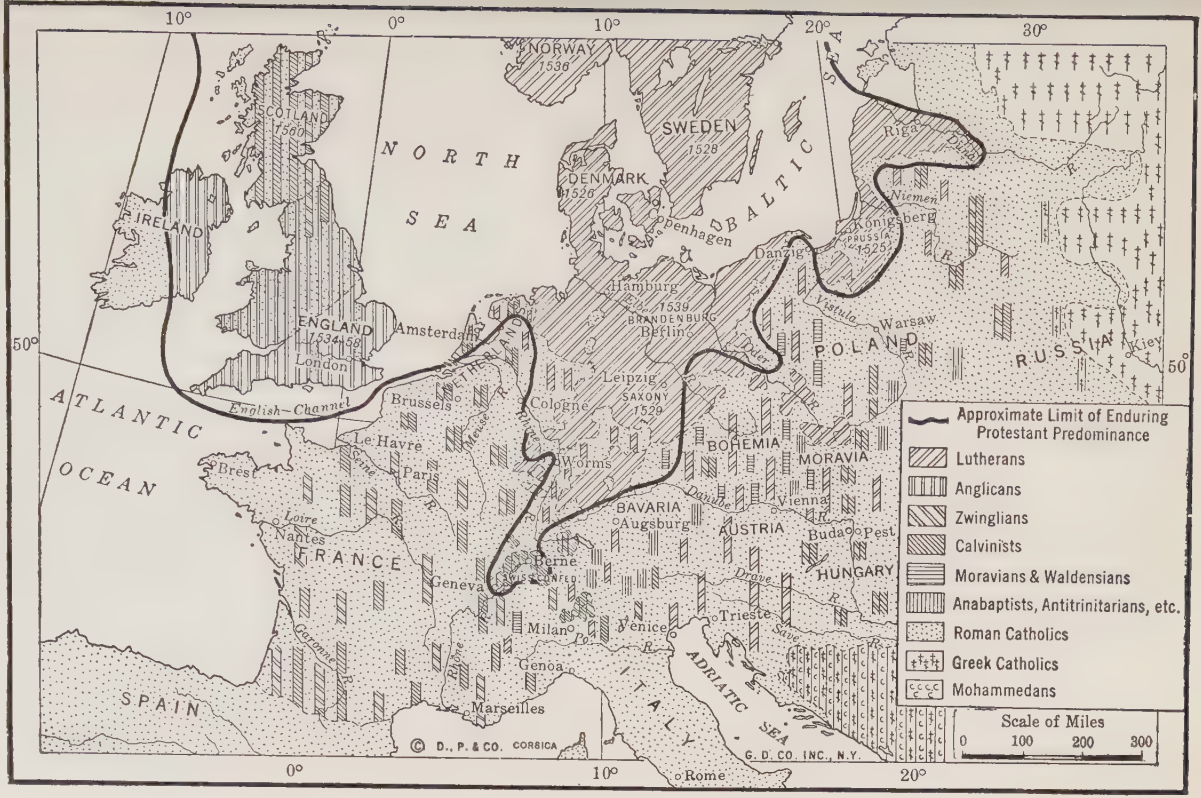
buy for some loved one release from Purgatory's fire. For these various reasons an immense revenue came to the pope and to other ecclesiastics from the sale of indulgences of all kinds. A part of the expense of building St. Peter's at Rome was in this way provided. So lucrative was the trade that the church was sometimes compelled to share the profits with secular rulers. Many had complained and objected. In 1450 a German, Johann Wesel, published a treatise against indulgences; but nothing had come of it. A more powerful protest was now to be made.

Friar Tetzel comes to Wittenberg

In 1517 a Dominican friar, Johann Tetzel, who had undertaken to raise money for the elector of Mainz, travelled through certain German districts selling indulgences to the people. Tetzel was a hearty, bluff man of affairs, and he pressed his point home. With powerful voice he declaimed on the horrors of Purgatory and on the virtue of the indulgences he sold, which—according to his enemies—he said was such that "as soon as the money clinked in the box" the soul went from torment to heaven. He drove a thriving trade, and thus came to Wittenberg, a Saxon village on the Elbe, near Magdeburg. There Martin Luther (1483–1546), a monk, was excited to much indignation. Luther vehemently denounced these indulgences and refused to absolve those who bought them. Nor was he terrified by threats that followed.

The Ninety-five Theses of Martin Luther, 1517

October 31, 1517, he nailed upon the door of the castle church at Wittenberg ninety-five theses, or propositions, which, after the medieval university usage, he was ready to defend. In these theses Luther declared that an indulgence could remit only a penalty imposed by the church; no indulgence could remit guilt, or the punishment of sin by God; nor could it affect a soul in Purgatory. Most important of all, he asserted that the Christian who truly repented, received forgiveness from God, and needed no indulgence whatever. The theses were in Latin, but a German translation was made, and a copy was at once



9. TO ILLUSTRATE THE PROTESTANT REVOLT

sent to Albert, elector of Mainz. Original and translation were struck off as fast as the presses could print them, and they soon had a huge circulation. They were known all over Germany in a fortnight, a contemporary says. It was afterward seen that this was the beginning of the Reformation.

Immediate effect

Partly from the simplicity and earnestness with which the theses were expressed, partly because discontent had long been particularly great in the German countries, so that what Luther said about indulgences was undoubtedly in the minds of numerous people, Luther's words had large and immediate effect. The sale of indulgences began at once to decline. Immediately the church took measures against the bold monk who affronted its power. Few dared defend him at first, since whatever the opinions of people, not many would venture to defy the enormous power of the church. Luther was not, however, in immediate danger. He was a subject of the elector of Saxony, who was legally subject to the emperor, but actually within his own dominions almost an independent prince. The Elector Frederick was a devout Catholic. He had collected relics, and made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He was immensely proud of his new university of Wittenberg, however, and he would not lightly permit interference with Luther, who was one of its principal professors. The emperor, Maximilian, was engrossed in difficulties and advanced in years; and such was his position in the empire that even if he would, he could scarcely interfere in the dominions of one of its greater princes. For some time the pope, Leo X, was scarcely aware that any trouble of importance existed. He is said to have regarded the whole matter as a quarrel among envious monks. Accordingly, Luther was left to go further.

Luther little molested at first

Luther summoned to Rome

For a while, then, there was nothing more than a controversy with various ecclesiastics in which Luther maintained his ground with moderation and skill. In August,

1518, the pope summoned him to recant or appear at Rome to be judged. The elector, fearing for Luther's safety, forbade him to go. The pope then bade Luther appear before the papal legate, Cajetanus, and Luther, obeying this mandate, went to the legate at Augsburg.

Conservative, Luther did not go far in revolt at first

Hitherto Luther had considered himself a devout Catholic protesting against abuses in the church. Undoubtedly he had in the beginning no idea of disputing the pope's authority or assailing the dogmas of the church. He believed at first in relics, pilgrimages, the validity of indulgences in respect of penance, and was deeply versed in the doctrines of the church. Generally speaking, he was, moreover, intensely conservative by nature. But, as in the case of many another before and since then, the mere process of revolution took him much farther than he had intended, and altering circumstances gave him a different view of matters which he had always accepted. At Augsburg Cardinal Cajetanus failed to persuade him to abandon his contentions. Rather, new ideas now took shape in his mind. He began to be less certain about the authority of the pope. He had denied the validity of indulgences in respect of remission of sin. The papal theologians answered that indulgences had the sanction of the pope, who was God's representative on earth. For some time his mind was tormented with doubt. The conclusions to which he was moving were revealed to the world and also, perhaps, to himself, as the result of the public disputation in which he met Dr. Johann Eck at Leipzig.

Disputation with Eck, 1519

Eck, a skilful debater, sought to drive Luther to admissions that would leave him self-condemned. Under skilful questioning Luther successively denied the absolute authority of the pope, the absolute authority of a church council, and declared that Scriptures were the ultimate sanction. He even admitted that some of the doctrines of Wiclif and Hus had been sound. "God help us! the plague," exclaimed the horrified duke of Saxony who was

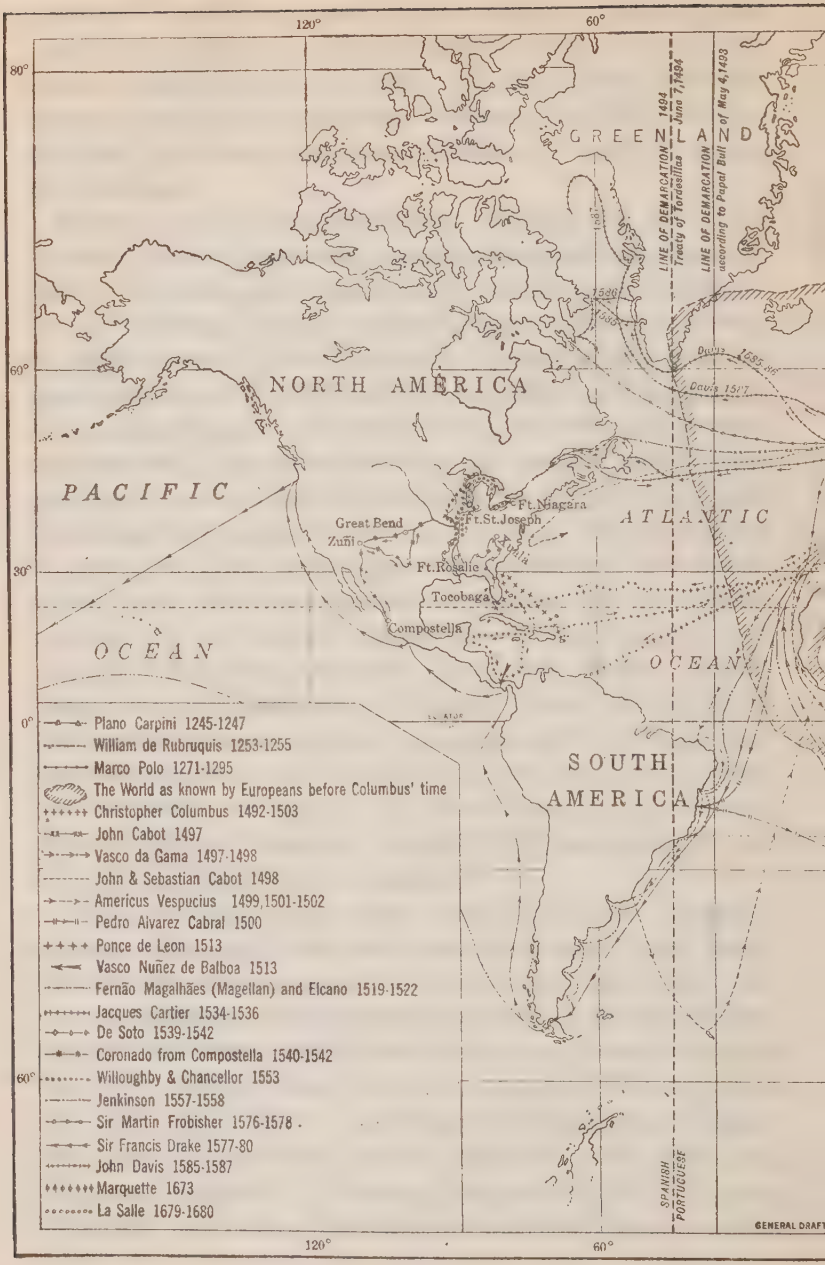
present. Luther was now in open revolt. Far and wide men were thrilled as they heard the news. All the elements of discontent in Germany—social, secular, political, religious—rallied around him. Great men offered to protect him, and large numbers of adherents began to accept his teachings.

Luther in full revolt

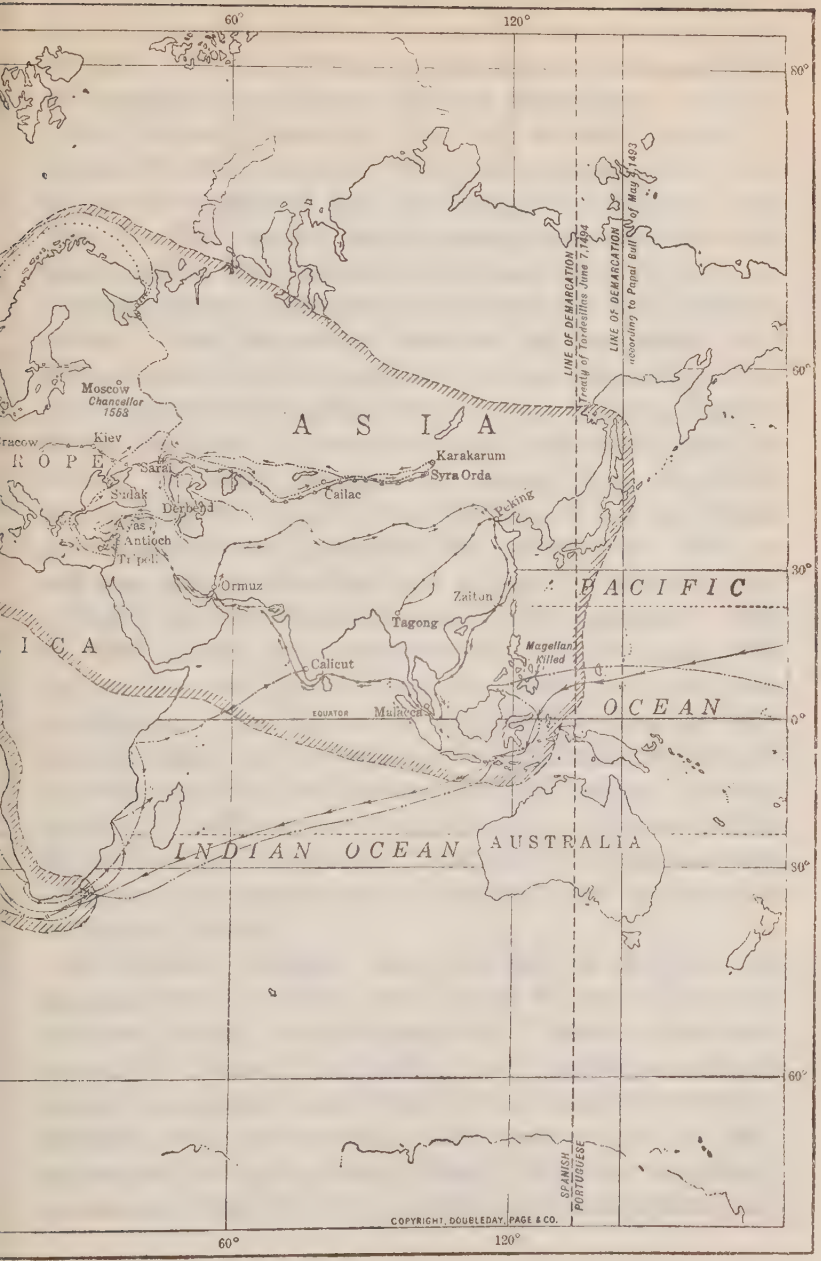
Luther enlarged his opposition. During the year 1520 he wrote three of the most important pamphlets ever published, the three great Reformation treatises in Germany. *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation concerning the Reformation of the Christian Commonwealth* was the most important. In this writing he called on Germany to rise against Rome. No reform of the church was possible without this. By divers devices vast sums of money were constantly sucked out of Germany to support the profligate and extravagant court of the pope. It was foolish to assert that the pope alone could interpret the Scriptures; they were open to be interpreted by all. There was not, as the Roman church had so long insisted, any essential distinction between laity and clergy. In his treatise *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church* he examined the Roman system of sacraments, declared that some of them were invalid, and asserted that it was lawful for the clergy to marry. In *The Liberty of a Christian Man* he declared that if a Christian man had faith, he had all; without faith he had nothing.

Luther's influence increases

These writings had large circulation and immense appeal. The pope was now gravely alarmed, and would willingly have suppressed the movement, but since the elector of Saxony was gradually accepting all that Luther taught, and since multitudes of the people and many of the lesser nobility were for him, the arm of Rome could not reach him. A new sovereign had just been elected, the Spanish Hapsburg prince, chosen in 1519 to be the Emperor Charles V. He was a devout Catholic. During all of his later years his principal ambition was to crush



10. PRINCIPAL VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY



5TH, AND 17TH CENTURIES

the Lutheran heresy and heal all schism in the church. At the moment, however, he was not only loath to force a conflict with any of the German princes, but he was himself engaged in a dispute with the papal court. An adviser, it is said, counselled him to show some favor to "a certain Martin Luther," who was opposing the pope. It should be noticed that all through the critical years when the Reformation was beginning, there were repeated opportunities for crushing it out completely, if only the Catholic secular authorities had coöperated fully with the church. Very frequently, however, the two parties were in conflict during this period, so that sometimes the church was lukewarm in opposing the religious seceders, while at others the pope's opponents sought assistance from the rebels. On other occasions the danger from the Turks was so great that the emperor had to seek assistance from good Catholics and supporters of Luther alike. The result was that Lutheranism was allowed to establish itself so firmly that in the end it could not be uprooted. July 15, 1520, Luther was excommunicated by the papal bull, *Exurge Domine* (Rise, O Lord), in which his works were condemned. If at the end of sixty days he had not fully recanted, he would be judged an irreclaimable heretic; all places in which he had shelter would be subject to interdict then. Luther at once burned a copy of this bull in the Wittenberg public square. The pope's pronouncement made no great impression in Germany, far less than the writings of Luther.

No resolute effort to crush the heresy at first

Leo X excommunicates Luther

In October, Charles was crowned at Aachen. In January, 1521, he held his first diet, at Worms. The pope had now yielded in his dispute with Charles, which concerned the Spanish inquisition, and Charles summoned Luther to appear before him in the imperial assembly. Provided with safe-conducts and accompanied by supporters and friends he went thither. Awed by the august appearance of the diet, he was little regarded by those who

Luther confronts Charles V at the Diet of Worms

beheld him. But he refused to retract his doctrines or any of his writings unless they were refuted by the evidence of Scripture. "Here stand I," he said at last, on the next day as they pressed him, "I cannot do otherwise. God help me, Amen."

Allowed to depart

There were some who urged that his safe conduct be violated, and that he be seized as a heretic. Charles refused. A Spanish historian relates that shortly before Charles died, when he was in retirement at the monastery of Yuste, he expressed regret that he had not followed this advice and so stamped out at the beginning the mighty conflagration that arose about holy church. Perhaps it would have been dangerous to attempt this. Many were now in favor of Luther. "Rather than he shall be oppressed by the pope's authority, a hundred thousand of the people will sacrifice their lives," wrote an Englishman who was present. Some of the great princes were now his adherents, and one of his supporters had a strong force near Worms at this time. Accordingly, he was allowed to depart. A week before, the emperor had delivered his judgment: that Luther's doctrines struck a blow at all lawful authority; that after his safe conduct had expired he would be pursued as a heretic; that the emperor would uproot heresy by every means in his power. May 26, Luther was outlawed by a decree of the diet, known as the Edict of Worms. He was declared a heretic, as were they who sheltered him or printed or published his books. He would now have been in very great danger, but on the eve of his departure friends had arranged to abduct him. So he was seized by a body of horsemen and taken to the castle of Wartburg.

Outlawed: the Edict of Worms

There he remained in such secret refuge that his friends long supposed he was dead. During this period he made part of his translation of the Bible, an event of great importance in religious history and in the history of the German language. There were already numerous trans-

lations of the Bible into German, but they were based upon the *Vulgate*, so that the rendering was a Catholic one. Luther's translation was based, as far as he was able to do it, upon the originals in the Hebrew and the Greek. His New Testament was published in 1522; the Old Testament twelve years later. The German that he used was the court language of Saxony, a form of the High German, or language spoken in the south. Since this Bible speedily became the most widely read book in the German countries, Luther's language rapidly superseded various dialects as a literary medium, and went far to make a common language for many of the German people.

Luther's translation of the Bible, 1522-34

Meanwhile, the Reformation was spreading rapidly among the German people, and either under independent leaders, or under followers of Luther, it took root in lands near by. In Switzerland a religious revolt had already commenced independently under Zwingli when Luther began his work. Rapidly the Reformation made way through the Rhine country, in southern Germany, in Austria, in Bohemia, in Poland, in northern Germany. It crept westward into the northern Netherlands, northward into Denmark, across the Baltic to Norway and Sweden. Englishmen learned it, and went back to make a beginning in England. The powerful teachings of Calvin won numerous adherents in France, in Scotland, and elsewhere. For a while some dissenters were to be found in Italy, in Portugal, in Spain.

Spread of the Reformation

The beginning of the Reformation in Switzerland occurred earlier than in Germany itself, though almost at once the magnitude of the work accomplished by the Germans overshadowed that of the Swiss. In 1516 Huldreich Zwingli at Einsiedeln denounced as useless pilgrimages to the famous shrine of the Virgin there. Two years later he was appointed to preach in the cathedral of the important city of Zürich. There he denounced indulgences, and presently many practices and doctrines

The Reformation in Switzerland: Zwingli

of the Catholic Church. He was followed by a large part of the Swiss population. Some of the cantons, however, adhered stanchly to the old faith, and Zwingli lost his life in battle when their troops marched on Zürich (1531). Yet the result of his work was that most of the Swiss followed the Reformation.

In Germany the basis of the Reformation was the cities and the *bourgeoisie*

Zwingli's doctrines were somewhat different from Luther's, but it was partly because of Zwingli's work that the Reformation was extended in south Germany so quickly. In 1524 the great city of Strasburg was won, and many other cities followed. In western, in southern, and in northern Germany were many important urban communities, in which strong elements of discontent with the old order had long existed. These cities went rapidly over to the Reformation and were thenceforth its strongest bulwark. Their wealth and prestige made them centers of influence in the districts in which they stood. In them were citizens who had experience in business and government, in management and arrangement of affairs. Some of them, as in the Hanseatic towns, had had experience in large organization. This was, perhaps, indispensable for the wider success of the Lutheran Reformation. Luther was a mighty champion and inspiring leader, but he lacked such genius for management as leaders in other lands, like Calvin and some of his associates had, or like that which Loyola and other Catholics supplied to the Counter-Reformation. Throughout German countries the Reformation now went steadily forward. In 1525 the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and the margrave of Brandenburg publicly declared themselves Lutherans.

Radicalism and rash expectations develop

In 1525 came a great setback to the movement. As is usually the case during the course of revolutionary changes, all sorts of radical doctrines were being preached, all sorts of grievances pressed forward for solution, and many radicals rushed headlong on far beyond what the leaders at first had intended. Luther and his associates

had been proclaiming abuses in the Roman Catholic Church and striving to lead the way, as they said, to reformation. Vast expectations were excited, and in the minds of many people great unrest and uncertainty aroused. Many believed that in all respects the system of things should be altered, and that by making alterations quickly all existing ills would be cured. A great mass of the ignorant, the lowly, the apathetic were stirred into hope that the evils about them would now be abolished and all their desires be fulfilled. At this time throughout central Europe the condition of the agricultural population was extremely depressed. They lived in a serfdom far worse than what was ended long afterward by the great Revolution in France. Bound down under all sorts of onerous obligations of payment and work to their lords, their lives were very lowly and hard. The revolution going on in religious affairs now reached them, and among them was carried forward in a social and economic uprising.

The lowest class also expects a reformation

Such was the origin of the Peasants' Revolt of 1525. It began in Bavaria and quickly spread through southern German districts near by. It was a huge, unorganized, disorderly rising of peasants. In the first surprise they carried everything before them. Fearful excesses against the rural nobles and gentry followed, as when the French peasants rose in 1358 and 1789, and the Russian peasants in 1918. But the nobles soon put strong armies into the field; then the peasant mobs were dispersed and slaughtered without mercy. Conditions now became harder than before; and, so thorough had been the defeat and the punishment, worse conditions were dumbly endured. Never again did the German peasants rise as in 1525. They remained in their serfdom until the French Revolution and Napoleon set them free. The effects of the movement, however, upon the Reformation were very disastrous. Luther, conservative as he was for the most part,

The Peasants' Revolt, 1525

The peasants thoroughly crushed

Disastrous to the Lutheran movement

was horror-struck at what the peasants did; and their efforts to overturn the social system aroused in him no sympathy whatever. He even urged on the ruling classes to the work of destruction and slaughter. None the less, a great many people drew back from his movement now. It was evident, they thought, that indirectly Luther's religious teachings had led to the Peasants' Revolt, and might lead to much more violence and mischief in the future.

Philipp [Schwarzerd] Melanchthon: simple statements of Lutheran doctrine

For some time, however, the Reformation continued to gain. Luther's translation of the New Testament was being widely read. In 1521 his friend and colleague, Melanchthon, had published the *Loci Communes* (Commonplaces), the first simple exposition of Lutheran doctrines, a treatise that went through some sixty editions in its author's lifetime. In 1524 he followed this with his *Epitome Doctrinæ Christianæ* (Summary of Christian Doctrine). These writings and many others increased the number of converts. With such powerful local support as the Reformation now had from numerous cities, many knights, and several of the more powerful princes, the Roman Catholic Church could do little to harm it. Even in districts which remained true to the church there was considerable demand for reform. Elsewhere it was hopeless to put down the revolt except through the emperor, and for some time the emperor did nothing.

Charles V unable to crush the Reformation by imperial authority

At this time Charles V was much more engrossed in his Spanish and his Italian policy, and in rivalry with the king of France, than he was with German affairs. For some time he had not the power to coerce any of the great princes of the empire. Rather he needed all the support that he could persuade them to give. In 1521 had begun a long war between France and the emperor, in the course of which the pope sided with the French for a while, with the result that in 1527 imperial troops captured and plundered Rome, then held the pope prisoner for Charles.

The army that did this was composed partly of Catholic Spaniards and partly of Lutheran Germans. To the southeast there was constant danger from the Turks. In 1521 they had captured Belgrade; in 1526 they overran Hungary; in 1529 they besieged Vienna itself. The king of France, hard pressed by the greater power of his rival, had not scrupled to seek alliance with the Turks, so that in Germany Charles was sometimes threatened by formidable foes on two fronts. In 1532 the Sultan Suleiman again marched northward with an immense army, and Charles was glad to purchase the assistance of the Protestant princes by many immunities and concessions. In 1544, threatened by the French and by Turks again, the emperor once more made concessions to the Lutheran powers. This he did because of necessity only. All the time he was filled with desire to destroy the heresy completely.

Preoccupied with foreign policy and wars

So it was that the Reformation had opportunity to become thoroughly established. In 1524 the *recess* (law or decree) of the Diet of Nürnberg ordered that the Edict of Worms, proscribing Lutheranism, should be executed "as far as possible"; with the result that almost nothing was done. In 1526 the Lutheran leaders ratified the League of Torgau, an alliance for their mutual protection. In 1526, when the Diet of Speier assembled, Charles, anxious for Lutheran help against the Turks, instructed his representatives to suspend the penalties provided by the Edict of Worms, and refer all religious disputes to a future council of the church.

The Reformation has time to grow strong

In the following years danger from the Turk lessened for a while, and emperor and pope became reconciled. Charles was already persecuting religious seceders in his Netherland dominions, and he resolved now to extirpate the Lutheran heresy altogether. In 1528, by imperial decree, he annulled the recess of the Diet of Speier. Next year assembled another Diet of Speier. Here religious

The emperor's affairs improve

affairs were referred to a committee of which the majority were Catholics. The decision of this committee was that religious matters should be settled shortly by a council or assembly, that meanwhile the Edict of Worms should be enforced wherever it could be, that elsewhere no further change should be allowed, that there should nowhere be any interference with the mass. From this decision the Lutherans dissented. April 19, 1529, they drew up a protest against the work of the diet. To them, in consequence, and gradually to all others who seceded from the Roman Catholic Church during the Reformation, the term Protestants came to be applied. The designation is said to have been made first by the papal nuncio, Contarini. It soon came into wide and general use. The word "Protestantes" occurs in an unprinted letter of 1539 to the English official Thomas Cromwell. In 1596 a Venetian correspondent speaks of "Protestants and Catholics" (*i protestanti ed i cattolici*).

The second Diet of Speier: "Protestants," 1529

The demeanor of the emperor became more threatening now. In 1530 a diet was assembled at Augsburg. Here the Protestants presented a manifesto embodying the principal tenets which they held. The Augsburg Confession, as this document was called, was drawn up by the scholarly and moderate Melanchthon. It was designed to be made as little obnoxious to the Catholics as could be. From Strasburg and three other places, in which the Zwinglian reformation had made headway, the *Confessio Tetrapolitana* (Confession of the Four Cities) was handed in. It closely resembled the Augsburg Confession except in the tenets concerning the Lord's Supper. In a recess of the diet Charles announced that the Edict of Worms should be enforced.

The emperor refuses toleration

Protestantism proscribed

The result of this was to divide the German people definitely into two parties. The Lutherans now had their church constitution. In 1530 and 1531 the Protestant communities drew together in the powerful League of

Schmalkalden, and prepared to defend themselves. With this League Francis I, king of France, made alliance. The king of England, who desired to put aside his wife, the aunt of Charles V, was becoming more hostile to Charles every day. Meanwhile, the Turks made mighty preparations for another attack. Under these circumstances Charles was compelled to come to an understanding with the confederates of Schmalkalden, the result of which was the Religious Peace of Nürnberg, concluded in 1532. By the terms of this arrangement Lutherans were not to be molested because of religion, nor were they to be disturbed in the possession of church property which they had taken. Such security was not extended to other Protestant dissenters, like the Zwinglians or the Anabaptists. In return, aid of money and men was to be given by the Lutherans to the emperor. Thereafter for some years Charles was thoroughly occupied again in various parts of his extensive dominions, and in wars with France, with the Turk, with the Moors. During these years Protestantism was more thoroughly and more solidly established.

The Lutherans form the League of Schmalkalden, 1530–1

Temporary compromise and toleration

In 1546 Luther died. His character and life are better known than those of most men, but the passion aroused by his career has not yet subsided, and very different estimates of him are held. To Protestants he is the champion of their movement; to Lutherans the very hero of their cause. To many Catholics he has seemed an embodiment of the evil one, a curse, an affliction raised up to plague the world. The Spanish historian Gomara declared that devils seized him on his deathbed and carried him off to Hell; and Raynaldus relates much the same story in his *Annales Ecclesiastici*, the immense history which the Church of Rome caused to be compiled. To some others he has seemed a simple, strong, earnest man, conservative, devout, religious, of immense moral courage and resource in opposing whatever he deemed to be wrong.

Death of Luther: various estimates of him

He was and he always remained essentially a man of the people, and like the American leader, Lincoln, long after, his memory was enshrined in the hearts of great numbers as truly one of themselves. That he was also coarse, and at times violent and rough there cannot be doubt. His writings contain numerous passages which finer and milder men like Melanchthon could not and would not have written. His private life has been variously viewed. In 1525, about a year after he renounced his priesthood in the Catholic Church, he married Catharina von Bora, who had been a nun, but who renounced her vows in consequence of his teaching. Six children were born of this marriage. Some Catholic antagonists have declared that as England broke with Rome when Henry VIII wished to be rid of a wife whom the pope would not let him put away, so the Reformation in Germany began because Luther wished to be free from his monastic vow to be chaste. To speak thus is to assign very large movements to very small single causes. On the other hand, Protestants have retorted that the sexual debauchery which, they say, often prevailed among Catholic priests, did not pertain to Protestant clergy, for they could enter normal marriage relations. So long as religious feeling continues to have any strength so long will there be conflicting opinions about Luther. To ardent Catholics he will ever seem as Antichrist, or agent of Satan, who split the true church in twain. To others he will be even as he still stands in effigy at Worms —the mighty, undaunted hero, who dissipated obscurantism and medieval superstition, breaking the power of papal Rome, and opening broad the way to mankind for further progress and freedom.

His marriage

Conflicting opinions will continue about him

For more than a generation Protestantism continued in some places its victorious advance. From the German countries it had spread into the Germanic or Dutch Netherlands at once. Between 1520 and 1550 Charles V

issued numerous edicts against heresy there, and strove to stamp it out by introducing the inquisition. Discontent of the Protestants because of these proceedings was one of the principal causes that later led to the revolt of the Netherlands from Spain. In southern Germany, especially in Bavaria, the Reformation was making less progress than in the middle and the north; but Protestantism was soon carried into the Austrian dominions and on into Hungary, which the Austrian rulers had partly acquired. In Poland as well as in Hungary there was for some time a great deal of success, especially among the upper classes and people of the towns. To a less extent this was so in Italy and in Spain, where new doctrines were embraced by many important and educated people. In neither of these countries, however, did Protestantism ever obtain any hold on the masses of the people.

Continued spread of the Reformation

In Denmark the Reformation was urged forward by Prince Christian, who had studied in Germany and become an enthusiastic convert to the Lutheran doctrines. Largely owing to his influence, King Frederick I, his father, introduced the Lutheran system. In 1536, when Christian III had come to the throne, a Danish diet abolished the Roman Catholic religion in the country, and seized the church property for the crown—the same year that the lesser monasteries were suppressed in England. Still earlier had Lutheranism triumphed in Sweden. The able Gustavus Vasa, a zealous convert, became king of Sweden in 1523. At the Diet of Westerås in 1527 he persuaded the assembled estates of the realm to sanction the confiscation of the monasteries, much as Henry VIII induced the English parliament to do nine years later. As Henry did also, Gustavus Vasa declared himself supreme head of the church. The destruction of Catholicism in Sweden was largely completed in 1544 by the second Diet of Westerås. Ultimately Lutheranism prevailed completely in the Scandinavian countries, and

Protestantism gains the Scandinavian countries

Gustavus Vasa

during one brief period the Protestants of Sweden saved Protestantism in Germany itself.

The Catholic Church in England

In the opinion of most historians, the English church in the Middle Ages, certainly after the Norman Conquest (1066), became practically and essentially a part of the great ecclesiastical organization of Latin Christianity in western Europe, under headship of the pope. Not a few of the Church of England maintain, however, that their church has from the beginning had its own doctrines, based upon teachings of Christ and the Scriptures, always maintaining an independent existence; that during the Middle Ages this independence was encroached upon by papal usurpation; that then their true doctrines were overlaid with monkish and patristic superstitions. During the sixteenth century, they say, independence was asserted again, and the superstitions were purged away. In like manner one may say that the Reformation began in England in the fourteenth century, with the work of Wiclif; that although Lollardy was nearly stamped out, yet some of it lingered on, and, later enlarging, became the foundation of English Protestantism. Much is to be said for all these contentions; but, generally speaking, it seems nearer the truth to assert that in England the Reformation began in the sixteenth century, since for a long time preceding England had been a part of the Roman church under the pope.

Beginning of the Reformation in England

Revolt from the Catholic Church was prepared in England, to some extent, by leaders of the Renaissance there—Colet, More, and Erasmus; for in England the Renaissance had at first largely a religious aspect. Scholars were interested in study of Greek mostly so as to read the New Testament in the original, and learn, as they hoped, exactly what Christ's teachings had been. Almost immediately also after 1517 the effects of the revolt in Germany reached over into England, and Luther's teachings began to have considerable influence there. In spite

of much opposition and some persecution Protestantism was embraced by numbers of the people.

Henry VIII of England

A powerful impulse was given by the action of the government of England, though at first the government was strongly opposed to the Reformation. In 1521 Henry VIII, king of England, attempted to refute Luther's *Babylonish Captivity* by writing a book, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* (Defence of the Seven Sacraments). It was for writing this book that the pope, Leo X, gave Henry the title *Fidei Defensor* (Defender of the Faith), which English sovereigns have retained ever since. "If indulgences are impostures," said Henry in this treatise, "then all the popes are impostors, and it is easier to believe that one little friar is a diseased sheep than that all the popes of old were faithless shepherds." But Henry himself effected the complete separation of the English church from Rome. The immediate cause was desire to be separated from his wife Catharine, and his bitter quarrel with the pope when a "divorce" was not granted. He cut off all English payments to Rome (1532–4), caused himself to be declared supreme head of the church (1535), and confiscated the property of the monastic orders (1536–40). Henry attempted to maintain the Catholic faith in the church of which he thus became head. In 1539 the Statute of the *Six Articles* was passed to compel all the people of England to adhere to transubstantiation and the principal tenets of the Catholic faith. Because of the ecclesiastical rupture, however, a great impulse was given to Protestantism in England. During the reign of Henry's son, Edward VI (1547–1553) those who ruled England were Protestants, and they attempted, by force and by legislation, to compel all Englishmen to accept the Reformation. Under Mary (1553–1558), the sister of Edward, a devout Catholic, there was a violent reaction. The church was united to Rome again, and Mary strove by bitter persecution to make all England Catholic once

Separation of the Church of England from Rome, 1532–40

Protestantism established by the English government

more. During the long reign of Mary's sister, Elizabeth (1558–1603), separation from Rome was maintained, and gradually Protestantism was accepted by the mass of the people.

Protestantism in France

In France the Reformation began immediately after Luther's revolt, and for some time made very great headway. Margaret, queen of Navarre, sister of Francis I, gave it powerful support. For a while it was favored by numerous high ecclesiastics, many of the nobility, and numerous wealthy burghers in the towns. By 1558 it is said that there were 2,000 Protestant churches in France, and the *Huguenots*, as the French Protestants were called, made a powerful party in the state. Generally, however, Protestantism was in the end seen to be less acceptable to the temperament of the French than their old religion. Hence, while Protestantism in France long maintained itself, unlike what happened in Italy and in Spain, yet gradually it was reduced to small proportions, and Catholicism remained the dominant religion of the country.

Calvin, French Protestant leader

French Protestantism is more important for one of its members than from the strength of its adherents in France, since it produced in Calvin one of the greatest leaders of the Reformation. Jean Cheauvin or Calvin (1509–64) was born at Noyon in northeastern France. He was early destined for the church, but after studying at Paris he was assailed with doubts about Catholic teachings, and giving up his benefice, entered upon the study of law. He became a convert to Protestantism and was forced by persecution to flee from France. After taking refuge in various Protestant centers—Ferrara in Italy, Geneva in Switzerland, and Strasburg—he settled at Geneva. There he spent the remainder of his life, and there he gradually acquired complete power, the government becoming a theocracy with himself at the head. There he became the spiritual leader of one great party of those who accepted

Protestant teachings. He married and had one son. In 1536 he published his great work, *Christianæ Religionis Institutio* (Institutes of the Christian Faith), the most important book produced, perhaps, by the Reformation.

Calvinism

The doctrines of Calvin were not at the start very different from those of Luther, but his stern, bold temperament, the remorseless exactness of his logic, the precision of his legal habit of mind, ultimately led to very different results. In 1561 his followers expressly repudiated the tenth article of the Lutheran Confession of Augsburg, which had to do with the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, as well as some other tenets of the Lutheran faith. After that time his adherents were known as Calvinists, to distinguish them from other Protestant adherents. Calvinism, besides establishing itself in Geneva, was for the most part the religion of the Huguenots of France. It made some progress in western Germany, and won a considerable part of the Protestant population of the Dutch Netherlands. It was this form of Protestantism, moreover, that established itself in Scotland. From Scotland and from the continent it made advances into England, and at one time nearly established itself there by force. Generally, Calvinism was accepted by the harsh, the stern, but often by the educated, the radical, the aggressive. In religion Calvinism made a far wider break with the Roman Catholic Church than either Lutheranism or the Church of England. Transferred to politics its teachings had much to do with establishing republican and even democratic ideas, which in the end limited the power of monarchs, and in some places overthrew old systems of government completely.

Its character

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CHAPTER VII

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

Hallóse por esto presente a ver llevar i entregar al fuego muchos delinquentes . . . i entre ellos a dō Carlos de Sese noble, grade i pertinaz herege, que le dixo, como le dexaba quemar? i re respondio, *Yo traerè leña para quemar a mi hijo si fuere tan malo como vos.*

Luis Cabrera, *Filipe Segundo Rey de España* (Madrid, 1619), p. 236.

Le xxxvii Octobre mdliii Mourût sur le bûcher à Champel michel servet

Fils respectueux et reconnaissants de Calvin . . . mais condamnant une erreur qui fut celle de son siècle et fermement attaches à la liberté de conscience . . . nous avons élevés ce monument expiatoire. Le xxvii Octobre mcmiii.

Inscriptions on the two sides of the monument to servetus at Champel near Geneva.

Si quis dixerit, in sacrosancto eucharistiæ sacramento remanere substantiam panis et vini una cum corpore et sanguine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, negaveritque mirabilem illam et singularem conversionem totius substantiæ panis in corpus, et totius substantiæ vini in sanguinem, manentibus duntaxat speciebus panis et vini, quam quidem conversionem catholica ecclesia aptissime transubstantiationem appellat: anathema sit.

Decree of the Council of Trent concerning Transubstantiation: *Canones et Decreta Concilii Tridentini* (ed. Leipzig, 1853). sessio XIII, canon II.

Great extension of Protestantism

During Luther's life and generally for a time thereafter, Protestantism went on in progress and triumph. Held back in some places it proceeded the more rapidly in others, and constantly appeared to increase the number of its converts. During this period the representatives of Venice abroad were accustomed to send back home *relazioni* (reports), which contain some of the most interesting and

important historical information concerning their time. In 1558 a Venetian ambassador, doubtless with exaggeration, stated that no more than one tenth of all the German people were Roman Catholics. About the same time another Venetian envoy declared that the pope could reckon only on Italy and Spain as completely secure. In 1565, the pope, Pius IV, in a moment of discouragement, perhaps, told the cardinals that scarcely a tenth part of Christendom obeyed him. At this time it may have seemed on the surface that nearly all of the Europe once obedient to the popes of Rome would be entirely lost to their allegiance. Actually this was not to be. A series of great causes was now to be revealed that would enable Catholicism largely to hold its own. Driven, as Macaulay once said, nearly to the southern shores of Europe, it was there to rally and gather forces for a counter attack, in the course of which Protestantism would be almost destroyed and driven to the northern seas. The Protestants rallying then, a long conflict would sway backward and forward, during wars of religion horrible and destructive. In the end, when these wars were over, the western half of Europe would remain divided between the old faith and those faiths which the Protestant revolt had founded. Roughly, the northern half of Europe would be Protestant; the southern would remain to the Catholic Church.

The church of Rome recovers much of its power

Various were the causes of this successful resistance by Catholicism, and of its victorious advance in the Counter-Reformation. Most important, doubtless, was its own intrinsic strength together with the general excellence of its character and institutions. Its enemies saw in it numerous faults, and some of these faults were at one time grievous indeed. That it no longer fulfilled so important a mission in the world was to some beyond any doubt. That its character and institutions made it an immense obstacle to further progress and enfranchise-

Intrinsic strength of the Roman Catholic Church

ment for those who had attained a certain stage in the development of culture was amply evident to numerous persons. It must always be remembered, however, that the world consists of many and various people. The Roman Catholic Church had for ages been the most powerful, the most honored, the most successful, and often the most beneficial organization in western Europe. The immense changes now coming over that part of the world seemed to render all this less than in the past. But what had formerly made it so great and successful with all men continued in these days of adversity still to endear it to many. There were multitudes of men and women to whom it could still give more consolation, enlightenment, and assistance than any other thing on earth. Furthermore, there were many to whom its characteristics were more suitable than those of Lutheranism or the Calvinist faith. Some of the reformers might demolish the relics and strip the churches of pictures, statues, and decorations, exulting that thus they had removed from religion the superstition accumulated on it. There were a great many, however, to whom these things seemed no superstition, but the visible expression of their faith. In southern Europe, Latin Christianity had developed before it spread to the north; in the south ultimately it held its own.

Still very dear to many

After a while it was evident that to certain types of mind Catholicism had more appeal than any of the newer churches established by the reformers. A great many who were bold, self-reliant, and aggressive easily embraced Protestantism, and for such people Calvinism had particular attraction. On the other hand, to the submissive or dependent no religion brought so much security and peace as that of the Church of Rome. Often they whose intellect was strong and whose æsthetic perception was weaker looked on the Romish ritual as idolatrous. Stripping their own churches and rituals of ceremony and adornment they believed that thus they came nearer to God.

Different temperaments and ideals

On the other hand, many in whom æsthetic and artistic sense was instinctive saw in decoration, music, stately ceremonial, and the fine art which the Roman Catholic Church had fostered the proper and requisite means of worthily worshipping God.

Conservatives cling to the older faith

Generally the bold, the enterprising, the radicals, and the innovators seceded, while conservatives clung to the older faith. Indeed, when the scope of the revolution was seen more clearly, many who took part in the changes at first, but who were really conservative by instinct, drew back and remained with the Catholic Church. This was the case with not a few who were distinguished in the Renaissance and revival of learning, some of whom were very forward in condemning abuses in the church. What they desired, however, was reform, not overthrow of the church; and if the choice must be made, they would stay in their church unreformed rather than abandon it completely.

Erasmus never a Protestant

Such was the case with Erasmus. No one decried with more wit and ability the abuses and superstitions of his time, corruption of the clergy, idleness, vicious living of monks. Sometimes he seemed to go very far, and many looked upon him as a leader. "Erasmus laid the egg of the Reformation and Luther hatched it," a certain one said. Yet he drew back from the Lutheran secession, and remained an adherent of the pope.

Fear of radicalism and drastic change

Then and long after there seemed much reason to avoid the new and cling to the old. To uproot and cast down the most venerable structure that men knew might well seem the beginning of a revolution in which all that was dearest and best would go to destruction. Some then looked upon the innovators and the Reformation much as some now look upon Bolshevists and the social radicalism proposed for the future. It is ever this way with revolutions, and a sound instinct makes people feel thus. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there were times when no one could know how much of the estab-

lished order would disappear in confusion and tumult. In 1525 the revolt of the German peasants against social and economic conditions everywhere affrighted the holders of property and established position. In 1534 the Anabaptists, an old sect now attracting much new attention, got possession of Münster, and strove to establish what they conceived was an early Christian community by holding all property in common. Some attempt was even made to abolish individual possession of wives. In 1546 a religious war began in Germany. After that time, with some intervals, terrible religious conflicts raged in different parts of Europe for more than a hundred years. In the course of that time there was horrible destruction of property and life, terrible persecution and torture, immense misery and woe resultant. To many all these things seemed necessary and a small enough price to pay for the benefits they were certain would follow. There were many others who foresaw the probability of such things and shrunk aside, doubting whether any gain could possibly balance the loss.

War, confusion, and terror

The progress of Protestantism was checked partly from divisions within itself. The church of Rome had a vast organization in which unity was enforced by a powerful government at the center. When the Protestants broke away from this church they desired to have such unity themselves. Luther conceived himself to protest against certain definite errors. In the church he established he believed these errors not to exist. It was the hope of Lutherans that in time all Christians might see the light and desire to enter their fold. But what the Lutherans had done, others strove to do independently in their own manner. Then from the principal sects that were formed smaller sects tried to break away also.

The Protestants were not united

Zwingli established a secession in Germanic Switzerland at the same time that Luther was doing his work farther east. An earnest effort was made to unite these two Prot-

Zwinglians and Lutherans differ about the Lord's Supper

estant bodies, but without success. They differed fundamentally about the Lord's Supper. The Lutherans renounced the doctrine of transubstantiation, by which Catholics understood that through the miracle of the mass the priest presided over changing the substance of bread and wine into body and blood of Christ. But Luther did not go away very far. The words "This is my body," he took literally, maintaining that the bread of the communion was indeed the body of Christ. To explain this, Lutherans developed the doctrine of *consubstantiation:* the bread and wine of the communion were, they said, the body and blood of Christ, not because the priest effected a change from one substance to another, but because God being infinite and omnipresent, he, and hence Christ, and hence the body and blood of Christ were everywhere, and so were so co-existent with the bread and the wine. It may be said that the Church of England denied transubstantiation, but left considerable doubt what doctrine was substituted by it therefor. On the other hand, the Zwinglians rejected transubstantiation, and declared that the bread and wine of the communion were bread and wine, the service being merely a memorial and commemoration of the sacrifice that Christ had once made. In this doctrine they were followed by many of the Puritans of England, and afterward by the "low church" members of the Anglican organization. Because of this fundamental difference Lutherans and Zwinglians were unable to unite, and going their separate way often acted one against the other.

Various doctrines

Between Calvinists and Lutherans the gulf was still wider. Calvinists rejected transubstantiation, but affirmed real presence in the communion of Christ's body and blood solely as "power" or force. In other things there was even more effective disunion. One of Luther's cardinal precepts was *justification by faith:* any one who had complete faith in the power of God to save him would be

justified, that is judged righteous by God, and so find salvation. It should be noted that there was no great gap between this and doctrines held by the Catholic Church; and this was the one great Protestant dogma which the Catholic Council of Trent for a while considered accepting. Calvin, with remorseless logic which the more timid would have shuddered to use, developed the doctrine of *predestination*. The salvation or the damnation of everyone, he said, had been predestined or determined from the first. God was infinite, omniscient, eternal. He always had been; he always had known all things that were and would be. It followed, then, that he had known before men were created and before they were born which ones would be damned and which would be saved. A small number, the *elect*, were predestined for Heaven; the others were predestined for Hell.

Lutherans and Calvinists differ about doctrines

In church organization, moreover, there was a wide difference between Calvinists and other Protestant sects. In the Lutheran and in the Anglican system church was subordinate to state, and the king or prince was head of the church in his realm. The Calvinist church like the church of Rome aspired to be one great organization everywhere superior to the state and nowhere subordinate to secular rulers. On the other hand, Lutherans and Anglicans developed church government not unlike that of the Catholic Church which they had left. In each of them were lesser clergy, the ministers or priests, with bishops and archbishops above them. At the head in the Catholic Church was the pope, with nearly absolute power. In the Anglican Church the king was "supreme head" with similar power. In the Lutheran countries the kings or princes had like authority. In all these cases it was the monarchical system in government of the church. According to the Calvinist doctrine, however, all men in the church were equal in the sight of God. Accordingly, there were to be no bishops, archbishops, and higher authorities

Differences in respect of church organization

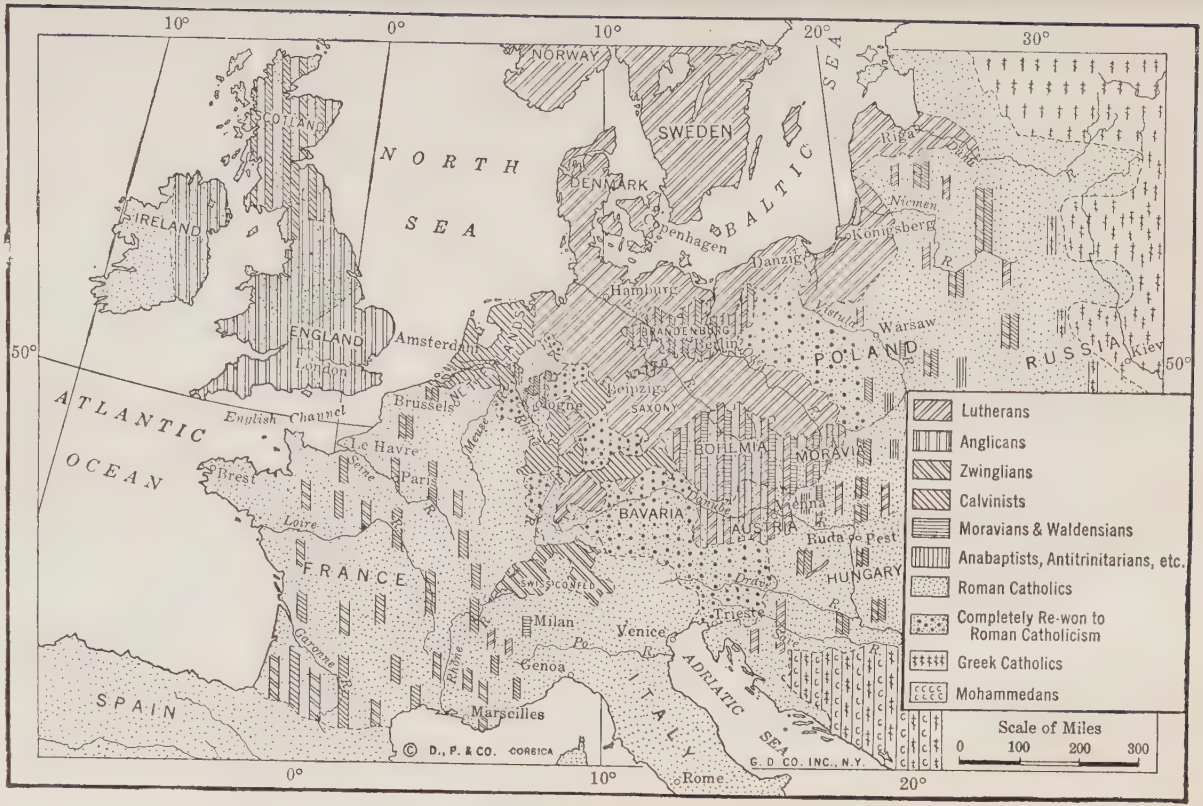
over these equal church members, but governors chosen by the members themselves. The church members elected presbyters—whence the term *presbyterian* was sometimes applied to this system—and for greater concerns the representative presbyters came together in larger assemblies or synods. This was the representative or republican system in government of the church. All conservatives, whether Protestant or Catholic, looked upon it as revolutionary and dangerous then. Transferred later on to the realm of secular politics it affected secular governmental systems profoundly.

Differences about ritual and adornment

Finally, with respect to church ritual there was great difference between Calvinists and the others. The Anglicans retained much of the church decoration and many of the ceremonies which they had had before separation from Rome. To a lesser extent so did the Lutherans likewise. In both cases there was desire to keep fine music, stately service and prayer, and becoming adornment. Calvinists desired nothing of these. There was to be absolute reliance upon the Scriptures. Nothing "idolatrous" should be left to intrude between the worshipper and God. Hence it was the desire of Calvinists, Huguenots, Presbyterians, and some Puritans to purify the church absolutely of all decoration and almost all ceremonial. The churches must be bare; the music simple and plain; the prayers extemporaneous; sermons, based on the Bible, very long. With respect to these things violent disagreement developed between the various Protestant sects. Anglicans and Lutherans looked upon Calvinists as gloomy fanatics. Calvinists often considered them not very different from papists. In Germany Lutherans cared little what befell their Calvinist neighbors. At one time in England desperate civil war arose.

The accompaniment of worship

In face of all this the Catholic Church was making some reform, sufficient to satisfy many, while such unity was established within as had not prevailed for a long time.



11. TO ILLUSTRATE THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

Amendment in the Roman Catholic Church

In the beginning Luther and others had not intended to secede. They desired certain reforms. Failing to get them, they presently departed so as to effect the reforms for themselves. There were many other Catholics who wished reform, but who remained in the bosom of the church. As Rome became more sensible of the situation, measures were taken to satisfy them. In 1522 Adrian VI made concessions to the duke of Bavaria. Arrangements were made which largely satisfied the people of southernmost Germany. Bavaria soon became a stronghold of Catholicism and the Reformation was presently proscribed there. Moreover, as disasters accumulated and the prospect seemed darker, the lesson of adversity was learned and reform and purification were earnestly undertaken from within. For some time, at all events, not even the enemies of the church were able to make such accusations against monks and nuns as before. In various places men of noble and high ideals strove to revive the finest traditions of the great days of the Catholic Church. In Italy Carlo Borromeo (1538–84), who became archbishop of Milan (1560), improved the discipline of the clergy, founded schools, hospitals, libraries, and was so indefatigable in doing good, that he was presently regarded as a saint. In Spain a nun, Theresa (1515–82), tried so zealously to restore discipline in the religious orders and had such influence upon the religious life of her time that she was canonized after her death. In France a certain Vincent de Paul (1576–1660) devoted himself to ministering to the unfortunate. He also was canonized afterward as a saint of the church of Rome. Furthermore, after the middle of the sixteenth century, the popes were very different from some who had worn the tiara before. Contemporaries told vivid tales of the orgies and nepotism of Alexander VI (1492–1503). Julius II (1503–1513) took the field at the head of his army sword in hand. Leo X (1513–1521) cared, apparently, far less for the religion

Character of the popes

of his church than he did for Renaissance culture. After the election of Paul IV (1555–1569) this never was the case again. Thereafter the popes were earnest, religious, even ascetic, zealous for strengthening Catholicism as much as could be. Savonarola and Erasmus declare that the clergy in their time were more devoted to classical than sacred learning. Under the strict supervision now established this was permitted no longer.

Unity reëstablished by a council of the church

As respect was reëstablished by the altered character of church officials and church administration, so unity was strengthened by a council of the church. For years Charles V, who so greatly desired to bring heresy to an end, strove to have a general council called to make reforms and terminate the schism. Many others believed that this would be the most certain way to heal the wounds of the church. For some time, however, the popes were very loath to permit such a council to assemble. In the fifteenth century general councils had striven to assert the doctrine of their superiority to the popes. Since the Council of Basel (1431–49) only one had been called—the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–17)—and generally none had been desired by the popes. At last, however, in 1542, Paul III, after much persuasion, called a gathering to assemble at Trent. Actually the council assembled three years later.

Sessions of the Council of Trent

The Council of Trent (1545–63) was originally desired by Charles and many others so as to bring together Catholics and Lutherans and reunite them all in the one church. But, in fact, most of the leaders on both sides would make no concessions, nor did the pope intend that his authority should be in any way diminished. As a concession to German sentiment the place of meeting was appointed in the empire, but the town of Trent which was chosen was near the Italian border, easily reached by Italian ecclesiastics. The overwhelming majority of those who attended were Italians, with some Germans, some French,

and some zealous Spanish members. The Protestants, considering that there was no real chance for their side to be heard, would not attend. With long intervals between, sessions were held during eighteen years. The council formally assembled in 1545, and next year, because of wars in Germany, adjourned to Bologna, and then dispersed. Julius III caused it to meet at Trent again in 1551, but again religious wars in Germany caused it to disperse the next year. In 1559 another pope, Pius IV, called it together once more. In 1562 it reassembled. Next year its labors were ended.

The old doctrines retained and clearly defined

A considerable party of liberal ecclesiastics were in favor of doing what could be done to satisfy such seceders as the Lutherans, and at one time it seemed possible that the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith might be accepted by the Catholic Church. But a very aggressive party, urged on by Jesuit leaders, opposed any yielding, and no concessions were made. One of the principal results of the council was to reveal to the world a Catholic Church confident of the truth of its dogmas, standing strong, unswerving, united. Another result was that at Trent numerous doctrines about which there had recently been some contention—hence for many an uncertainty resultant, were now authoritatively and clearly defined so that no longer might a true follower doubt what his church would have him believe. A rigid definition, for example, of transubstantiation was given.

Catholic dogmas reaffirmed

Catholic theology, as stated long before by Thomas Aquinas and others, was explicitly confirmed and maintained. Protestants had rejected or denied the validity of some of the sacraments or sacred religious ceremonies of the Roman Church. The council reaffirmed all the seven sacraments: baptism, confirmation, the eucharist or celebration of the Lord's Supper, matrimony, penance, extreme unction or anointing by the priest before death, and holy orders of the clergy. Belief in transubstantia-

tion was more strongly restated: "accursed let him be who denies it." Church tradition and church authority as well as the Bible were declared the basis of Christian faith. Belief in purgatory, in indulgences, in prayers to saints, in reverencing relics and images —all of which had been attacked —were distinctly upheld, and have remained since in the Roman Church. Protestant doctrines were rejected and condemned. Here, says the inscription in the Church of *Santa Maria Maggiore*, where the council was held—here was the abominable heresy subverted.

Religious orders

Nor did the Catholic Church merely take the defensive. It developed now the most aggressive religious order seen for ages. In the Jesuits it speedily had an army of daring, zealous soldiers filled with ardor to win back for Rome all that had just been lost. On several occasions in the past the church had profited greatly from the rise within itself of religious orders—the regular clergy whose members were organized and bound together by some special rule (*regula*) and so distinct from the ordinary priests—the secular clergy, the rank and file of the church. In the sixth century the Benedictine monks were established, and for ages thereafter their establishments were centers of learning, civilization, and improvement in western Europe. In the thirteenth century the friars (*fratres*, brothers) began their labors: the Franciscans everywhere assisted and won the hearts of the miserable and needy; the Dominicans, able and energetic preachers, were for a long time zealous in repressing heretics, confounding opponents, and strengthening attachment to the church. Now in this hour of need in the sixteenth century was founded the Society of Jesus, which proved one of the most effective instruments in the period of the Counter-Reformation.

Ignatius Loyola

The Order of the Jesuits was founded by Inigo Lopez de Recalde (1491–1556) born in the Spanish province Guipuzcoa, at the castle of Loyola, whence the name by which he is generally known, Ignatius Loyola. He was a Span-

ish nobleman devoted to military life. During a war with the French he was wounded at the siege of Pamplona. It is characteristic of his courage and stern devotion that when the shattered bone of his leg had healed in such way as to interfere with riding his war horse, he twice ordered the bone to be broken, and willingly endured this torture in the vain hope that his leg might be as it had been, and so let him ride again in the wars. This ardent soldier wished to become now a soldier of Christ. During his long confinement he read many books of devotion. Presently he renounced the world and gave himself up to the Virgin and the church. Presently he went to Paris and entered on a long course of theological training. At Paris in 1534, together with Francisco Xavier, Jacobo Laynez—both Spaniards—and others, he established the nucleus of a religious society. In 1540 Pope Paul III instituted the Society of Jesus. The members of this body were given immense power, all that other religious orders had, and some in addition. They were to be subject only to the pope. In return they were to give him implicit obedience and every service required. Besides the three vows which pertained to religious orders—poverty, chastity, implicit obedience to the superiors of their order—the Jesuits took a fourth, namely, to go wherever the pope wished them to be, for the purpose of converting heretics or infidels, or to serve the church in any way they could. At the head of the Jesuits was to be a general with absolute power above them. Of these generals Loyola was the first and Laynez was the second.

Origin of the Jesuits

The Jesuit missions

At once the Jesuits proved themselves able soldiers and generals for the church. They helped to win back many districts in Europe that had for a while gone over to the Reformation, and they won new populations never before in the fold of the church. In 1541 they began the work of foreign missions. With great success Francis Xavier carried the Catholic faith into Portuguese possessions in

the far east. A considerable number of converts was won in China, and, for a time, even in Japan. In North America Jesuits went to the New France that was being founded on the St. Lawrence, and thence strove to carry their faith to the nomad savage Indians who held the interior country. This they did with some success in the midst of incredible hardships and faced with the ever-present danger of terrible torture and death. The martyrdom of Father Brébeuf at the hands of the Iroquois (1649) is one of the most dreadful stories of martyrdom, heroically endured, in the annals of the church. In South America Jesuits had great success in Brazil, and in the Paraguay country on the shores of the Plata River they established over numerous Indians a government entirely their own. In this way ultimately millions of converts were added to the Catholic Church.

Far-reaching zeal

More important was their work in Europe. There they were the most dangerous foes whom the Protestants encountered. At Trent it was largely their influence that caused the church to present to the seceders an immovable and unbreakable front. With great care the ablest and most forceful of their members were trained to go forth and win over the rulers and the governments of countries where the Reformation was not yet entirely victorious. The Jesuits understood very well that frequently the great mass of the people follow the lead of an active minority. Especially during this period was the religion of a country apt to be what the ruler and his principal assistants professed. Wherever it was possible, especially in the southern German and the Austrian dominions, Jesuit emissaries introduced themselves at court and strove to persuade the princes. In this they had remarkable success. Not only were they filled with zeal for the Catholic Church; they often showed themselves the ablest politicians of their time, and in some places became the most intimate counsellors and confidants of rulers.

Leaders of the Counter-Reformation

Rulers won over

Some of their most effective work was done in the field

The Jesuits and education

of education. They became teachers of the young, instructed them, molded their minds; and when the principles and doctrines so imparted were by their pupils later on put in practice, the church reaped a great reward. Soon after they entered Germany they gained a foothold in the Universities of Prague, Augsburg, Ingolstad, Munich, Cologne. In numberless families they acted as private tutors. Their work, indeed, is important in the history of education. Their system was founded upon the principle of giving very competent instruction in a few things which the pupil was made thoroughly to master. The results were substantial, and seemed very great; but it was afterward evident that the Jesuit educational system relied more on the memory than training of the mental faculties, and, so, often did not conduce to wider and deeper development of the mind.

Great success of the Jesuits

Some of the Jesuits were the most learned and polished men of their age. They were able diplomats and skilful debaters, so that no longer did the Protestants have such large advantage in controversy as had been the case. The far-reaching success of the Jesuits, however, was followed by disaster and downfall for themselves. Their great privileges and their great power soon awakened the jealousy of the older religious orders, of the secular clergy, and also of university authorities. Not only Protestants, but some Catholic opponents, pointed out that their triumphs were achieved partly through an easy morality and through indulgence of the weakness and vices of their followers. Many felt that they could not be trusted. By their enemies, at all events, it was widely asserted that they cherished such maxims as "No faith with heretics," and "the end justifies the means." When they tried to obtain a footing in Protestant countries, like England, they were hunted down like wild beasts. In France they were received with dislike and suspicion. As time went on, the authorities of most Catholic countries wished to

Decline and downfall

expel them. In the seventeenth century they were gravely damaged by the controversy in which Pascal published his *Lettres Provinciales* (Provincial Letters—1656–7). In the eighteenth century they were expelled by government action from Portugal (1759), France (1764), Spain (1767). In 1773 Pope Clement XIV abolished the order completely. In 1814 Pius VII established it again, and subsequently Jesuits were re-admitted to most European countries. The different conditions of the nineteenth century did not permit them to regain the position they had lost. In the desperate struggle of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, they had been one of the mightiest weapons of Rome.

Repression of Protestantism

In all countries, where the Catholic Church could influence the government, stern measures were taken against the Reformation and Protestantism. Edicts were issued proscribing Protestant worship. Protestants were dismissed from employment under the government, debarred from the professions and from institutions of learning, and in every way possible harassed in the making of a living, at the same time that liberal promises and the greatest opportunities were held out to those who returned to the Catholic Church. In countries thoroughly under Catholic control effective measures were taken to prevent further dissemination of heretical writing and teaching, and presently drastic steps were taken to stamp out heresy completely.

Church censorship of writings

From early times it had been the custom of governments to prohibit the circulation of writings of which they disapproved. This custom was the basis of later laws concerning censorship and license to print in many Catholic and many Protestant countries —freedom of opinion and freedom of the press developed nowhere before the end of the seventeenth century. In 1408 a synod at London had prohibited reading the books of Wiclif. In 1546 the University of Louvain published an index or list of books

considered dangerous. During the Counter-Reformation this system was carefully organized by the Catholic Church. The Council of Trent referred to a select committee the task of drawing up a list of books that were not to be read. In 1564 such an index or catalogue was published by them. Somewhat later a special ecclesiastical board was constituted to judge all books as they were issued and put them on the index, if that were deemed well. From time to time thereafter such lists were issued, an edition appearing as late as 1900. Books that might not be read at all by Catholics were put upon the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (list of forbidden books), on the *Index Expurgatorius* (to be expurgated) if they might be read after prescribed changes had been made. The last list of forbidden writings still contained the names of Kant, Descartes, and Spinoza. Thus did the church assert again its reliance upon authority, as in medieval times, and resolutely oppose itself to freedom of individual opinion. The Catholic Church did not prohibit reading of the Bible, but it was widely believed in Protestant countries that it discouraged it as much as it could. It would seem, indeed, that generally the church preferred the average man and woman to obtain information from the Scriptures not so much by individual reading as through instruction by learned men.

The index

The inquisition

In some countries heresy was completely stamped out by the inquisition. In the Middle Ages an *inquisitio* (inquiry or investigation) was a device by which governments obtained information which they desired. In medieval England inquisitions made by the king's officials or for the king's courts had a part in the development of the English common law and English trial by jury. During this time also the church made investigations concerning heresy or disobedience. A great tribunal or inquisition was used in the thirteenth century to destroy the heresy of the Albigenses. The inquisition was firmly established

in Spain toward the end of the fifteenth century, in the days of Ferdinand and Isabella. The court of the Spanish inquisition began its work at Seville in 1481. The head, or grand inquisitor, was Torquemada. As a result of its work, numerous Moors and Jews were burned alive. The officials of the inquisition set out to accomplish the task of utterly rooting out heresy as soon as it showed itself, and ultimately of compelling every person in Spain to hold most strictly to the Catholic faith. In Spain, indeed, the inquisition was presently taken over by the central government and used by the kings for political purposes, to enlarge and make absolute their power. But avowedly its principal work was always religious. In the history of the Spanish inquisition written by its chief secretary, Llorente (*Historia Crítica de la Inquisicion de España*, 1817), it was estimated that more than 300,000 persons had been punished, of whom more than 30,000 were burned alive. From this inquisition no one was safe, for its power was enormous. High and low lived in terror of its arm. Victims might be seized without warning, hurried off to some dungeon, subjected to terrible torture to make them confess, judged and condemned without being confronted with those who accused them. When the heretic was condemned to death the penalty was usually to be burned alive. In the *auto de fe* (act of faith) he was led through the streets in solemn procession, clad in a garment painted with devils, and burned at the stake in some public square. In the *Plaza Mayor de la Cruz* in Madrid, it is said that first and last some thousands of heretics were burned in the sight of spectators who thronged the windows of the tall houses on all sides around. Protestantism had been adopted by a considerable number of educated and important people in Spain, but it was ruthlessly stamped out by the inquisition before it had time to spread, a number of eminent officials and ecclesiastics being burned alive.

The Spanish inquisition

The *auto de fe*

In certain other places also the inquisition gained ter-

Protestantism destroyed in Spain and in Italy

rible renown. The Spanish authorities introduced it into the Netherlands to destroy the heresy there, and its direful work had much to do with the revolt of the Netherlands from Spain. The inquisition was also introduced into various parts of Italy. There Protestantism was soon completely rooted out; and generally wherever the inquisition was maintained, the work of the Reformation was undone.

Recovery of Roman Catholic power

As a result of all these things—its own intrinsic strength, reform within, the rallying and unifying of its forces, the work of the Jesuits and the inquisition—the Catholic Church, once deemed near to destruction, held its own, and then in the great movement of the Counter-Reformation took the offensive against Protestantism and strove to recover what had been lost. The southernmost countries, like Portugal, Spain, Italy, were never really in doubt. The northernmost lands, like Sweden, Norway, Denmark, were never recovered for a moment. But the countries lying in between, from England to Poland, were the scene of a long and grievous struggle, and of a series of wars of religion in the course of which France and the German states were nearly torn to pieces.

Wars of religion

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CHAPTER VIII

THE WARS OF RELIGION

Sadite Saincteté pour fin me commanda de vous escrire, que cest évênement luy a esté cent fois plus agréable que cinquante victoires semblables a celle [Lepanto] que ceulx de la ligue obtindrent l'année passée contre le Turcq.

GREGORY XIII on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew: MS. dispatch of FERRALZ, the French ambassador at Rome, September 11, 1572, quoted in LORD ACTON, *The History of Freedom and Other Essays* (1907), p. 134.

How great the misery of Germany *hath beene, no tongue can expresse, no heart can beleeve, except those that have seene, and felt the bitternesse of it . . . Shee is now left so poore, that she can call nothing her owne . . . She that of late was as a Princesse* among the Nations . . . *is now with the* Daughter of Zion . . . as a Desert Wildernesse.

The Invasions of Germanie (London, 1638), preface.

The era of the wars of religion

FOR more than a century after Luther's death there were terrible wars of religion. The history of the gigantic struggle between Reformation and Counter-Reformation is complicated, dreary, and long. Frequently it is very confused. Dying down in one place at one time, it went on elsewhere at others. Sometimes it was closely entangled with political matters; sometimes the religious issue seemed all-important. In this protracted contest four principal stages are discerned.

The principal stages

In 1546 war broke out between the Protestant confederates in Germany and the Emperor Charles V. It was concluded in 1552 by the Treaty of Passau. The Protestants had held their own. In 1562 a bitter religious struggle began in France. Spain under Philip II was now the leading European power, and Philip became, in effect,

the supreme leader of the Counter-Reformation in Europe. He intervened as far as he could to assist the Catholics in France. In 1576 a revolt began in the Netherlands, then ruled by Spain. Gradually England, now largely Protestant, gave assistance to the Dutch. Philip, striving to assist the French Catholics and at the same time crush the rebellion of his subjects in the Netherlands, determined also to conquer England, which appeared to be the center of Protestant resistance. This struggle culminated in 1588 with the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the great naval expedition designed to open the way. England was henceforth safe, but the struggle was long continued. In 1593 the French religious wars came to an end. In 1609 Spain abandoned all attempt to bring the Dutch Netherlands back to her rule. In this contest Protestantism won Scotland, England, and the Dutch Netherlands almost completely. In France the Huguenots were not crushed, but Catholicism remained triumphant. The third and most terrible episode was the Thirty Years' War, which began in 1618. Ultimately a great part of Europe was engaged in this contest, but the principal theater of the struggle was the German countries, where at last the issue between Protestants and Catholics was fought to its end. When the end finally came, in 1648, Germany, ruined, remained partly to the Protestants and partly to the Catholic Church. Actually the era of religious wars closed with the middle of the seventeenth century, but a fourth episode somewhat later seemed to some the last phase of the conflict between Protestantism and the Counter-Reformation. Under Louis XIV (1643–1715) Protestantism was proscribed in France; and in some German districts annexed to his dominions the Catholic Church was established. During this era a belated attempt was made by James II (1685–1688) to restore Catholicism in England. Here the issue, along with larger political considerations, was fought out in wars between France and European con-

The crisis, 1588

Policy no longer dominated by religious issues

federations (1689–1714), as a result of which James was debarred from England and the power of Louis was checked.

Politics and religion intermingle

In the course of all these years, from the death of Luther in 1546 to the Treaty of Rastadt in 1714, it often seemed that if the issue had been merely between opposing religious bodies, and had the Catholics acted together, Protestantism might have been finally crushed. But the difference was never so simple. Almost always politics and national aspirations were mingled with religious motives, and sometimes conflicted with them. Francis I and Henry II persecuted Protestants in France but gave support to Lutheran subjects of Charles V in the German lands. English Catholics fought zealously against the Spanish Armada. Richelieu reduced the power of the Huguenots in France, but it was largely his powerful assistance that enabled German Protestants to escape defeat in the Thirty Years' War. And finally, when Louis XIV of France appeared as a new leader of militant Catholicism in Europe, Catholic powers, like Austria and Savoy, combined with Protestant powers to defeat him. The pope himself was opposed to Louis.

The League of Schmalkalden

In 1530 some of the Protestant princes and cities in Germany formed the League of Schmalkalden to protect themselves against action by the Catholics under Charles V. The pact was made for six years, but in 1535 it was renewed for ten years more. In course of time the league included most of northern Germany, Saxony, Würtemberg, some of Bavaria, some of the Swiss cantons, and Denmark. From political motives Francis I gave it French support. Its general purpose was to insure to the Protestant communities political and religious freedom. Luther and others drew up for it a new confession of faith, the *Articles of Schmalkalden*, embodying substantially what was contained in the *Augsburg Confession*. Against this league for some time Charles V could undertake nothing. But

it was his purpose to overthrew Protestantism as soon as opportunity offered; and jealousies among the members of the league presently afforded him the chance.

Charles V conquers the League

The Saxon country was then in two parts, the electorate and the duchy, held respectively by two branches of the same family. The able and wily Duke Maurice of Saxony was a rival of his cousin, the elector, for possession of certain places. With Maurice, Charles V made a secret treaty. Free at last from other complications, and strengthened by various arrangements, Charles prepared to attack the confederates of Schmalkalden. War began in 1546. To the army of the league the emperor opposed a force partly composed of Spanish and Italian veteran troops. In the midst of the campaign Duke Maurice suddenly went over to the emperor, and attacked the dominions of his cousin. In the confusion that followed the confederates were attacked and completely defeated at Mühlberg (1547). Maurice now became elector of Saxony.

Charles wishes to settle religious differences

The Protestant states lay at the mercy of Charles and his Catholic troops. Luther had not lived to see this. He lay buried at Wittenberg now. When the town surrendered, Charles, entering the castle church, stood some time silent by the grave of the arch-heretic who had shaken the dominion of the pope and brought so many of his own plans to nothing. Advisers urged that the bones be digged up and burned, but Charles refused: "I do not war with the dead." The emperor seemed at last to have achieved his most cherished designs. But it was by now evident that the pope would permit no such council of the church as would make concessions enough to bring back the Protestant rebels. Accordingly, Charles tried to settle the differences in Germany by a compromise of his own authorization.

The Augsburg *Interim*

In 1548 was published the Augsburg *Interim* (temporary decree), designed to endure until such time as settlement might be effected by a council of the church. It

was almost entirely advantageous to Catholics, however, and found no favor with the Protestants at all. Maurice of Saxony, whose ambition had been satisfied, and who was in religion stanchly a Lutheran, was gravely displeased with the arrangement that the emperor was trying to make. Very skillfully now he prepared to rescue Protestantism, whose cause he had so nearly ruined. In 1552 he suddenly declared war. Such was the advantage of the time he had chosen and such the rapidity of his movements that Charles seeing resistance to be hopeless hurriedly took to flight. He barely escaped capture by fleeing from Innsbruck, carried in a litter accompanied by a few Spanish soldiers, in the cold and the wet of the night, through the snow-blocked mountains to Villach. The overthrow was complete, as previously his triumph had been. The Catholic fathers assembled at Trent fled in terror at the coming of Lutheran soldiers; nor did the council again assemble until ten years more had gone by. This success of the Lutherans had been partly assisted by the Catholic king of France, Henry II. The French took for reward the three bishoprics of Toul, Verdun, and Metz, all of which became later on strong frontier fortresses of France.

The emperor fails completely

Flight of Charles V

Charles, prematurely old, was worn out in body and dispirited in mind. His resources for carrying on a struggle were exhausted. So his plan to crush heresy and restore religious unity in the empire had to be abandoned. In 1552 the Peace of Passau ended this first religious war. It was provided that a diet of the empire should be summoned to settle religious disputes; that meanwhile Lutherans should not be molested in the exercise of their religion, nor should Catholics be molested by them; Lutherans as well as Catholics should be admitted into the *reichskammergericht* (imperial chamber), the supreme court of the empire. In 1555 a diet assembled at Augsburg arranged the Religious Peace of Augsburg. It was

The Religious Peace of Augsburg, 1555

now definitely settled that any state of the empire might permit Catholic worship and Lutheran worship, or—as was largely done—permit one and exclude the other. No other sect was included in the arrangement. The principle for the most part established by this settlement was not religious toleration, the idea of which was little adhered to yet, but the doctrine *cuius regio eius religio* (of whom the region of him the religion)—in effect that the government of a state would prescribe the religion of its subjects. This was a religious liberty for princes and governing classes, not for individuals of the mass of the people. By another article, the *Ecclesiastical Reservation*, it was provided that any spiritual prince who abandoned the Catholic faith must lose also his revenues and office. Thus by compromise was ended the first phase of the religious struggle. It was a compromise unsatisfactory especially to the Catholics. They intended to be rid of it later if they could. In sequel it was seen that the Peace of Augsburg only gave a truce before the greater struggle of the Thirty Years' War later on.

Cuius regio eius religio

Philip II becomes leader of Catholicism

The failure that had overwhelmed Charles decided him to resign his power. In Spain and in the wide dependencies of Spain he was succeeded by his son, Philip II (1556–1598). The electors chose his brother, Ferdinand, to be emperor in his place. Ferdinand I (1556–1564), a Catholic, was liberal and moderate. During his time and for a while after religious peace generally continued in the empire. Philip II was as devout as his father had been, but colder, more bigoted, and more determined to crush heresy completely wherever he could. In Spain what heresy remained was soon entirely destroyed. In the Netherlands the powers of the inquisition were strengthened and in an effort to crush the religious and political liberties of the country a terrible tribunal, the Council of Troubles, better known as the Council of Blood, was set up (1567). Everywhere Philip was looked upon as the leader of a

militant Catholic reaction. For some time his plans embraced all western Europe. His influence and power were predominant in Italy and strong in the empire. In England a decided though temporary Catholic reaction had begun under Mary Tudor (1553–1558). She was abetted and encouraged by Philip, whom she married in 1554, and who for a while hoped to keep England under the influence of Spain and obedient to the Catholic Church. Mary Stuart, the young queen of Scotland, married the French *dauphin*, afterward King Francis II, in 1558. The consequence of this was that Scotland, more than ever, was drawn into the train of France, and its government seemed won completely for the Catholic party.

England reunited with Rome

A great religious struggle broke out now in France. During the reign of Francis I (1515–1547) Protestantism had made large advances and won notable and powerful adherents, despite the fact that Francis, who frequently encouraged German Lutherans against his rival, Charles V, often subjected his Huguenot subjects to savage and relentless persecution. At first the French Protestants were mostly followers of Luther, but after a while the teachings and organization of their countryman, Calvin, spread wide over the country, especially in northern, western, and southern districts. Henry II (1547–1559) would gladly have suppressed this Protestantism entirely by sterner persecution. In this he was urged on by the members of the family of Guise—especially the duke of Guise and the duke's brother, the cardinal of Lorraine—who were destined for some time now to be the foremost and most fanatical leaders of the Catholic party in France. They would have set up the inquisition there, but this was opposed by the *parlement* of Paris, the supreme court of the kingdom. A special tribunal of the *parlement*, however, the *Grande Chambre*, instituted in 1547, proceeded against heretics so severely that soon it was known by the terrible name of *Chambre Ardente* (fiery chamber). Presently

Persecution of Protestantism in France

Chambre Ardente

there was a long list of those who had suffered martyrdom for Protestant teachings. Their sufferings were recorded in Crespin's *Histoire des Martyrs* (1585) much as accounts of the English Protestants who suffered were gathered in the *Acts and Monuments* of John Foxe (1563).

Weakness of the French government

Despite opposition the strength of the Huguenots steadily increased and they became a strong political party. At their head was the great Bourbon family, especially the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé. Opposition of the religious factions became increasingly fanatical and furious, but it was also fatally entangled with political rivalry between the Bourbons and the Guises. For a while the crown attempted to hold the balance between the two parties, for its own power was weak and it greatly feared them both. In 1559 Henry II had been accidentally killed. He was followed successively by three sons: Francis II (1559–1560) who scarcely reigned; Charles IX (1560–1574) a weakling; and Henry III (1574–1589), who was never able to grapple with the difficulties that filled his time. All of these kings were Catholics, and gladly would they have held all their subjects to the church.

France divided into factions

Sometimes, however, they dreaded the powerful Catholic leaders more than they dreaded the Huguenot faction. In 1562 the *Edict of January* granted a measure of religious toleration to Protestants in France. This was very displeasing to Catholics; and both sides prepared for a struggle. Both enlisted soldiers in Germany. The Huguenots by the Treaty of Hampton Court (1562) obtained help from England. To the Catholic faction Philip II offered a powerful army.

Beginning of religious wars in France

The series of religious wars that began in France in 1562 lasted with some intermissions until 1595. Eight successive wars are recounted herein by those who detail these times. On seven occasions the conflict was temporarily settled by a treaty of peace. Each time, after brief interval, the struggle broke furiously forth again.

12. THE WARS OF RELIGION IN FRANCE

France mostly Catholic

Paris, the capital, was a Catholic stronghold. The majority of the French population always was Catholic. So ably were the affairs of the Protestants conducted, however, that always they saved themselves. In 1569 they suffered disastrous defeats at Jarnac and Moncontour, but still they maintained their cause. Catherine de' Medici, the mother of Charles IX, and virtually ruler of the country, disliked Protestantism and also feared that the Huguenots might become a permanent power in the country. She therefore determined to act with the Guises against them. The struggle had been commenced in 1562 with a massacre by Catholics of Huguenots at Jassy. Now a larger and more terrible destruction was concerted. In

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew

August, 1572, in the darkness of the earliest hours of St. Bartholomew's Day, the Catholics, in accordance with a treachery prearranged, suddenly fell upon the Huguenots and slaughtered them wherever they were found. Coligni, their greatest leader, was murdered in his bed-chamber, and the body hurled down from the window. In Paris the massacre lasted two days and two nights. The example was followed in other places all through France, and the slaughter continued until early in October. At the time it was believed that 100,000 Protestants had perished. Some 7,000, it may be, were slain. When the news reached Philip II he laughed, the one time in his life, it is

Rejoicing and condemnation

said. A *Te Deum* was sung in Rome and the pope ordered a medal to be struck with the legend, *Hugonotorum Strages* (slaughter of the Huguenots). But many of the Catholic princes lamented the deed; and Elizabeth of England ordered her court to go into mourning. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew, like the Reign of Terror in the French Revolution (1793), has remained a baleful memory in the history of France.

Into this conflict the power of Spain was more and more drawn. In 1568 a revolt had broken out in the Netherlands, the richest and most important dependency of

Revolt in the Netherlands

Spain. A long and exhausting struggle ensued, in the course of which the southern, Catholic, provinces were pacified, and resumed their allegiance (1579); but the northern, the Protestant, ones, of which the principal member was Holland, continued to resist until they won independence. A memorable contest was waged in which Philip II made desperate and repeated attempts to conquer the heretics and rebels. His best line of communications was by sea, up the Bay of Biscay and on through the English Channel; but this line was presently cut by the English.

Protestants control England and Scotland

In England the Counter–Reformation came substantially to an end with the death of Mary (1558), and it ended in Scotland about the same time. In England Elizabeth (1558–1603) again separated the church from Rome, and assumed the title of "Supreme Governour" of the English Church; but in religious matters her policy was moderate, and the history of the Reformation in England now was a gradual drift of the people toward Protestantism, hastened by national rivalry with Catholic Spain. In Scotland the Calvinist or Presbyterian reformers got control of the government and dethroned the Catholic queen, Mary Stuart. Mary then took refuge in England.

Elizabeth, queen of England

Spain and England now drifted into opposition. For some time after the accession of Elizabeth the pope, in doubt, perhaps, as to what her course really would be, and hoping that ultimately she might be reconciled with Rome, took no measures against her. But presently it was evident enough that England was a Protestant power; and at last in 1570 a papal bull was issued deposing Elizabeth from the throne. Mary Stuart, who had fled to England two years before, was, accordingly, in the eyes of strict Catholics, heir to the kingdom. In 1568 a Jesuit seminary had been founded at Douay in Flanders, for the purpose of training missionaries for work in England. Jesuits

and foreign emissaries soon appeared there to encourage the Catholics and incite rebellion against the heretic queen. In the north of England there was a Catholic rising; and there was a Catholic plot in 1581. Mary meanwhile continued a prisoner, dangerous to Elizabeth, the hope of the extreme Catholics, and especially of Catholic powers abroad. At length, in 1587, involved in one of the conspiracies, she was condemned to death. Dying she bequeathed to Philip her rights to the English throne. English mariners had long been plundering Spanish merchantmen and Spanish treasure-ships. English volunteers had been helping the French and the Dutch Protestants in their struggle with Catholics. The English government itself had despatched expeditions to assist the Huguenots in France and the Dutch in the Netherlands. To Spain, the leading Catholic power, England now seemed the most troublesome enemy and the very leader of Protestantism. Accordingly, Philip II made mighty preparations to conquer England. His attempt failed with the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, and occupied as he was more and more with the religious struggle in France, his resources did not suffice immediately for another attempt. Hence Protestantism was saved in England; and Spain's water communications with the Netherlands were definitely severed. After further protracted and exhausting struggle, the Protestant Netherlands established their independence of Spain.

Philip II fails to conquer England

In France religious strife continued until it seemed that the country would be torn to pieces. In the St. Bartholomew massacre numerous Huguenot leaders had perished, but the rank and file remained courageous and strong, and their excellent organization sufficed then. In 1573 their principal fortress, the city of La Rochelle, on the Atlantic coast north of Bordeaux, defied all the efforts of the Catholics to take it. Presently the government was glad to make a peace, and before long the Huguenots appeared

The religious struggle continues in France

stronger than ever. In 1576 the fifth religious war in France within thirteen years was ended by the Peace of *Monsieur*, so called because it was negotiated partly through the duke of Anjou, eldest brother (*Monsieur*) of the king, Henry III. It yielded the Huguenots the most favorable terms they had so far obtained. Freedom of worship, except within two leagues of Paris, was granted; they were to have towns of refuge; and *chambres miparties* (tribunals equally divided) were to be established in connection with the various *parlements* or courts, consisting equally of Protestants and Catholics.

The *Politiques*

This arrangement was not suffered to go unchallenged. It is true that a moderate Catholic party had appeared as early as about 1565. In the state they would act not from motives of religion but state policy. Hence they came to be known as *Politiques*. "Let us get rid," said L'Hôpital, one of the greatest of them, in 1560, "of these devilish words . . . Lutheran, Huguenot, Papist. Let us keep unadulterated the name of Christian." For peace and for the good of France they would leave Protestants in peace; and, though generally Catholics themselves, they were sometimes inclined to act with the Huguenots against the Catholic extremists. Under the leadership of the Guises, however, the extreme Catholic faction would allow no peace while heresy remained. As early as 1561, the beginning of a militant Catholic association had been made in France. Now in 1576 a Catholic league (*Ligue*) was formed under guidance of the Jesuits and sternest Catholics. Henry III, who had no great ability and little power, after some wavering joined this league. War broke out afresh. The preceding anarchy returned. It seemed almost as though France would break up into its medieval fragments, each district dominated by warring factions and turbulent nobles.

The Catholic *Ligue*

With intervals of peace and war the contest dragged on, Spain assisting the league, England the Huguenots, both

Anarchy and faction in France

sides hiring mercenaries in the German countries. The leader of the Huguenot faction now was Henry, king of Navarre, second cousin of Henry III, king of France. Henry III was childless, and in 1584, his only surviving brother, the duke of Anjou (*Monsieur*) died, so that Henry of Navarre was now heir to the throne. The prospect of this infuriated the more violent of the Catholic party. Accordingly, in 1585 the league concluded the Treaty of Joinville with Philip II: by which he engaged to give them powerful support in carrying on the contest with the Huguenots and putting a Catholic on the throne. By 1588 the league was thoroughly in control of Paris, and its leaders had more power than the king. Henry III attempted to regain some of his authority by causing the assassination of the duke of Guise; but he was then forced to flee for his life and take refuge among his Huguenot subjects. Next year, after he had been excommunicated by the pope, he was stabbed to death by a fanatical friar.

Henry IV, Protestant leader

Henry of Navarre now became, by right of succession, Henry IV of France (1589–1610). But he was opposed by the league, and could not enter Paris, so the struggle continued fiercely. In 1590 he won a great battle at Ivry, in Normandy, but failed to follow it up, and so secured from it no large results. The same year he invested Paris, which held out during a siege more terrible than that which, long after, it endured at the hands of the Germans (1870–1), until it was relieved by a Spanish army from the Netherlands. Paris was now garrisoned by Spanish soldiers, and when Henry besieged Rouen, a Spanish army relieved that place also.

Spain becoming exhausted

The resources of Spain for carrying on all these enterprises abroad were being slowly exhausted, however. Moreover, Spanish interference in France was gradually producing some of the effects that attempted interference had produced in England. National hostility to the Spanish foreigners presently became stronger in the hearts of

many Frenchmen than religious hostility to Henry. On the other hand, the great majority of the population of the country were Roman Catholic, and Henry IV presently came to see that it was fruitless to expect most of them to be loyal to a Protestant king. His religious feeling was not strong; twice already he had changed from Catholicism to Protestantism; he was now resolved to become a Catholic again. In 1590 died Pope Sixtus V, who had urged on the Spanish policy and excommunicated Henry III; in 1592, after three very brief pontificates that followed, he was succeeded by Clement VIII, a pontiff less favorable to Spain. Negotiations were now undertaken. In 1593, in the old Abbey of St. Denis, just outside of Paris, the king abjured Protestantism, was absolved by the representative of the pope, and received back into the church. Opposition now rapidly crumbled. Next year Paris opened its gates; towns and fortresses followed; and the Spaniards were expelled from the country. In 1595 Henry received absolution from the pope himself. The French religious wars now came to an end.

Henry IV brings the French wars of religion to an end

The religious question in France was settled by a compromise. In 1598 Henry IV issued the Edict of Nantes, the most important ordinance of religious toleration in Europe down to that time. Huguenots were allowed freedom of worship in a great many places in the kingdom where previously they had possessed it. They were to be admitted to all hospitals, colleges, and schools. They might found their own schools and colleges, and publish their books. They were not to be debarred by religious oaths or tests from holding any public office or employment. On the other hand, they were required to dissolve their own political organization, and pay tithes for support of the Catholic Church, the church of the government, and most of the people. Thus Protestantism saved itself, for the time, in France, as it had been saved in England and Holland.

The Edict of Nantes

Lull in the wars of religion

There was now an interval of peace from religious wars in Europe, but the Counter-Reformation was proceeding apace, and the struggle which had died down in the Netherlands and in France was soon to blaze forth again in central Europe. There for half a century after Luther posted his theses at Wittenberg church Protestantism advanced through all the countries from the Rhine to the Vistula River. During the latter part of the sixteenth century progress was stayed by the Counter-Reformation, and success of the Catholics was made easier by dissensions among the Protestants themselves. In Poland by 1560 the Reformers had obtained almost complete religious freedom, but this only served to increase quarrels and dissensions among them. In the German countries Lutheranism had at first encountered only feeble resistance from Catholics; but in course of time throughout western Germany, and to a less extent in the districts to the east and the south, Calvinism made ever-greater progress. Presently, therefore, while Catholic resistance was becoming more effective, rivalry between Calvinists and Lutherans became as bitter as the hostility of Protestants for Catholics. In various districts Lutheran authorities strove to expel Calvinists or make them conform to the Lutheran creed. In 1580 the Lutheran electors of Saxony and Brandenburg proposed a *Formula Concordiæ* (agreement) designed to bring about a Lutheran union of the German states and an exclusion of Calvinism. The majority of the states accepted it, but a considerable number did not. Evidently German Protestantism was hopelessly divided and discordant.

Protestants ever more divided

Continued Catholic success in the German lands

This Protestant division was patent at a time when the Catholics were more and more aggressive and united. By 1565 Bavaria, through the activity of the Jesuits and vigorous interposition of its duke, was very largely won back to the Catholic faith. Protestantism had for a while made large headway in Bohemia, Austria, and Hungary,

but Jesuit preachers began to win back some of the people, while Jesuit advisers got the ear of the rulers, and gradually made them determined to rid their dominions of heretics entirely. By the beginning of the seventeenth century tension between Protestants and Catholics was strong, and ardent Catholics began to dream of the time when they could undo the work done at Augsburg.

Catholic reaction in the Hapsburg dominions

After the abdication of Charles V in 1556, his brother Ferdinand, already ruler of Bohemia and Hungary as well as of Austria, was elected emperor (1556–1564). He was followed in the imperial office by his son, Maximilian II (1564–1576), Maximilian by his son, Rudolph II (1576–1612), and Rudolph by his brother, Matthias (1612–1619). Ferdinand was moderate and liberal. So also was Maximilian, who adopted the principle of religious toleration. The Diet of Augsburg in 1556 would have excluded Calvinists from the religious peace, but the emperor procured for them tacit toleration. In Bohemia he annulled the old *Compactata* of 1433, the agreement by which the Calixtines were tolerated while Catholicism was largely maintained, and Lutheranism soon became the dominant faith in the country. He made certain concessions also to the Protestants of Austria. But under Rudolph and Matthias Catholic reaction and Jesuit influence became increasingly strong. Jesuit influence had been potent with Maximilian's wife, Mary of Castile, the mother of Rudolph, and Rudolph had been educated in Spain, a strict Catholic, under the auspices of his uncle, Philip II. In 1579 he began the process of destroying Protestantism in Austria.

Counter-Reformation in Bohemia

Rudolph would have extended this process to his other dominions, but his reign was much troubled by his own weakness and incompetence, by wars with the Turks, and by disputes with his brother, Matthias, who desired to take away his power. In 1608 Rudolph was forced to cede Hungary to Matthias, and three years later Bohemia and part of his Austrian dominions. In the course of the

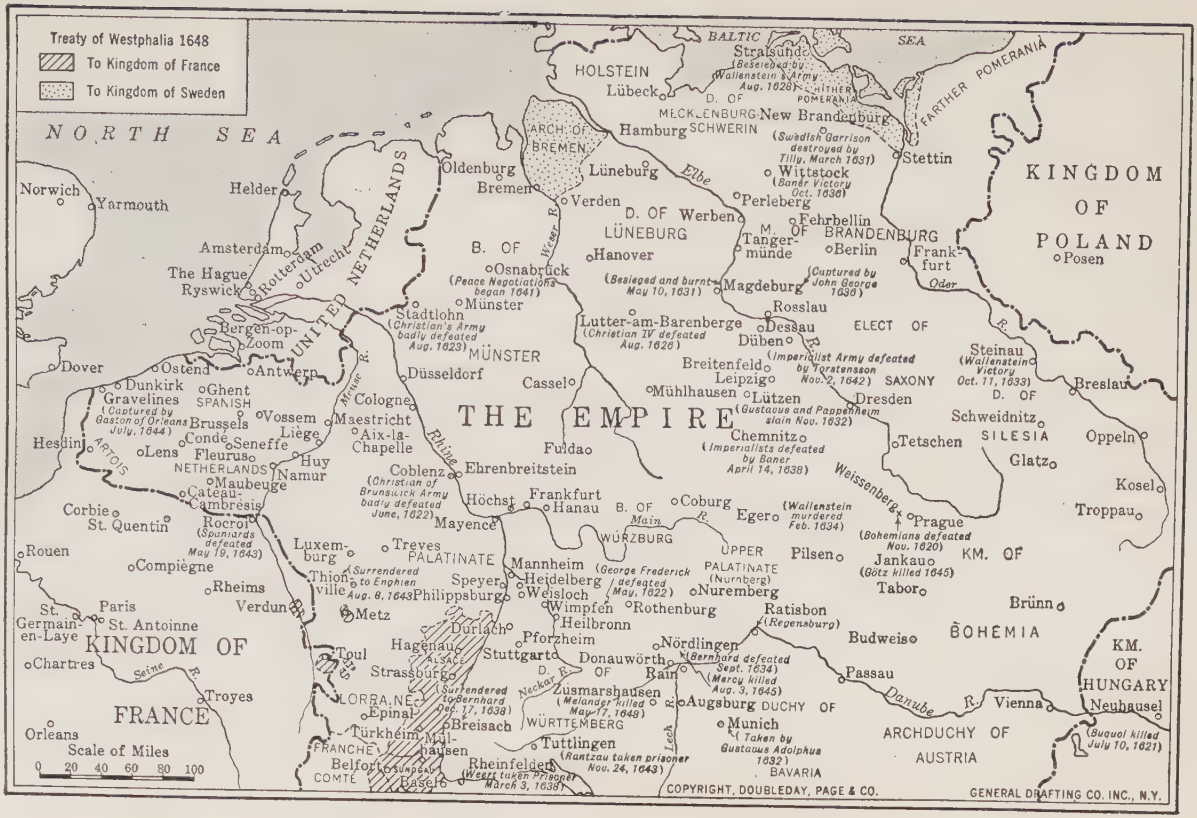
struggle between them, Rudolph again granted religious toleration to the Bohemians (1609). A little later, Matthias, when he became emperor, withdrew the concession (1614), shortly after which the people of Bohemia rebelled to secure liberty of religion. Matthias died in 1619. Like his brother he left no legitimate children. The Czechs refused to acknowledge as king of Bohemia the successor who was chosen, Ferdinand II (1619–1637). The action they now took led to the Thirty Years' War.

Rival groups in the German lands

Growing tension in central Europe between Protestantism and the forces of the Catholic reaction had already led to the forming of rival combinations. In 1603 some of the German Protestant princes had formed an alliance at Heidelberg. In 1608 they established the Protestant Union, a defensive alliance, for ten years. Calvinist communities made the principal basis of this union. The leading member was the Palatinate, in the Rhine country, the leading Calvinist state in the empire. Its ruler, the Elector Palatine, Frederick V, married Elizabeth, daughter of James I, king of England, in 1613. He persuaded the Dutch Netherlands, whose population was largely Calvinist also, to make a defensive treaty with the Protestant Union, and it was believed that he could now count on assistance from England. Some of the Lutheran German states also became members of the Union. Opposition between Lutherans and Calvinists, however, continued to be strong, and other Lutheran states stood aside. About the same time, in 1609, Catholic states, under the leadership of Bavaria, established a union presently known as the Catholic League. This league made a treaty of alliance with Spain, and the pope himself was a member.

Rebellion in Bohemia

In 1618 the Bohemians rose in revolt against Matthias. Under able and vigorous leadership they expelled the emperor's troops, and even carried the war into Austria itself. When Ferdinand II, a rigid Catholic, was elected



13. TO ILLUSTRATE THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

emperor next year, they refused to acknowledge him as king. Instead they invited the Protestant Elector Palatine to rule them. After some hesitation he unwisely accepted. This was the beginning of a struggle which engulfed a great part of Europe.

Bohemia conquered by the Catholics

Frederick went to Bohemia and was well received. He had not, however, much ability either as a statesman or a military leader. The troops of the Catholic League came to the assistance of the emperor, while the Protestant princes were divided. In 1620 Frederick's army was overwhelmed in the battle of the White Mountain (*Weissenberg*) near Prague. Frederick fled and was remembered afterward as the "winter king," who had reigned only during one year. The troops of the Catholic League assisted by Spanish troops from the Spanish Netherlands now overran the Palatinate also. The elector fled again: he had lost all. In foreign courts and in foreign camps he dragged out his remaining years, always hoping to be restored by the Protestant powers, and often vainly beseeching aid from his father-in-law, king of England. Thus the Protestants had suffered a crushing disaster. In 1620 Protestantism was forbidden in Bohemia and in Austria, and Protestants were subjected to rigorous persecution. Then Protestantism was forbidden in all the dominions held by the Austrian ruler. Under a prince of Transylvania, Bethlen Gabor, the Hungarians revolted and for some time defied the imperial edicts, but at length Hungary also was subdued. At the Diet of Ratisbon (1623) Frederick was deprived of his territories as a rebellious vassal. The electoral dignity and, somewhat later, the Upper Palatinate were given as a reward to Maximilian of Bavaria, who had contributed so greatly to the Catholic triumph.

Protestantism proscribed

The Protestant states of Germany, now thoroughly alarmed, sought aid from abroad. The Dutch could do little more than contain the Spaniards in the neighboring

Netherlands. In England the kings were involved in a struggle with their parliaments, and lacked the financial resources to give any large succor. Moreover, for some time James I of England hoped to secure restitution of the Palatinate by peaceful negotiation with Spain. After his death (1625), Charles I foolishly embarked in a war with France at the same time that he was involved in hostilities with Spain; and from these fruitless contests he presently withdrew, his resources entirely exhausted. England had undertaken to equip a force led by Count Mansfeld, a skilful Austrian commander who had joined the Protestants, and in 1624 Christian IV of Denmark, partly from wish to assist the Protestants of Germany, partly through hope of gains as the reward of assistance, sent an army to help. In 1626, however, Wallenstein, the emperor's commander, defeated Mansfeld at Dessau Bridge; and Tilly, commander for the Catholic League, routed Christian's army at Lutter. Mansfeld, having lost his army, died soon after, on the way to England to obtain further help. Christian retired into Denmark. The Catholic armies followed, living on the country as they went, levying contributions on the Protestants in states that had not taken arms against the emperor as well as in those that had. Christian was pursued into his own dominions, which might have been conquered completely had not the emperor despatched some of his troops to Italy in respect of some of his interests there. Then the Danes drove the invaders out, but in 1629 Christian was glad to make the Peace of Lübeck. He recovered all his territories, but abandoned his Protestant allies.

Catholicism advances triumphant

Denmark defeated

So complete was the triumph of the Catholics that the Emperor Ferdinand proclaimed the *Edict of Restitution* (1629). The object of this edict was to restore ecclesiastical affairs in the empire as they had been at the time of the Peace of Passau (1552), thus depriving Protestants of all gains made since then. Catholics were to recover

The Edict of Restitution

all convents and ecclesiastical estates held mediately—of some prince, and not immediately of the emperor—of which they had been deprived since that time. In such immediate sees—held by the emperor—Catholic archbishops, bishops, and abbots must now be restored. Catholic states might compel all their subjects to conform to the Catholic faith. The emperor further declared that such benefits as the Peace of Passau had conferred extended to Lutherans only, that no other Protestant sects should be tolerated on any terms. The provisions of this edict were carried out as rapidly as could be. The Protestant princes were terrified, yet they did not act strongly together. The elector of Saxony in particular continued to stand aloof, hoping that the emperor would do nothing against him. It might have seemed, then, that for Protestants in central Europe this was the beginning of the end.

Height of the Catholic triumph

Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden

In this crisis Protestantism was saved by the powerful intervention of the Lutheran king of Sweden. Gustavus Adolphus (1594–1632), a grandson of the Gustavus Vasa who established the independence of Sweden from Denmark, became king of Sweden as Gustavus II in 1611. He was a young man of great strength and courage, of noble bearing, and lofty qualities of mind. He had early been trained in military affairs under experienced generals, and had carried on successful wars in turn against the Danes, the Russians, and the Poles, as a result of which Sweden had acquired extensive possessions on the Baltic. He was already interested in German affairs, and he sympathized strongly with the Protestants there. He feared also that the rapid triumph of the Catholics in Germany endangered Protestantism everywhere else. In 1628, when Wallenstein was besieging the strong Baltic fortress of Stralsund, which he swore he would take though it were fastened with chains to Heaven, Gustavus sent a Swedish garrison after the Danes had ceased to give help, and the besiegers were forced to abandon their attempt.

Now in 1630, urged on by Richelieu, the chief minister of France, who wished to lessen the Hapsburg power, urged on by his own desire for military glory, and incited also by sincere desire to save the Protestant states, Gustavus embarked for Germany with a Swedish army of 20,000 men. His soldiers were veterans filled with religious zeal; he had the finest artillery then in existence; he was himself the ablest general of his age.

German Protestantism saved by Gustavus

Gustavus immediately seized all Pomerania, a German district on the Baltic, and advancing inland captured one fortress after another. German Protestants flocked to his standard, and Catholic France gave assistance with money. In 1631 Tilly, with the army of the league, was completely routed at the battle of Breitenfeld or Leipzig, and next year Tilly himself was slain at the Lech. Then the Palatinate was recovered, and all Bavaria overrun. The tide ran as strongly for Protestantism now as it had run for Catholicism shortly before.

Wallenstein

The emperor was left to his own resources, and his only recourse seemed to be the great commander Wallenstein, duke of Friedland. Wallenstein (1583–1634) was born in Bohemia of a Protestant family, but went over to the Catholic Church. At the beginning of the Thirty Years' War he joined the imperial forces against his country, and, after the conquest of Bohemia, acquired an immense estate out of the confiscated possessions of Protestant owners. He had remarkable talents as a military organizer and military ability second to that of Gustavus alone. He had raised a huge army himself to assist the emperor against the king of Denmark; and it was he who defeated Count Mansfeld at Dessau. Shortly after, because of the dangerous power that this army gave him, and because of the license of his soldiers, whom he allowed to live as they pleased on the country, the emperor deprived him of his command. Now Ferdinand was glad to recall him and grant him almost unlimited power.

Wallenstein checks Gustavus

Wallenstein quickly assembled a powerful army and advanced against Gustavus Adolphus. The Lutheran king took position at Nürnberg, whence he could easily march into the northern or the southern German countries; but his antagonist occupied the *Alte Veste* (old fortress) on the hills near by, and greatly imperilled his communications. Accordingly Gustavus was forced to assault the entrenched camp of the Catholic army. Repulsed with heavy loss, he withdrew from Nürnberg; but Wallenstein's army also was badly shattered; and he also marched away. Later in the year the two armies met in the terrible battle of Lützen in Saxony (1632). Wallenstein's army was finally broken by the desperate valor of the Swedes, but they lost more than any battle in the death of their royal commander.

The Catholics regain the advantage

The Protestant cause was still sustained ably, however, by the Swedish chancellor, Oxenstierna, who took command of the army. Wallenstein, to increase his own greatness, now entered into secret negotiations with Germans, Swedes, and the French. After episodes which have been immortalized in *Wallenstein*, the drama of Schiller, he was assassinated by order of the emperor, his master. In 1634 the imperial army assisted by a strong force of Spanish soldiers completely defeated the Swedes at Nördlingen in Bavaria. So decisive was this defeat that the Catholic party under the emperor again had the advantage. Next year the elector of Saxony, who had joined Gustavus Adolphus, made with the emperor the Treaty of Prague. Freedom of worship and, substantially, possession of ecclesiastical property were left to the Lutherans. It was not long before nearly all the Lutheran states of Germany had acceded to the treaty.

The Treaty of Prague

The war was destined to go on for a decade longer. The Calvinists did not yield; the Swedes were unwilling to give up the struggle; and the French were greatly desirous that it should not cease. Richelieu was determined to break

the power of Austria, and secure for France such territories as he could on her eastern frontier. Hence, French troops and especially French money became the main support of the war. This was the most horrible period of the struggle. To a considerable extent now the original religious issues lost their strength, and were supplanted by political motives. Armies of Swedes, of Spaniards, of Frenchmen, of German hirelings, and foreign mercenaries, marched back and forth through the country year after year, living on the wretched inhabitants, burning and plundering as they went. Interminably the warfare dragged on with battles and skirmishes whose names are no longer important. Meanwhile, extensive districts of Germany were reduced to a desert. The entire German population was lessened by three fifths. The wealth and the culture of generations preceding disappeared. The German countries did not recover for nearly two hundred years.

The latter part of the Thirty Years' War

Ruin of the German countries

At length, when the earlier motives had been partly forgotten, when all parties were exhausted or satisfied with what they had won, efforts were made to bring the conflict to an end. In December, 1641, preliminaries were arranged for a peace conference to assemble at Münster and Osnabrück in Westphalia. Two years later the general conference was opened, and most of the plenipotentiaries had assembled by April, 1644. This was the largest and most important congress of European nations that had ever been brought together. It was the first of a series of general European peace congresses called to arrange the affairs of Europe. Meanwhile, the war had continued. The Swedes and especially the French had gained repeated successes. In 1645 Torstenson, the Swedish commander, threatened Vienna itself. The conferences were finally transferred altogether to Münster, and in 1648 the Peace of Westphalia or Münster was signed.

A peace conference assembles in Westphalia

The Peace of Westphalia settled the religious affairs of

The Peace of Westphalia: provisions concerning religion

the empire, and the political affairs of a great part of Europe. The Catholic powers were now forced to give to Protestantism definitive recognition. It had often been asserted by them that the Religious Peace of Augsburg in 1555 had only a temporary validity which had ceased with the conclusion of the Council of Trent in 1563. The Treaty of Passau and the Religious Peace were now renewed as part of the fundamental law of the empire, and extended, for it was established that Calvinists should have the same rights as Lutherans—a concession that the Lutherans themselves opposed. Generally, all matters concerned with religion were to be as they had been at the beginning of 1624. That is to say the doctrine *cuius regio eius religio* was maintained, modified only so far as there were exceptions to it in the decretory year, 1624: namely, Protestants who had had toleration in Catholic states then were still to have it, as were Catholics who had been allowed at that time to exercise their religion in Protestant states. Thus, after all the ruin and bloodshed and misery of this period, the compromise of Charles V's time was renewed a century later. The papal nuncio, indeed, protested against the treaty as containing articles prejudicial to the Church of Rome; and in 1648 Pope Innocent X published a bull declaring the Treaties of Münster and Osnabrück to be of no effect. Their provisions he denounced as "invalid, wicked, unjust, damnable" (*inralida*, *iniqua*, *iniusta*, *damnata*). But the Catholic powers paid as little attention to this pronouncement as did the Protestant powers. The age of religious warfare had almost come to an end.

The doctrine *Cuius regio eius religio* mostly maintained

Settlement of political matters

In political affairs the settlement at Münster marked an epoch in the history of Europe. In Germany a general amnesty was granted. With respect to the Palatinate a compromise was made. The duke of Bavaria was allowed to keep the electoral dignity given him in 1623, and of the Palatinate, which Bavaria had been permitted to an-

nex in 1628, the southern portion. The remainder was restored to the son of Frederick V, and a new, an eighth, electorate erected for him. All hope of creating a strong union of the German states under Austria now disappeared. Laws affecting the empire could only be made and interpreted in a general diet of all the states; but each state was to have the power of levying taxes, raising troops, declaring war, and making treaties of itself. So, one great object of France was secured: the growth of the emperor's power was checked, and the empire left weak and divided. France and Sweden both received "compensation"; to Sweden was ceded all western Pomerania, and many of the important towns at the mouths of the German rivers flowing into the Baltic; France received Alsace with small neighboring districts, while her right to Toul, Metz, and Verdun, which she had held since 1552, was formally acknowledged. Spain now acknowledged the independence of the Dutch Netherlands, which she had virtually abandoned in 1609, and this independence was recognized by the empire also. The emperor acknowledged the independence of the Swiss Cantons, an independence which some of them had virtually made good in 1315.

The Holy Roman Empire left powerless and weak

The period of religious struggles was now really ended. It has often been remarked that in the period succeeding the main interests were political and dynastic. It was, indeed, settled by now that western Europe would be held by Protestants and by Roman Catholics, that neither could suppress the other. But something of what had been still continued to be. Toward the end of the century the religious issue was completely settled in France and in England. In France, Protestantism was finally crushed altogether. In England, an attempt to restore Catholicism finally failed.

Religion had part in some later contests

By the Edict of Nantes (1598) Henry IV had guaranteed to the Huguenots, the Protestant minority, freedom of their religion and certain strong places of refuge, especially

The French Protestants

La Rochelle. For some time they continued in possession of much of the power they had had. A generation later, however, when the great minister, Richelieu, was building up the power of the central government of France, it seemed to him and to others not good for the interests of France that there should be within the kingdom a body of people with some exclusive privileges and with their own distinct, powerful organization, that made them almost an *imperium in imperio* within the realm. When they defied the king's power their strongholds were taken, and after a memorable siege La Rochelle was reduced in 1628.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685

Richelieu had attacked the Huguenots as a political power, not because they were Protestants; and they were left with their civil privileges and religious freedom. For some time they prospered greatly, and many of the principal industries of France came partly under their control. In this way they awakened economic jealousy at the same time that religious bigotry was rising against them. Under Louis XIV the Jesuits got increasing control at the court. Gradually the king was persuaded that destruction of heresy in France would be an act very pleasing to God and much to the interest of France. Accordingly, attempt was made to convert the Huguenots forcibly to the Catholic faith. The king's dragoons were quartered in their houses, and effort was made by these *dragonnades* and other persecution to compel them to yield. In 1685 the Edict of Nantes was revoked. The Huguenots proved obdurate, however, and, despite stern penalties, some 400,000 fled from France. The blow to French industry and wealth was very great, and the fugitives going to England, to Holland, and to Prussia, carried with them a lasting hatred of the country they had left. In France now Catholicism remained supreme until the time of the French Revolution.

Fear of Louis XIV

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the aggressive policy of the French king in politics and in religion

made him seem a danger to other states and to Protestantism in all places near by. He was especially feared in Holland and in England. Holland he strove to conquer. England he endeavored to lead as a dependent state.

Religion in England

In England the Reformation seemed nearly complete by 1600, for only a small minority of the people continued to be Roman Catholics. Hatred and fear of popery remained strong there, however, and had something to do with bringing on the Puritan civil wars and revolution (1642–60). This struggle, however, was largely between the moderate and the radical Protestants of England—the Church of England against Puritans, Presbyterians and others. It ended, so far as religious affairs were concerned, with complete triumph of the Church of England. The Stuart dynasty was now restored (1660). Charles II (1649–1685) and his brother, James II (1685–1688), were the children of a Catholic mother, who had been the French princess, Henriette Marie, daughter of Henry IV. Charles was irreligious, though at last he died in the Catholic faith. During his reign, however, he tried to give toleration to Catholics. In 1673 he made a secret treaty with Louis XIV by which he engaged to try to restore Catholicism, for which Louis would give him military and financial assistance. In general, he assisted Louis, or kept England from interfering with the French king's projects.

James II favors Catholicism in England

James II before his accession had openly avowed himself a Catholic. Some of his subjects had attempted to exclude him from the succession, deeming it dangerous to their religion and strange for a Roman Catholic to be head of their church. At once he rashly set to work to restore Catholicism in England as far as he could, giving toleration to Catholics and appointing them as often as possible to government and to church positions. It was just at this time that the Edict of Nantes was revoked, and all Protestant Europe was filled with alarm. In 1688 a sudden revolution drove James from the throne;

The Revolution of 1688

and in 1689 the *Bill of Rights* provided that thereafter no king of England might be a Catholic or marry a Catholic wife. Louis XIV took up arms to restore James to the throne; but after a long war (1689–97) he was compelled to abandon the project. This matter was also an issue in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14), but at the end of that struggle the question was definitely settled. England had become the greatest of the Protestant powers and the principal state in Europe.

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CHAPTER IX

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Qualis esse debeat Conductus Electorum & a quibus.

. . . . . .

Primo namque Regem Boemie, Sacri Imperii Archipincernam . . . Deinde Archiepiscopum Colonieñ Sacri Imperii per Italiam Archicancellarium . . . Item Archiepiscop. Travereñ, Sacri Imperii per Galliam & Arelateñ Archicancell . . . Deinde Comitem Palatinum Reni, Sacri Imperii Archidapiferum . . . Ducem vero Saxonie, Archimarescallum . . . Marchionem Brandenburgeñ, Sacri Imperii Archicamerarium . . . Archiepiscopus Moguntiñ. . . .

The Golden Bull (1356): as cited in *Vollstændiges Diarium . . . Wahl-und Crœnungs-Solennitæten des Herrn* CAROLI *des* VI. *Erwelten Rœmischen Kaysers* (Frankfort, 1712).

E questa provincia di Alemagna grande e popolosa, piena di signori, di terre, città, ville e castelli . . . In tutte queste provincie e questi confini sono molti principi e molte terre franche.

Relazione di VINCENZO QUIRINI (1507): Eugenio Albèri, *Le Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, series i. volume vi. 5, 6.

La nation allemande est gouvernée, peu s'en faut, comme l'était la France sous les premiers rois *capétiens*, qui étaient des chefs, souvent mal obéis, de plusieurs grands vassaux et d'un grand nombre de petits. . . .

L'empereur, par lui-même, ne serait guère á la vérité plus puissant ni plus riche qu'un doge de Venise. Vous savez que l'Allemagne, partagée en villes et en principautés, ne laisse au chef de tant d'États que la prééminence avec d'extrêmes honneurs, sans domaines, sans argent, et par conséquent sans puovoir.

VOLTAIRE, *Le Siècle de Louis XIV* (1751), chapter ii.

The tradition of imperial Rome

WHEN on Christmas day in the year 800 Charles the Great, king of the Franks, was crowned emperor by Pope Leo III at Rome, it seemed to contemporaries that a very good thing had been done. The mighty tradition of the

Roman Empire persisted powerfully still. In that rude age, perhaps, many forgetting the taxes and oppressive bureaucracy that had slowly crushed western Europe, thought of days when there was unity and common citizenship, common civilization, and peace. The Roman dominion had lasted so long and made such permanent impression, that some people did not conceive it to have passed away, or that it could disappear completely. It had not, they affirmed, come to end; for since the year 476, when the last emperor had reigned in the west, the imperial dignity had been held in Constantinople, and of the empire ruled by that emperor the countries of western Europe were part. In name only now, however, for eastern authority was scarcely remembered in some of the western lands. Not only could Constantinople no longer rule or protect them, but a woman usurper was governing there. The pope, more and more recognized as head of the church in western Europe, had been oppressed by his enemies the Lombards. He had not had, as men thought he should have, a strong head of the state to protect him.

Waning power of the Eastern Roman Empire

Now there had arisen in the west a ruler who fired the imagination of people in his time, who seemed to revive the greatness and glory of the mightier Roman Cæsars. Charles, son of Pepin the Short, king of the Franks, reigned in Gaul, which his ancestors formerly had conquered and held as Frankland or France. In all directions his warriors had carried his conquests wide. Westward he had made an expedition into Spain. One of his captains, Roland, had fallen at Ronscevaux in the Pyrenees, and the story of this would be afterward sung in the national epic of France. Eastward he had subdued the Saxons, and carried Christianity and his power to the Elbe. To the south he had overthrown the Lombards, assisted the pope, and established his influence in Italy. He had conquered Bavaria, and then in the valley of the Danube utterly broken the Avars, who once had threatened Con-

Charles the Great, emperor

stantinople itself. Under one strong rule he had brought wide dominions in central and western Europe, and he was incomparably the most powerful sovereign at that time in the Christian world. It seemed then, doubtless, most proper that the people of Italy and of Rome should choose this great man to give them imperial rule.

Charlemagne's empire breaks into pieces

The power of Charlemagne's empire disappeared shortly after his death. His dominions were divided, and he left no successor able to carry on the work he had begun. Weakness, confusion, civil war troubled western Europe again. After a while obscure princes in Italy had the title of emperor, and the great empire was only a tradition once more. Thus a century and a half elapsed. In 888 the Frankish empire had been permanently divided into West Frankland, East Frankland, Burgundy between them, and Italy, in fragments, to the south. West Frankland thereafter went its own way. It was never reunited to the empire; presently it became the kingdom of France. In East Frankland, or Germany, however, descendants of Charlemagne ruled. Later on they attempted to reunite some of the parts and erect the empire once more. In

Otto the Great

936 Otto I, known afterward as the Great, began to reign as king of Germany. He was the second of a Saxon dynasty of kings, sprung from female descendants of Charles. This able monarch first restored order by subduing his turbulent nobles. He then defeated the Bohemians, the Wends, and the Danes—alien enemies who were pressing in upon his people. In 955 he won a great battle on the Lechfeld which permanently checked the advance of the Magyars. He had already intervened in Italian affairs against the Lombards. He now was the great man in western Europe, upholder of order and bringer of peace. In 962 he was crowned emperor by the pope at Rome. Thus the empire which Charles the Great had seemed to revive was again revived by Otto the Great.

Saxon emperors followed Otto until 1024, when their

14. THE FOUNDING OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

The medieval empire

line was extinguished. Then the imperial title was held by emperors of the Franconian line until 1125. The Suabian or Hohenstaufen emperors followed, reigning until 1254. Some of these monarchs were able sovereigns and powerful rulers. The first king of the Saxon dynasty, Henry the Fowler, whose son Otto revived the empire later on, established order in the German countries, built numerous fortified towns along the frontiers to hold in check the raids of Magyars and Slavs, and organized the German military forces. Otto cut to pieces the great host of the Hungarians on the Lechfeld, and for ever delivered Germany from the Magyar scourge. He strengthened the power of bishops and abbots in the German lands, and these churchmen powerfully supported the authority of the central government. The church here, and in other places, was the strongest force working to unite the various sections and peoples.

Eastward expansion of the German people

During this time also began the eastward expansion of the Germans, that was continued successfully for more than two hundred years. As the German tribes had pushed the Celts ever farther to the west, so they had in turn been pushed to the west by Slavic and kindred peoples moving behind them. While Germans had been making themselves masters of Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Britain, Wends, Bohemians, and other Slavic peoples had taken more than half of the old German country. By the beginning of the tenth century the Slavs had occupied an area on the western side of the Elbe. Now in Otto's time Germans began pushing them back or reducing them to subjection, and sending out colonies to occupy fertile stretches or strong positions in the midst of Slavic populations. Numerous German fortresses were founded in the debatable land. As a result of this movement, in course of time the size of Germany was more than doubled. By the beginning of the thirteenth century German dominion had been extended from the Elbe to districts east of the

Oder. Farther on, beyond the Vistula, the military order of the Teutonic Knights was laying the foundations of a German Prussia. Still more distant, up the stretches of the Baltic Sea or the East Sea, these knights were making settlements in Kurland, Livland, and Eastland, the Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia, or Baltic Provinces of a later time. During this period also outlying German colonies were being established southeast, in Hungary and Transylvania, where, later on, German districts would remain encompassed by Magyars or Vlachs.

The Teutonic Order

While a larger and a stronger Germany was in this manner being established, some authority was maintained for the empire that had been revived. The basis of the power of the emperors was Germany, of which they were the kings, but their authority was acknowledged also in some fashion over two thirds of Italy or more, over Burgundy—middle district of the empire of Charles the Great, over Denmark, over the Slavic kingdoms—Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, and over Hungary, the Magyar land. Over West Frankland or France German authority could never be established again, nor over more distant countries; but it may be noted that about the end of the twelfth century Richard I, king of England, then a captive in Germany, was forced to do homage as a vassal to the emperor, Henry VI. Especially did the emperors strive to maintain their authority in the Italian lands, for Italy and Germany were conceived to be the bases on which the empire was founded. The stronger emperors repeatedly led armies into Italy, reduced the country to submission, and established their officials there.

Imperial authority

In the empire were expressed the political ideals of some of the ablest medieval thinkers. In a universal empire in western Europe they placed their chief hope of concord and progress. This empire seemed, indeed, the present continuation of the old Roman Empire which a grand tradition caused men to revere so greatly. In the old

The Holy Roman Empire

Empire and church

Roman Empire had grown up the Christian church, conceived to be one and indivisible. Of that church the empire had been the protector and secular arm. There were a great many people now who believed that church and empire were the two necessary and coördinate aspects of human affairs. The one true church represented in this world the kingdom of God. In affairs spiritual it was supreme. The empire was the highest authority in earthly and secular affairs. The empire should protect the church and enforce its decrees. As there was Holy Church, so gradually in the centuries after Otto and Charles the Great, the empire revived at Rome was conceived as the Holy Roman Empire.

Failure of the medieval empire

The attempt to carry through these magnificent designs failed altogether in the end. In the Middle Ages the forces of feudalism and political disunion proved to be stronger than anything in western Europe save only the church. The two principal parts of the empire had no natural geographical union. Actually the emperor's power was based mostly on his position as king of the German lands. His imperial title was conferred by the pope, and had to be obtained in Rome. Between Germany and Italy were no good highways; lines of communication from one to the other were long; interposed was the barrier of the Alps. Italy was only to be held by force. Strong emperors led irresistible hosts into Italy and for the moment carried all before them; but the armies of northern warriors soon disappeared in the southern climate, and it was hard to maintain German garrisons so far from their base.

Strife between empire and church

The political and ecclesiastical pretensions of the popes were constantly increasing. They aspired to be supreme over all potentates, in religious and in many secular matters. More and more did popes think of emperors not as colleagues but as servants. Again and again popes stirred up feudal magnates or great city states in Italy to resist imperial rule, and in Germany they en-

couraged great vassals to oppose the authority of their lord. In course of time all Italy and Germany were divided between rival parties: Ghibellines or *Waiblinger* who supported the emperor, and Guelfs or *Welfen* who supported the pope. In a long struggle, after many vicissitudes, the church triumphed, and the power of the emperors was largely broken. Frederick II, last of the Hohenstaufen emperors, based his power principally on his own possessions in the southern part of Italy. Meanwhile, confusion and anarchy increased in the German lands. Following Frederick's death, his son was king of Germany for four years (1250–1254). After this time came a period of anarchy, the Great Interregnum (1254–1273).

Guelfs and Ghibellines

During the interregnum the confusion and disunion of the period preceding increased. Central and superior authority, which for some time had scarcely existed, was now gone completely. In the German lands each ruler looked to his own interests and strengthened his particular power. The great ecclesiastics were practically sovereign princes, subject only to the pope. The great lay lords—dukes, margraves, and counts—were virtually independent also. The more important cities were becoming "free cities" or city states. Furthermore, the number of separate jurisdictions was increasing. On the extinction of the Hohenstaufen line (1254), the great duchy of Suabia, the domain of the Hohenstaufen lords, dropped to pieces, and as other great jurisdictions fell apart the number of smaller ones was much enlarged. Germany now was, what Italy was, a group of various states. Presently, indeed, to amend this evil state of things, an emperor was chosen again, Rudolph I, of Hapsburg (1273–1291). Thereafter, for a century and a half, emperors of various houses held the title, it being the policy of the German princes to choose emperors from different houses, lest a single dynasty should construct a power strong enough to

The Great Interregnum

Germany remains divided

coerce them. Often, too, they favored a candidate because he was obviously weak.

Election of German rulers

Although during considerable periods the imperial dignity had been handed down from father to son, it was, according to Germanic custom, not hereditary but elective. In early times the German freemen chose their leaders by acclamation and consent. Later on the emperors were supposed to be chosen by the will of all the free subjects. In practice, however, the right of election came to be exercised only by a few. In England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the kings were assisted by a great council, to which their feudal tenants might come; but the expense, the difficulty, and the trouble of attendance soon caused all but a few to drop out. After a while the king of England sent personal invitation only to the greatest; and in the end, the house of lords, the later form of this council, consisted only of a small number of peers, the highest nobles in the realm. So also in the German lands the right of electing an emperor was in course of time restricted in practice to some of the greater nobles. Gradually, during the confusion that prevailed, there was much uncertainty as to who had this right; there were frequent disputes; and sometimes rival emperors were chosen by different sets of electors.

Restriction of the right of election

The Golden Bull, 1356

Charles IV, of Bohemia (1347–1378), undertook to restore such order as could now be restored by defining the power of some of the magnates and regulating the mode of imperial election. In 1356 at the diet or assembly of Nürnberg he issued the Golden Bull, so called from the golden seal (bull) affixed to the document in which the ordinance was written. The Golden Bull limited the number of imperial electors, and defined the mode of election. Thereafter choice of an emperor of the Holy Roman Empire was to be made by seven electors. In the future their dominions were not to be divided; they were to rank before all other German princes; they were to have

the right of coining money; and their courts should have jurisdiction without appeal to higher authority. Three of the electors were to be great ecclesiastics: the archbishops of Mainz, Köln (Cologne), and Trier. Four were to be great secular princes and, according to medieval custom, hold the great offices of the emperor's household: the king of Bohemia—chief cup-bearer; Count Palatine—grand seneschal; the duke of Saxony—grand marshal; the margrave of Brandenburg—grand chamberlain. Thereafter elections of the King of the Romans (king of Germany) and of the emperor were to be held in Frankfort and decided by majority of votes. The coronation was to be at Aachen, the old capital of Charles the Great. The first diet of the reign should always be held at Nürnberg.

The seven electors

The Golden Bull remained a fundamental law of the Holy Roman Empire until the end of that empire in 1806. By its provisions the emperors gave over their attempts to build up a great imperial state with effective central government vested in themselves. Germany was now to be a land divided definitely into a number of states with power nearly independent. Thereafter, as often before, the emperor must in ordinary times derive his power almost entirely from the resources of his personal domains. Unlike the kings of France, he would not be able to create a united Germany by annexing to the imperial domain the great fiefs one after the other. Nevertheless, disintegration was now to some extent checked. Beneath the emperor power in the German lands was now largely in the hands of a small number of great aristocratic princes, who could resist the further forces of disruption. The power of the free cities and other smaller jurisdictions was definitely abridged at this time.

Failure to build up a united Germany

Germany in disunion was thereafter the scene of numerous episodes and varying events. Germany like Italy was particularly affected by the struggles growing out of the Great Schism (1378–1417) as the various princes of

Germany weak and divided

the empire took the side of one pope or the other. During the fifteenth century also it was much affected by the struggle to suppress the heresy of the Hussites, in which various crusades of Germans were organized to crush the Bohemian schismatics. Under able and fanatical leaders the Bohemians inflicted terrible defeats upon their enemies, and the German expeditions all ended in failure.

Unsuccessful efforts to achieve stronger union

In the midst of so much confusion and disaster there were Germans who longed to procure for their people the greater strength and importance to be had from unity and strong central government above them; and some efforts were made to achieve this. In 1427 a diet at Frankfort ordained that an income tax and a poll tax should be gathered by local collectors, and paid in to a central authority—not the emperor, but two commanders-in-chief with a council created to assist them, who were also to raise a body of troops for the empire. By this scheme little was accomplished. Spirit of disunion was stronger than national feeling. Not many troops were assembled by this device, and little money was ever thus collected.

The Hapsburgs

In the second half of the fifteenth century the imperial crown was worn by Frederick III, of Hapsburg (1438–1493). During his time imperial authority was often little more than a name. Frederick spent his long life meeting or evading the numerous difficulties that beset his position. He did succeed, however, in increasing the possessions of his House of Hapsburg; and upon this extending power of the Hapsburgs the greater power of the emperors was henceforth to be based, for Hapsburgs were thereafter to hold the imperial office. From the accession of Frederick III in 1438 Hapsburg emperors followed in succession until the death of Charles VI in 1740. His daughter, Maria Theresa, married Francis, duke of Tuscany, of the House of Lorraine, who was chosen emperor in 1745. They founded the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine, from which emperors of the Holy Roman Empire con-

15. THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE AND ITS DEPENDENCIES ABOUT 1450

tinued to be chosen until the end of the empire in 1806. Their successors ruled as emperors of Austria, until the Austrian Empire broke to pieces in 1918.

Kings of the Romans

During the lifetime of Frederick III his son, Maximilian, was elected King of the Romans. This method was now employed for insuring succession from father to son. On the death of the aged emperor, Maximilian succeeded (1493–1519). The Swiss cantons now practically separated themselves from the empire (1499), as formerly they had revolted from their Hapsburg lords. Attempts during this time to reassert the imperial authority over Italy, for which France and Spain were contending, met with ignominious failure.

Constitution of the empire in the fifteenth century

During this reign earnest attempts were made to reform the constitution of the empire so as to strengthen its central government. Nominally the ruler of the Holy Roman Empire was the chief sovereign in Europe at this time. Actually he was the most powerless ruler of any great state. Government was vested in an emperor and a diet or imperial assembly, while there was for judicial business the emperor's court, *reichskammergericht* (imperial chamber). The imperial dignity was now being confined to the male heirs of the House of Hapsburg, but emperors were formally chosen by the seven electors, and, as in the later instance of Charles V, there was still opportunity for contest. For the most part the emperor was precluded from interfering in the affairs of the particular states; nor was he to perform any act of imperial concern without assent of the imperial diet. The constitution of the diet was such that it could very often give the emperor no effective coöperation, while jealousy of the emperor frequently made it unwilling to give assistance at all. Furthermore, lacking an army to enforce, when necessary, the imperial decrees, and in the absence of imperial taxation to support the imperial rule, the emperor was generally unable to exert any authority, and he was reduced to sup-

Weakness of the emperor

port his power usually from the resources of his Hapsburg dominions.

The diet of the empire

The diet was composed of three colleges or groups: first, the electors, excepting the king of Bohemia, who took no part in the legislation of the empire; secondly, the lesser princes, spiritual and lay—but not the minor nobles, the knights of the empire; thirdly, representatives of the imperial cities. This body was, then, not so much of a representative assembly as was the English parliament of that time, little representative as the English body was in the modern sense. The German diet deliberated upon matters of imperial concern, pronounced the ban or decree against those who did not obey, and, with the assent of the emperor, levied taxes, and passed legislation for the empire.

States in the empire nearly independent

At this time Germany consisted of more than three hundred states—the number cannot, perhaps, be certainly determined now. In practice the ruler of each state did nearly as he pleased. From the jurisdiction of the *reichskammergericht* the electors asserted freedom for their dominions, and often the decrees of this tribunal could not be enforced in any of the states. When an imperial army was needed it was levied by requisition from the rulers of the separate states; but, except in time of great danger, the summons was apt to be neglected or executed ill.

Imperial knights

The numerous petty nobles, the knights of the empire, asserted that they were feudal tenants-in-chief of the emperor; they refused to pay any taxes levied by the diet; and in general, each within his own petty jurisdiction acted like a sovereign prince. Constantly petty warfare was going on somewhere. In the absence of effective rule over all, the weak constantly suffered and the strong took what they would. To remedy this situation, from time to time leagues were established in different parts of Germany to preserve order and enforce the peace. In 1488 the Suabian League was formed in

western Germany for the security and protection of its various members.

Desire for reform

In the reign of Maximilian a reform party arose that determined to amend these conditions. Its leaders wished to maintain public peace, and abolish all private warfare. For maintaining peace and settling disputes they would establish a court of justice controlled not by the emperor but by the federation of the states of the empire. They wished to organize a better system of imperial taxation, under the control of the diet. They would have a more effective council of the empire, to assist and indeed check the emperor in imperial administration. At an earlier time four "circles" or subdivisions of the empire had been established for administrative purposes. To secure better administration they desired to extend the system of circles.

Efforts to amend the imperial system

Determined efforts were made to accomplish these reforms, and a little, indeed, was effected. In 1495, at a diet held in Worms, an imperial tax, *gemeine pfennig* (the common penny), was ordained; public peace was proclaimed; and those who entered upon warfare or feud within the empire were to be under the imperial ban. The diet was to meet each year, and appropriate, as it judged well, the proceeds of the new tax. The imperial court was to be reorganized; it was to be supreme court of appeal, and have final jurisdiction in all cases between states of the empire. In 1512 the empire was divided into ten circles, in each of which would be exercised local administrative work and local military control. This reform was not completely carried out until 1521. The reformers strove also to have established a *reichsregiment* (imperial council of regency), to assist the emperor and control him. This and other projected alterations were opposed by Maximilian, who desired not to see his authority weakened, and who wished to extend imperial power by increasing, not diminishing, Hapsburg greatness. In 1502 he formed another imperial court of judicature, the

A strong council rather than a strong emperor

hofrath (Aulic Council), entirely under his own control. On certain occasions the *reichsregiment* was established for a time, and the common penny was levied, but both these devices were presently abandoned. The Aulic Council and the system of circles were continued; but the amendment resulting was not sufficient to remedy the empire's weakness.

Charles V

Charles V (1519–1556), son of Maximilian, was elected after a lively contest in which Francis I, king of France, sought in vain to win the electors to grant him the title. Charles was the greatest and most powerful ruler of his time. He directly affected so much of the political life and international relations of western Europe that his time was to a considerable extent the age of Charles V. He was the most striking potentate who had appeared in the empire since the days of Frederick Barbarossa (1155–1189). In the proud preëminence he achieved he seemed to revive the older glory of Charlemagne or Otto the Great. Conditions had changed, however, and Charles V knew, as did his contemporaries, that while the outward symbol of his greatness was the imperial title of ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, his real power was founded upon his Austrian domains, upon his wealthy possessions in the Netherlands, and especially upon the ample resources that pertained to the Kingdom of Spain.

Rise of the Hapsburg power

By a series of fortunate marriages recently the House of Hapsburg had gained enormous power. Its basis was Austria, the east mark, one of the frontier marches constituted by Charlemagne and later made a duchy (1156). Count Rudolph of Hapsburg, who was elected emperor as Rudolf I in 1273, acquired Austria, which thenceforth remained a possession of the Hapsburg house. A later Hapsburg duke, Rudolf IV, took the title of archduke of Austria in 1453. To Austria had been united Styria, a neighboring province to the south (1192) and Carniola, peopled by the Slovenes and conquered from Bohemia

(1282), Carinthia another Slavic district, also wrested from Bohemia (1335), Tyrol farther south (1363), and Trieste on the Adriatic (1382).

"Fortunate Austria, you gain by marriage"

These possessions, sometimes divided, were reunited in the last years of Frederick III in the hands of his son Maximilian (1490), and these possessions constituted the domain of the emperor when Maximilian assumed the imperial title (1493). Already his possessions had been vastly extended, since through marriage with Mary, heiress of Charles the Bold (1477), to his other holdings he had united all of the lands of the Burgundian dukes, save only the Duchy of Burgundy seized by France. Maximilian's son, Philip the Fair, married Joanna the Mad, daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile. Of Philip and Joanna the eldest son, Charles, inherited the kingdom of Spain, as Charles I (1516).

Power and possessions of Charles V

It was this Charles, king of Spain, lord of Austria and the Netherlands, who was elected emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in 1519. For ages no sovereign had possessed so much. The resources of his Austrian dominions were considerable. His Netherland provinces were the richest industrial district and one of the wealthiest commercial districts in the world. As ruler of Spain he disposed of the most formidable soldiers in western Europe, while the colonial empire which the discoverers and conquerors had just won for Spain was soon to yield its monarch a yearly treasure beyond what Europe had dreamed of for ages. A new era had opened in the politics of Europe. National ambitions were greater than before, and international rivalries keener. The position, the resources, the abilities of Charles soon gave him the leading part.

The leading potentate in Europe

In France, in Spain, in England, strong nation states had developed, with rulers ambitious to increase their greatness and extend still farther their dominions. For the wealthy Italian districts, over which the empire had

so long claimed lordship, France and Spain had been eagerly contending. There had been many vicissitudes and changes of fortune, but fortune had generally inclined to the Spaniards. Spain was now firmly in possession of Sicily, which the kings of Aragon long had held, and also of Naples, which Spanish princes had sometimes ruled, but which Charles VIII of France had set out to conquer in 1494. The able Ferdinand of Aragon, directing the foreign affairs of Spain, completely outmatched the French, and after a further struggle during the reign of the French king Louis XII, the Spaniards and their allies drove the French from Milan, in northern Italy, also. Now in the time of Charles V the struggle was renewed on a vaster scale, until, at one time or another, most of the countries of western Europe were drawn into the contest. The contest was unequal, since France generally without allies was left to face a Spain increasingly strong, whose ruler was also emperor of the German countries, lord of the Netherland districts, and master of much of Italy to the south. In the wars that followed France was generally defeated; yet despite inferiority in resources, because of central position and compactness of territory, she maintained herself against her foes, who were disunited and scattered about her.

Rivalry with France

Charles has the greater power

In 1515 Francis I of France had won the battle of Marignano and regained Milan, but six years later, while he was besieging Pavia, not far away, Charles's commander defeated the French army completely, and the French king himself was captured. Francis was imprisoned in Spain until he accepted the Treaty of Madrid (1526); by which he agreed to abandon all his pretensions in Italy, and surrender Burgundy and other eastern districts of France to which Charles laid claim. The fruits of this triumph were not fully realized, since the French found pretext for evading the provisions of the treaty, and Charles was not able to enforce them. None the less, the

The Treaty of Madrid

emperor had at once become the mightiest sovereign in Europe. Next year, when the pope went over to enemies of Charles, another imperial general—a renegade Frenchman, the Constable de Bourbon, leading Catholic Spaniards and Lutheran Germans, captured the city of Rome. The Constable lost his life during the assault, and the hapless city was given over to outrage and plunder. The pope and his cardinals held out a little longer in the papal citadel, the *Castello Sant' Angelo*, but the defenders were soon forced to yield. Thus was another of the great potentates of Europe made the emperor's captive.

Continuance of the struggle

Several times was the struggle renewed and continued. Francis allied himself with the Turks. Their warships plundered the emperor's Mediterranean coasts, and their troops threatened his German dominions from the rear. The Ottomans were not, however, able to do vital hurt. On the other hand, attempts made by Charles to invade France and crush his rival completely ended in failure. In general, the French were driven back within their own borders, but there they maintained themselves. Meanwhile, as opportunity occurred in the course of this larger struggle, Charles conquered Tunis (1535), whence Moorish pirates had issued against him, and made an unsuccessful expedition against Algiers (1541), another stronghold of the Barbary corsairs.

Charles in the Holy Roman Empire

In Germany Charles had small success, and his reign ended in what appeared to him a great failure. Only with difficulty had he obtained the imperial title. He had been forced to meet the bribery of his rival, Francis I, by making many concessions to the electors. They demanded that imperial offices should be reserved for Germans; that German states should not be subject to any foreign jurisdiction; that no foreign troops should be introduced into Germany without the consent of the diet. They also asked for reforms in the imperial government.

16. EUROPE IN THE AGE OF CHARLES V

Reforms proposed at the Diet of Worms

At his first diet, held at Worms (1521), Charles conceded certain reforms in the imperial constitution without yielding much of his power. The electors desired a *reichsregiment*, nominated and controlled by the German princes, to be the supreme executive and administrative body in the empire. Such a "council of regency" was now established—to be in power, however, only when Charles was absent from Germany—but so constituted as to be only partly controlled by the electors while it was controlled by the emperor as well. Its decisions were to be subject to the emperor's confirmation. That is to say, whereas the greater princes had desired to deprive the emperor for the most part of such small authority as he possessed, actually they abated his power but little. At the same time the constitution of the *reichskammergericht* or imperial chamber (court) was definitely altered. Some of its members were now to be nominated by the emperor, some by the electors, some by the circles. To raise an imperial revenue, custom duties on imports were proposed, thus anticipating the scheme of a *zollverein* or customs union realized among the north German states three hundred years later. Such an arrangement was opposed, however, and the scheme of demanding revenue from the individual German states in accordance with their rating on the *matricula* or tax roll was resumed. This arrangement had been devised in 1507, when the tax of the "common penny" rated by parishes was abandoned. Altogether, the constitution of the empire remained much as it had been under Maximilian. The authority of the emperor was somewhat weakened, however, and that of the electors and other great princes a little increased.

Renewed attempts to lessen the emperor's power

Not much change effected

In this first diet a much graver difficulty confronted Charles, a difficulty from which at last arose troubles that ruined his chief ambition. At Worms he declared he would try to restore the old greatness of the empire.

This empire he conceived, as many men had before him, to be co-worker with holy church, and protector of church and religion. A little before the emperor's accession Martin Luther, a German monk and professor at Wittenberg, in the elector of Saxony's dominions, had denounced the indulgences of the Roman Catholic Church. Going forward in revolt step by step, Luther had carried with him hosts of Germans who now denied the authority of the pope and the validity of important doctrines of the church. He had been summoned to appear at Worms before Charles, who believed that he could remedy certain abuses, then heal this schism in the church. Luther would not yield, however, nor, because of the nature of imperial authority and the constitution of the empire, was the emperor able to crush him. Luther was protected by the elector of Saxony. Other princes joined the movement, and it was presently evident that Lutheranism in the German lands could be crushed only by the emperor leading the Catholics to overwhelm the heretics in war. During a long time the emperor had for this neither opportunity nor resources. For many years he was involved in a struggle with France. He was several times threatened by the Turks from the south, and to repel them he needed assistance from Lutheran as well as Catholic rulers.

The Protestant revolt in the empire

Luther neither persuaded nor coerced

At last, however, Charles had his chance; and he nearly attained his object. After careful arrangements, he attacked the Protestant League of Schmalkalden. In 1547 their forces were totally defeated at Mühlberg. But before he had time to extirpate Protestantism, he was suddenly attacked by the ablest of the Protestant leaders, Maurice of Saxony, who had helped him in the struggle preceding. In a moment all was lost, the emperor narrowly escaping capture (1551). Next year he was forced to agree to the Convention or Treaty of Passau, and in 1555 the Peace of Augsburg, by which Lutheranism was for-

Charles fails to crush Lutheranism

mally recognized and allowed to exist. To Charles this seemed a definitive failure: empire and church were now both rent in twain. In 1556 he resigned his imperial title. The year before he had abdicated the government of the Netherlands to Philip, his son. To Philip he now yielded Spain as well. He himself retired to a Spanish monastery, where two years later he died.

The empire in the sixteenth century

To most of Charles's possessions Philip succeeded as Philip II, king of Spain, and lord of many other dominions; but not to the empire. Ferdinand, brother of Charles, to whom he had given the rule of Austria and its subject dominions (1521), and who had been elected King of the Romans (1531), was chosen emperor (1556–1564). Ferdinand was followed by his son, Maximilian II (1564–1576). Protestantism had increased until it seemed that most of Germany would be lost to the old religion. Both Ferdinand and Maximilian were moderate and disposed to allow toleration. Soon a great change set in.

The Counter-Reformation

The Catholic movement of the Counter-Reformation had already begun and was soon carried into the German lands and into countries controlled by German rulers. In the course of this movement Bavaria and most of the Austrian possessions were won back to the Catholic fold. Thereafter with part of its population Catholic and part of it Protestant, in an age when each party yearned for the other's destruction, the Holy Roman Empire was severed by wider divisions than when Welfs and Waiblings fought for emperor or pope.

The empire divided by religion

Rudolf II (1576–1612), son of Maximilian II, had been educated a strict Catholic among his mother's people in Spain. In his time the Catholic reaction gathered force and went on apace. In 1579 he began to destroy Protestantism in Austria. This he would have done in his other dominions, but internal troubles compelled him to desist. During the reign of his brother, Matthias, who succeeded (1612–1619), the process of repression was con-

tinued. In the empire now Protestants and Catholics drew together in opposing bodies. In 1608 some Lutherans, along with the Calvinists, the other principal Protestant sect in the empire, established the Protestant Union. Next year certain Catholic states, led by Bavaria, formed the Catholic League. In 1618 the Protestants of Bohemia rose against Matthias, who ruled them as king of Bohemia. Next year the cousin of Matthias was chosen emperor, Ferdinand II (1619–1637). The Bohemians refused to accept him as king, and invited the leader of the Protestant Union to rule them. In the terrible war that followed religious differences in the empire were fought to their conclusion.

The Thirty Years' War

In the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) the emperor had at first much success. He allied himself with the Catholic League and with Spain. The Bohemian rebels were defeated; Protestantism was largely rooted out in Bohemia; the Elector Palatine, leader of the Protestant Union, was driven from his dominions, and the Upper Palatinate annexed to Catholic Bavaria. Protestantism was forbidden in all the dominions that were directly under the emperor's rule. The Protestant states now sought the aid of England and of Denmark. From England no effective assistance was obtained, and the king of Denmark was soon entirely defeated (1626). Militant Catholicism appeared triumphant, but at this juncture Gustavus Adolphus, king of Lutheran Sweden, intervened. In 1628 he prevented the emperor's general, Wallenstein, from capturing Stralsund, a stronghold on the Baltic. Two years later he entered Germany with a powerful army and became the leader of the Protestant cause. During the next two years Gustavus utterly broke the power of the Catholic League, and all Bavaria was overrun. The Protestants were now in the ascendant, and the dominions of the emperor himself were threatened. Wallenstein, the emperor's commander, however, managed to hold back

Gustavus Adolphus

the Swedish king, and in 1632 Gustavus fell in the last of his victories at Lützen.

Ruin of the empire

In 1634 Wallenstein, too powerful and perhaps plotting treason, was assassinated with the emperor's approval, but at Nördlingen that same year the imperial army together with a Spanish force defeated the Swedes and their allies completely. Again the emperor and the Catholic party seemed to be entirely triumphant, but again a powerful outside opponent intervened. France had dreaded the power of the Hapsburgs ever since the days of Charles V. France was now a powerful state. Her government had been made strong, and her religious wars had been brought to an end. Under the guidance of her able minister, Richelieu, she was determined to weaken the power of her Hapsburg rivals both in Spain and the empire. Accordingly, the French government, which had already supported Gustavus, now intervened more decisively, and became the champion of Protestantism in the empire. For some years the struggle dragged on. Religious differences were now largely obscured by rivalry between France and the empire, and by the ambition of the French and the Swedes to obtain advantage at the empire's expense. At last the contest was brought to an end, after Ferdinand's death, during the reign of his successor, Ferdinand III (1637–1658).

France the principal foe

The Peace of Westphalia

By the Peace of Münster or Westphalia the weakness of the emperor and impotence of the empire were finally confirmed. Any chance of effective imperial government was now altogether destroyed. At the same time the religious question was settled. The enemies of the empire gained the plunder they had sought. France was given Alsace, and confirmed in possession of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which she had seized long before, at the time when Charles V was defeated by the Protestant leaders. Sweden obtained western Pomerania, Bremen, and Verden, thus getting, in effect, control of the mouths of three of the

principal German rivers—the Oder, the Elbe, and the Weser. She was to be represented also in the diet of the empire. Within the empire Bavaria retained the electorate that had been given by the emperor as a reward when the Elector Palatine was conquered (1623), and of the Palatinate which had been annexed to Bavaria (1628) the upper or southern part. The lower part of the Palatinate was restored to the son of the Elector Palatine who had lost it, and a new, an eighth, electorate was created for him. It may be added that a ninth electorate was afterward constituted when the principality of Lüneburg was made the electorate of Hanover (1692). Brandenburg and Saxony both received accessions of territory. The complete independence of the Dutch and of the Swiss was now formally acknowledged. With respect to religion, the provisions of the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555)—substantially that the will of the ruler of each state within the empire should determine whether the Catholic or the Lutheran faith should prevail in that state—were now extended to include the Calvinists as well; so that by a public act Calvinism and Lutheranism, as well as Catholicism, were to be permitted within the empire.

Territorial adjustments

After this time the empire was not much more than a shadow and a name. The emperor, the electors, the imperial chamber, the diet, all remained, and the old constitution seemed to be intact; but actually now this government had little more than form and dignity and a great tradition from the past. Thereafter, weak as it was, the principal use of the empire was that in a time of disunion it was the only political bond that united the German people. After 1648 great leaders in the German lands seldom devoted attention to trying to strengthen the empire and give it vitality and power. They now strove solely to build up great states upon such foundations as existed and by such means as they could. Bavaria,

The empire enfeebled, dies slowly

Saxony, Hanover, all had their ambitions, and achieved substantial success. In the south German lands and the districts beyond, Austria built up a great dominion, henceforward as before the real basis of the emperor's power. In the north, Brandenburg, making acquisitions, became presently the Kingdom of Prussia, and was in the end leader of the German peoples.

Degradation and decay in the German lands

After 1648 the history of the empire is less important than the history of the German states which it bound together so loosely. Much of the empire had suffered so horribly during the Thirty Years' War that it was generations before recovery was complete. The *Hanse* or north German league of trading cities had long since been in decline; now the free cities were mostly ruined. Trade, manufactures, commerce, once so flourishing, had withered away. They recovered only a little and slowly. More than half the population had disappeared. Politically, the empire was so weak that it could oppose little resistance to the aggressions of powerful France under Louis XIV (1643–1715). The various German states now carried on their foreign affairs as they chose, some siding with the enemies of the others, some standing idle when foreigners threatened their comrades. In Spain and in the empire the power of the Hapsburgs had greatly diminished. The leading state in Europe was France, and France was constantly striving to make acquisitions at the expense of Spain and of the empire. In her course of aggression she was, indeed, checked, but neither by Spain nor the empire, but by Holland, and by England, increasingly powerful and constantly the rival of France.

The Hapsburg succession to Spain

This great political contest came to issue in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14). The Hapsburg line in Spain had come to an end. Inheritance of the vast Spanish dominions was claimed by France and by the emperor, Leopold I (1658–1705). To prevent so great an enlargement of French power a combination led by Eng-

land and Holland was formed to assist the emperor. Some of the German states also assisted, but Bavaria aided Louis XIV. Largely as a result of Dutch aid and because of England's sea power and resources, France was defeated. The grandson of Louis did become king of Spain, but the outlying European possessions of Spain for the most part were ceded to the emperor. The Spanish Netherlands became the Austrian Netherlands, and the emperor remained master of various Italian districts. In this war the various German states and the emperor had fought, not the empire; and the empire had no part in the treaty of peace.

The empire in the eighteenth century

During the eighteenth century the Holy Roman Empire dragged on its career, still revered by masses of the German people, still a great name in the memories of those who looked back to the past, but of less and less moment in any of the affairs of Europe. Leopold I had been succeeded by Joseph I (1705–1711), and he by Charles VI (1711–1740). With Charles VI the male line of the Austrian Hapsburgs came to an end. Shortly after the elector of Bavaria was chosen emperor, Charles VII (1742–1745). After a period of strife and confusion—the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–8), the husband of Maria Theresa, Charles VI's daughter, was made emperor as Francis I (1745–1765). He was succeeded by the celebrated Joseph II (1765–1790). But the various struggles and acts of this time no longer concerned the empire very much, and history of the Germans now had to do very largely with rivalry between Austria and Prussia, and with the actions of these two greatest of the German jurisdictions along with the smaller states that followed or opposed them.

Joseph II

Formally the constitution of the empire had changed but little. The emperor was chosen by nine electors. There were three spiritual electors: the archbishops of Mainz, Köln, and Trier. There were six lay electors: the duke of

Constitution of the empire in the eighteenth century

Saxony—who was sometimes elected king of Poland; the margrave of Brandenburg—after 1700 he was also king of Prussia; the Elector Palatine; the king of Bohemia—who was the archduke of Austria; the duke of Bavaria; and the elector of Hanover—after 1714 also king of England. Imperial legislation was vested in the diet (*reichstag*). It consisted of three colleges: the electors (*kurfürsten*); princes of the empire (*reichsfürsten*), spiritual and lay, about forty of whom had individual votes (*virilstimme*), while others possessed a collective vote (*curiatstimme*); and imperial cities (*reichsstädte*). The knights of the empire (*reichsritterschaft*) had a separate assembly of their own (*correspondenztag*). The high judicial business of the empire was carried on in the imperial chamber (*reichskammer*), which met at Wetzlar—in the Rhine country, and the Aulic Council (*reichshofrath*), which was held at Vienna. Local administration of the empire was in the circles (*kreise*), of which there were ten, each with its own local diet (*kreistag*).

The imperial government had almost no power

Thus, there was still an emperor, but his will was generally disregarded. He was busied almost entirely with his own Austrian concerns. There were still the electors, but they were concerned with the affairs of their electoral dominions. There was still the diet, but nothing was it able to enforce. Frederick the Great of Prussia described it as a shadow, an assembly more busied with formalities than real affairs, whose members, like dogs, bayed the moon. There was indeed the imperial chamber, but this court was many thousands of cases in arrears, and its decisions were not usually heeded. "The dear old Holy Roman *Reich*," wrote Goethe in 1775, "how is it still held together?"

The *Römer Saal* (Hall of the Romans) at Frankfort, where the diet had so often met, contained portraits of all the emperors from the time of the Romans to these latest days of the Old Régime. Goethe relates that the people

of Frankfort were worried at last because so little space remained for more portraits. After Leopold II (1790–1792) there was room for only one more. Then, in the reign of Francis II (1792–1806), the French Revolution swept the old landmarks away, and the conquests of Napoleon followed to alter most things in Europe. Napoleon desired the dismemberment of Germany. He wished to follow the work of Charlemagne, and to found a great empire himself. In 1806 he grouped together the states of western Germany in the Confederation of the Rhine, under protection of France. These states withdrew from the empire, and the French government announced that it no longer recognized the existence of the empire. Accordingly, Francis II renounced the imperial dignity, and confining himself merely to the rule of his hereditary dominions, styled himself emperor of Austria. The Holy Roman Empire that came to this end was more than a thousand years old.

End of the Holy Roman Empire, 1806

Succeeded by the Austrian Empire

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CHAPTER X

THE ITALIAN STATES

Chi potrà a pien lodar li tetti regî
De tuoi primati, i portici e le corti
De magistrati, e pubblici collegi?
. . . . . .
Piazze, mercati, vie marmoree e ponti,
Tali bell' opre di pittori industri,
Vive sculture, intagli, getti, impronti;
Il popol grande, e di tant' anni e lustri
Le antiche e chiare stirpi; le richezze,
L' arti, gli studi e li costumi illustri...

LODOVICO ARIOSTO (1474–1533), *Alla città di Firenze.*

Italia, Italia, o tu, cui feo la sorte
Dono infelice di bellezza, ond' hai
Funesta dote d' infiniti guai,
Che in fronte scritti per gran doglia porte;
Deh, fossi tu men bella, o almen più forte...

VINCENZO DA FILICAIA (1642–1707), *All'Italia.*

Kennst du das Land, wo die Citronen blühn,
Im dunkeln Laub die Goldorangen glühn,
Ein sanfter Wind vom blauen Himmel weht,
Die Myrte still und hoch der Lorbeer steht,
Kennst du es wohl?
Dahin! Dahin
Möcht' ich mit dir, o mein Geliebter, ziehn!

GOETHE, *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre* (1777–96), book iii.

Italy divided

DURING the Middle Ages Italy like Germany was rent by division. Afterward the Italian lands like the German suffered the doom that often has come from division and

High destiny and weakness

weakness. During medieval times both Italians and Germans fulfilled a high destiny, and rose to eminence and power. By Germans was made the Holy Roman Empire, the most renowned political edifice in western Europe, and for ages afterward in decay still the most august and venerable of political bodies. Among the Italians an ecclesiastic wielded spiritual authority presently acknowledged everywhere in western and central Europe, so that Rome was again the center of an empire as once when the Cæsars had ruled. In parts of Italy and in parts of Germany a fine civilization and a high prosperity were developed. Yet, in the end they were both of them largely ruined by misfortune, weakness, and division. The Italian countries did not, indeed, at any time suffer such misery and devastation as came to the German lands during the Thirty Years' War. On the other hand, there were not for them even such slight strength and security as the Germanies had from the Holy Roman Empire, since the Italian territories were at no time, from the sixth century until the nineteenth, bound together in a common union. In the middle of the fifteenth century some of the Italian states were the seat of the greatest wealth and the highest civilization in Europe. But the era of their greatness was then nearly over. Stronger neighbors were rising up to look upon their wealth and their weakness. At the end of the fifteenth century Italy became the battleground of foreign nations. Some of the states then passed under foreign dominion; and though sometimes there was change of masters, they continued thereafter in subjection during the time considered in this volume.

Failure to unite the parts in one great state

The decay of old Italy

The decay of Italy had begun long before the end of the Roman Empire in the west, while Rome was still a republic. For some centuries the city of Rome remained the capital of the empire that was established about the time when the Christian era began, but her prosperity was drawn from subject provinces elsewhere. In course of time large,

changing conditions took this primacy and importance away. Constantine the Great, ablest statesman and ruler of his time, deemed it well for effective administration of the empire to move the capital eastward, and from 330 the capital was at Byzantium, thenceforth called Constantinople. After this time Rome decayed, and Italy was more and more a distant, subordinate province. For a time afterward Rome, Milan, Ravenna, each held the position of capital of the western half of the Roman Empire; but this portion of the empire presently collapsed from weakness and through attacks by barbarian invaders. Italy then became the seat of the kingdom of the Ostrogoths, one of the invading Germanic peoples; but in 553 generals of the Byzantine Empire having destroyed the Ostrogoth power, Italy was made a subject province of Constantinople.

Constantinople takes the place of Rome

The unity and peace that came with this subordination Italy did not long keep. In 568 the Lombards, another Germanic people, came down from the northeast, and presently had taken most of the peninsula for themselves. Under Byzantine authority remained only the extreme southern part along with Sicily, and a portion running across the peninsula from Rome northward to Ravenna. Nor did these jurisdictions remain. During the eighth century, the Franks, now most powerful of the German folk, overthrew the Lombards, and established their friendship with the pope and their rule over Italian country. During the ninth century all the northern and middle parts of Italy were included in the empire that Charlemagne founded (800) or the Carolingian kingdoms that sprang therefrom. The southern part remained largely to the Eastern Empire. Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, had been occupied by Saracen raiders.

Italy divided among Byzantines, Germans, and Saracens

In 962, when the empire was reëstablished, closer connection between the German and the Italian countries was resumed. Emperor and pope were conceived to be

Italy and the Holy Roman Empire

the chief rulers of the Christian world, the pope of things spiritual, the emperor of temporal matters. From the popes the emperors received their crown. From the emperors the popes might expect protection, if need be, and assistance in executing decrees of the church. Hence, Italy and Germany were thought of as the principal parts of the Holy Roman Empire, and emperors strove by all means to maintain close connection. But this association, while not without advantages to each of the peoples, was finally fatal to the interests of both. The German emperors striving to hold Italian lands, far from the base of their strength and resources, failed to build up a powerful state by uniting the various German jurisdictions. On the other hand, for a long time they led into Italy great armies which temporarily crushed all opposition, and which checked and thwarted such development as the Italians might have carried through if unhampered.

Italian development thwarted

Meanwhile, the popes desired to build up great temporal along with spiritual power. About Rome they had acquired certain territories that made one of the important Italian states. They viewed with jealousy the rise of any other state in Italy strong enough to overawe them. They were unwilling that any other state should unite the Italian countries. In this opposition they were assisted by the emperors. On the other hand, great rivalry developed between emperors and popes, each desiring to be superior to the other. All Italy, and to a less extent Germany, was divided between opposing parties supporting emperor or pope one against the other. For generations Italy was torn by strife between Ghibellines, supporting the emperors, and Guelphs, who stood for the popes. There were endless civil wars and commotions. Some, like Dante, were banished; some lost property; some lost their lives. Meanwhile, popes excommunicated emperors, raised up rival emperors, and stirred up rebellious vassals or jealous magnates to resist imperial authority in the

Italy and the papacy

Strife between emperors and popes

German lands. The long struggle came to its crisis in the thirteenth century, with the reign of Frederick II, the last of the Hohenstaufen emperors (1215–1250). Frederick's most important possessions were the Two Sicilies —Sicily and Naples. Here in southern Italy he built up a powerful state, from which effective rule might have stretched over the remainder of Italy if all of his plans had gone well. Against him the papacy waged relentless war. On his death southern Italy fell to the French Angevins whom the pope had called in. The popes came forth triumphant from the struggle. The great schemes of the emperors were at an end. The anarchy of the Great Interregnum followed in the German countries; and the Holy Roman Empire, when it was established once more, was only a little of what it had been.

Triumph of the pope

When German domination had been broken, the Italians as before were unable to create a nation and a unified state. Popes remained the principal potentates, but they could bring no unification, even if they desired it. The papacy fell upon evil days. During the period of the Babylonian Captivity (1309–76) the popes had their seat at Avignon not at Rome, and were under the influence of the French kings whose dominions lay near. Rome left to herself was the spoil of warring nobles now and the prey of ignoble mobs. In 1347 the Roman, Rienzi, succeeded for the moment in a revolution by which he dreamed of restoring the city to her ancient high position. His schemes failed almost at once, however. Rome sank back to the position from which his visionary ardor had raised her, and Italy remained divided among certain city states and various other jurisdictions.

Italy remains in fragments

In Italy during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries there had been political development much like that in Hellas a long time before. Neither Greeks then nor Italians afterward had the genius to unite various peoples and make of them one great nation; but in Greece then and

The Italian city states

Flourishing centers

in Italy now many flourishing cities had arisen, some the centers of strong city states. In north Italy were Genoa, Pisa, Milan, Florence, Siena, Bologna, and Venice; in the south, Amalfi and Naples. In most of these places trade or manufactures grew and high prosperity developed. By the fourteenth century, while there was in the south the Kingdom of Naples, and in the central region the States of the Church, there were also the city states of Venice, Florence, Milan, Genoa, and others, proud, prosperous, resplendent, instinct with vitality and throbbing with life. In these cities there was much civil strife and confusion. There were many wars between the various states. In course of time many of them lost their republican institutions, falling under the rule of tyrants or despots. Generally, however, their vitality and prosperity increased, especially when the despots gave more security and order. Some of these places, particularly Siena and Florence, developed the most brilliant civilization seen in Europe for ages, a civilization to which there had long been nothing to compare save what was flourishing in some Flemish and some German towns, and what had bloomed in the southern French lands. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the communities of northern Italy began the Renaissance, a wonderful intellectual movement that presently flowered out in marvellous literary and artistic creations, and spread forth to illumine western Europe. By the middle of the fifteenth century, despite many misfortunes and divisions, the northern and middle Italian states were the center of Europe's culture and beauty.

The despots

The French invade Italy

The fifteenth century was the end of the period of Italian greatness. The empire could no longer impose its rule, and the Italian states did as they pleased; but singly they were too weak to resist powerful invaders and they could not unite and win strength. Powerful monarchies were arising about them. France and Spain,

both of them, were accomplishing what the Italians and the Germans had failed to achieve. The principal parts of Spain were now being united, and France had been welded into a powerful state with strong government wielding its resources. In 1494 Charles VIII of France led an army to take possession of Naples, upon which he had a claim. The Italians, long disused to war and long accustomed to defend themselves by mercenary armies, beheld with astonishment the French array in its progress down through their land. The Kingdom of Naples was easily won; for a moment France was dominant in Italian affairs. But Aragon, whose king, Ferdinand, was virtually monarch of united Spain, had long had possession of Sicily, and Spanish princes had sometimes ruled Naples. Accordingly, Spain intervened.

Charles VIII seizes Naples

In the struggle that followed there were many alterations of fortune, and on several occasions, in three successive reigns, French kings dispatched armies which gained signal success. In the end, however, the excellence of the Spanish veterans, the ability of the Spanish commanders, Spain's better lines of communication to the theater of the war because of Spanish control of the sea routes, gave complete triumph to her. First the French lost Naples, then Milan which they had attempted to gain. Finally, the French king himself was captured in Italy, and forced to make a peace in which he abandoned his Italian claims. Thus Spain was left with mastery of the southern districts, Sicily and Naples, and of Milan, one of the principal districts in the north. Such was the greatness of Spain that she dominated the other Italian states also.

Wars of France with Spain in Italy

Spain dominant in Italy

During the seventeenth century the power of Spain declined, but her influence in Italy was little diminished, and her hold upon Italian possessions very slowly relaxed. France grew steadily more powerful than Spain, but the ambitions of France had changed, and she sought now

Decline of the power of Spain

acquisitions in the Pyrenees, in the Netherlands, along the Rhine, rather than in Italy, as before. Accordingly, while Spain was losing Cerdagne, Rousillon, and Artois, and while Alsace was taken from the empire, Spain retained her hold on Sicily, Naples, and Milan, won under Ferdinand the Catholic and his grandson, Charles V. In 1700, the last Spanish Hapsburg bequeathed the Spanish possessions to a Bourbon prince, grandson of Louis XIV. After a long war, however, the Spanish dominions were divided. Spain with her colonial empire was left to the French prince she had chosen; but most of the outlying European holdings of Spain went to the emperor, the other principal claimant. Thus after 1714 Milan and Naples, and after 1720 Sicily, were added to the dominions which the Austrian Hapsburgs held.

Spain loses her Italian possessions

This settlement was almost immediately altered, however. Spain quickly recovered from the lethargy and decay that had so long oppressed her, and her rulers strove to win back some of what had been lost in the Italian countries. Her first attempts were abortive, but in the so-called War of the Polish Succession (1733–8) the French, the Spaniards, and the Italians of the Kingdom of Sardinia (Savoy) attacked the imperial troops and entirely defeated them. The Two Sicilies were now ruled by a Spanish Bourbon prince, as once they had been ruled by a Spanish Hapsburg king. The emperor continued to hold the Milanese given him by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, while in 1737 he took possession of Tuscany and its metropolis Florence. So, parts of Italy, as for so long before, continued under foreign masters.

Southern Italy rewon for the Spanish Bourbons

During the remainder of the eighteenth century Italy continued to be a land divided, ruled partly by foreigners, impotent, unimportant. The opinions of Italian princes were of little moment in Europe, and great political questions were decided without their knowledge or sanction. In European relations the Italian people were of far less

Italy in the eighteenth century

17. ITALY ABOUT 1450

Fine civilization

importance than the German, disunited as the Germanies were. There were in Italy much fineness, gallantry, and good living, some splendor and magnificence, not a little prosperity at times. But ardent and patriotic Italians must look to their past, not the present; for them the future seemed to have little hope. Everywhere were the monuments of ancient greatness and evidences of old renown. No country in the world had so many cities with multitudes of palaces, churches, and great buildings, such innumerable statues and pictures. From all over Europe, then as now, travellers who would see the sights and complete a higher education came to Italy to behold what Italians had once created and what so many since had admired.

Apathy, stagnation, decline

These travellers saw the ostentatious magnificence of Rome, the palaces of Genoa and of Florence, the waning splendor of Venice; but everywhere they witnessed the torpor, the apathy, the decay that come to those whose greatness is gone, whose better work has been done. Almost everywhere governments were oppressive or inefficient. In Milan, in Tuscany, in Naples, in Sicily aliens ruled. The ships of Genoa and of Venice had nearly disappeared. The manufactures of Milan and of Florence were stagnant. Robbers (*banditti*) roamed through the country. The prosperity and the greatness that lay before the Italian people could not be foreseen. There appeared, as yet, no hope of achieving that unity which alone could give Italians the place to which they were entitled. For most parts of Italy there seemed little hope that existing governments could provide the order and security on which prosperity and advancement depend. During the eighteenth century, as during the seventeenth and the sixteenth, the history of Italy was concerned either with the rivalries and ambitions of alien powers or with the states into which Italy was divided.

Future greatness not yet foreseen

During all this period the largest, though not the most

important, jurisdiction in Italy was that which comprised Sicily and Naples. These countries had ofttimes fallen a prize to conquerors from abroad. Their people had seldom known governments supported by their own arms and dependent upon their wishes. Sicily was the largest island in the Mediterranean and one of the richest agricultural districts in Europe. In ancient days, when Carthaginians ruled the western seas and Greeks were scattering their colonies abroad, both of them attempted to win control of this island. Syracuse, on the east coast, was one of the foremost Greek cities of those days, and there were many others whose ruins now attest a magnificence otherwise forgotten. The Greeks here, as elsewhere, founded numerous flourishing communities, which could not combine in one strong federation or state. Accordingly, the Carthaginians overran large parts of the island, and were with difficulty prevented from mastering it all. Largely because of Sicily, Rome and Carthage came into conflict. There were terrible combats in the island itself, and great naval battles in the waters near by. The Carthaginians were defeated, and Sicily was a Roman province even before Carthage was destroyed. Under Roman dominion the prosperity of Sicily declined, but it remained an important part of Rome's western dominions. When German invaders were breaking up the western part of the empire, Sicily was overrun by the Vandals, but early in the sixth century it was attached to the Byzantine Empire. In the ninth and tenth centuries the island was conquered by the Saracens, and under their rule it came again into flourishing condition. In the eleventh century Norman adventurers, who had already conquered Apulia, on the southern part of the mainland, crossed over into Sicily also, and by 1090 the conquest was complete. Norman kings now ruled in Sicily and also in Naples. In 1130 the Two Sicilies were united under one Norman ruler.

Sicily in older times

Carthaginians and Romans

The Normans

Southern Italy in older times

The history of the southern portion of Italy had meanwhile been similar in many respects. This district also was colonized by Greeks. So numerous and flourishing were the city states established by them, that they seemed to surpass the older Hellenic communities, and it was as *Magna Græcia* that this part of Italy was known. Here, later on, Hannibal quartered his troops; and in the mountainous regions he long held the Romans at bay when his fortunes were waning. For long ages then these places were under Roman rule, and the beauty of the country by the Bay of Naples brought numerous Romans of wealth who would live in refinement and pleasure. Here the Apennines come down to the Mediterranean, and the coast below Naples as far as Salerno, with majestic precipices, with sloping vineyards that flash in the sun and look out on the sea, has for ages been an enchanted land to beholders. At Pæstum, where the mountains watch over an empty plain to the curving beach of the bay, there still stand the ruins of a noble temple built long ago by the Greeks. To the north of Naples, at Monte Cassino, looking out from its height far over mountains all round about, still stands the monastery whence the learning of the Benedictines illumined all of their time. The city of Naples has ever been large and important, and at times thriving cities have arisen near by. But the prosperity and goodness of large areas in these districts have very long since departed. Through great stretches of this country *banditti* have wandered, and elsewhere the ancient curse of malaria has settled upon provinces doomed and deserted. For the most part, since the age when the empire of the Romans declined, this country has been backward and in lasting decay, its people less fortunate and powerful than those of Italian countries to the north. These districts also were overrun by the Saracens, and they also were wrested from the Saracens later on by the Normans. It was during the Saracen and Norman periods

"This is an enchanted land"

A land of doom

that Salerno, Amalfi, and Ravello became centers of culture and power whose charm lingers on to the present.

French and Spaniards in the Two Sicilies

In the latter part of the twelfth century the male line of the Norman rulers of the Two Sicilies becoming extinct, the succession was claimed by the Hohenstaufen emperor, Henry VI, by virtue of the right of his wife, a Norman princess, and Henry took possession of the countries in 1194. Henry's son, who afterward became emperor of the Holy Roman Empire as Frederick II, became king of the Two Sicilies in 1208, and thereafter, until his death in 1250, these Italian lands were the basis of his power and the center of the dominions which he ruled. His policy brought him into mortal conflict with the pope, and in the end he was overborne. Frederick's successors held the inheritance only a little while longer. The pope invited Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX, king of France, to come and take the country; and by 1266 the Angevins had conquered it entirely. In Sicily their harsh rule soon aroused opposition, and after the sudden rising and massacre known as the Sicilian Vespers (1282), they lost the island completely. Sicily now came under the rule of the Spaniards of Aragon, whose ruler, Peter III, had married one of the descendants of the emperor, Frederick II. In terrible and devastating wars that followed, the Angevins were unable to reconquer the island, since Aragon, one of the principal naval powers in the Mediterranean during this time, generally held control of the sea. Therefore, Sicily continued under rule of Aragon, and for some time Naples remained under Anjou. In 1442, however, Naples also was secured by Aragon, so that for a while the Two Sicilies were united under Spanish rule.

The Sicilian Vespers

The Spaniards retain control

This control by Spanish sovereigns over Sicily and the southern third of Italy was destined to continue for a long time. In 1494, indeed, Charles VIII of France laid claim to Naples by virtue of rights which the Angevin rulers

had bequeathed to France, and Frenchmen easily conquered the country. But Aragon having now been merged in a greater Spanish monarchy, the claim of Aragon to Sicily and Naples was maintained by the power of Spain. As a result of wars that continued for some time, the French were defeated, despite brilliant temporary successes, and despite the fact that on one occasion the French and the Spaniards agreed to divide Naples between them. In the end the Spaniards remained completely masters of both Sicily and Naples.

Decline under Spanish rule

Under Spanish rule Naples and Sicily sank into long and lasting stagnation. To a considerable extent local customs were not interfered with, but usually government was in the interests of Spain. Trade languished; industry declined; and there was generally little advancement. The countries were too different from Spain and too far away to be made a real part of the Spanish kingdom; but such was the might of Spain that her yoke could not be cast off.

Fruitless rebellions

In 1517 and 1647 there were rebellions at Palermo in Sicily, but they were easily suppressed. In this latter year also Masaniello (Tomaso Aniello), a fisherman, led the people in a sudden uprising in Naples. The Spanish viceroy was compelled to abolish the most odious of the taxes and to restore an old charter of exemptions; but the leader of the people soon lost favor and was assassinated; whereupon this rebellion like the others was completely suppressed. In 1672 Messina, in Sicily, revolted to France, but at the end of the European war in 1678 this movement also came to nothing.

The Two Sicilies lost by Spain

During the War of the Spanish Succession much of Europe fought against Louis XIV to prevent the Spanish dominions from coming under the rule of a French king and, as it was believed, under the control really of France. Philip V of Bourbon, grandson of Louis XIV, and after 1713–14 acknowledged by the European states as king of Spain, was during the years of the conflict (1701–14)

nominally ruler of Sicily and Naples, though often he was cut off from these places and had no control there. By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) Sicily was given to Victor Amadeus, ruler of the north Italian country, Savoy, while Naples was to be added to the other possessions of the ruler of Austria, the emperor, who had been the principal contestant with the French claimant for all of the Spanish dominions. The emperor was resolved, however, to secure Sicily and other districts, while Spain did not reconcile herself to the loss of her Italian possessions. In 1717 a Spanish expedition, dispatched by the ambitious minister Alberoni, conquered Sardinia, which had also been assigned to the emperor, and next year the Spaniards overran Sicily likewise. But a great European combination, the Triple Alliance (1717), between France, England, and Holland, was formed to prevent any disturbing of the European settlement so recently made, and next year this was expanded to the Quadruple Alliance by the inclusion of the emperor also. France and England attacked Spain at the same time that the Austrians came southward to recover what had been seized. The Spanish fleet was destroyed by the English, and the Austrians overpowered the Spanish troops. By the Quadruple Alliance (1718) it was arranged that the emperor should give Sardinia to the ruler of Savoy, and from him receive Sicily in exchange. To this arrangement Spain was compelled to yield, and in 1720 the emperor, Charles VI, united the Two Sicilies under Austrian Hapsburg rule.

The Spaniards try, but fail to recover the Sicilies

Austria obtains Sicily as well as Naples

This arrangement was not destined to stand. The Bourbon rulers of France and of Spain drew closer and closer together, somewhat as Europe had formerly feared. In 1733 began a conflict known as the War of the Polish Succession. In this struggle France opposed the policy of Austria and Russia with respect to Poland, but failed to prevent their arrangements, which led afterward to the partition of Poland. At the same time, however, France

Spanish Bourbon rule, 1735–1860

and Spain fought against Austria concerning the Austrian possessions in Italy, and in respect of this they won large success. In 1735 the Spaniards conquered the Two Sicilies, and by the Third Treaty of Vienna (1738) a Spanish prince, Don Carlos, was acknowledged their ruler. During the remainder of this period Naples and Sicily continued to be under the rule of a Bourbon, as was the case with France and with Spain. Bourbon rule in Sicily and Naples, though interrupted by Napoleon's conquests, and afterward by brief revolutions, lasted on until finally overthrown in 1860 when several of the parts of Italy were united in the modern kingdom.

Rome and the country about it

To the north of the territory of Naples, running across the middle part of the Italian peninsula, were the States of the Church, or the Papal States, which the popes had gradually acquired about Rome. This country in ancient times had seen the rise of the Romans' power, and in the days of their greatness the city of Rome was the center and capital of their empire. The country immediately round about—the Campagna—was then flourishing and highly cultivated; but during the period of Rome's troubles and decline, cultivation fell into decay, districts once drained became marsh land again, until the malaria held fatal sway and all those who could left the district. During this time the city of Rome also was declining. It was presently captured on several occasions and plundered by German invaders.

The popes build up a temporal state

During the centuries of decay and desolation that followed some greatness returned to Rome through the rise of the power of the popes. The popes established themselves gradually as the most august ecclesiastics in the western Christian world, and Rome was the seat of their power. At first the country all about was ruled by the exarchs of Ravenna for the Eastern Empire, of which Italy now was a part; but the rule of the exarchs was feeble, and the Germanic Lombards to the north did much as they

pleased. In the eighth century the Franks, having conquered the Lombards and made their own influence paramount in Italy, gave great assistance to the popes. In 755, Pepin the Short, king of the Franks, after destroying such authority of the Byzantines as still remained about Rome, is said to have delivered the exarchate and Rome to Pope Stephen II. This grant was later confirmed by Charles the Great, who in turn was crowned emperor by the pope (800). To this papal territory additions were made in the twelfth century by Matilda of Tuscany, who then ruled extensive domains in northern Italy, who was the stanch supporter of Pope Gregory VII and his successors in their contest with the emperor, and whose memory is so revered now at St. Peter's in Rome. During the thirteenth century, as a result of the triumphant struggle of the popes against the emperors, this papal territory became practically independent of the Holy Roman Empire, of which it had long been a part.

The Franks grant lands to the popes

The popes had shaken off the emperor's lordship, but for the most part they were unable to control their country themselves. In the rural areas bandits and robber nobles did what they pleased, and there was neither security nor order. In Rome warring nobles plundered the ancient monuments and temples to build fortresses for themselves, and then filled the city with bloodshed and tumult. It was partly because of perpetual insecurity and strife that the popes removed the seat of their government to Avignon. During the period of their absence, the so-called Babylonian Captivity (1309–76), country and city sank far in decline and distress, and at last it was said that only 20,000 inhabitants remained in the city that had once ruled so much of the world.

Medieval Rome

On the return of the popes in 1377, and especially after the end of the Great Schism in the church (1417), the country recovered and prosperity increased. Great sums of money poured into Rome from a wealthier Europe

Return of prosperity

whose western part was once more united in obedience to Rome; while in the country round about government became more effective and administration was somewhat improved. Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503) strove to increase his authority at the expense of the feudal vassals who held of him possessions in the papal territory. He wished also to acquire for his favorite son, Cæsar Borgia, a new domain. Borgia and the papal forces made considerable acquisitions, including the great city of Bologna, to the north, in 1503. But this pope died suddenly, before his schemes could be brought to completion, and his successor, the warlike Julius II (1503–1513), kept the acquisitions for the papacy. Then by diplomacy and the sword he considerably extended them himself, especially by acquiring Ravenna (1509). Ancona was obtained during the sixteenth century, as was the more important Ferrara somewhat later on (1597).

Cæsar Borgia and Julius II enlarge the Papal States by conquest

Rome during the Renaissance

During this period Rome had become first the center of the Renaissance and afterward of the Counter-Reformation. During the Renaissance, popes and wealthy churchmen, especially Julius II and Leo X (1513–1521), vied with each other in erecting beautiful buildings and patronizing artists and men of letters. It was during this time that Rome, already the foremost city of churches, saw the beginnings of St. Peter's, the most imposing church in the world, whose magnificent proportions were designed by Michelangelo following plans of Bramante. Here had been established the *Vatican Library*, and here were assembled some of the principal collections of books and manuscripts then in existence; though the best of them were afterward to be exceeded by the greatest collections in England and in France. Here were brought together, under the patronage of elegant and wealthy men, the principal artists and architects and painters of the time, so that Rome became what Florence had been somewhat before—the center of the Renaissance movement. Here

Vatican Library

it was that Michelangelo and Raphael did the best of their work. New palaces and new churches multiplied until Rome was once more the most interesting and beautiful city in the world. To all of this the Protestant Reformation brought disaster, and from the sack of Rome by Catholic and Lutheran enemies of the pope in 1527, and from the plundering that ensued thereupon, Rome of the Renaissance did not recover. When the authority of the popes had been reëstablished, and when the prosperity of the city was restored, conditions had changed, and the principal forces of the Renaissance were then operating elsewhere.

Rome the center of Renaissance art

During the latter part of the sixteenth century Rome was the center of the movement of the Counter-Reformation. Here were centered the forces striving to win back revolted populations to the popes. The old gaiety and luxury and brilliance of the Renaissance time had departed. Rome had become the gathering-place of strong, earnest Catholics directing a militant movement, like those of the earlier great ages of the church. With Catholics after conclusion of the Council of Trent (1563) the papacy had regained all its old prestige and authority, and Rome was once more thoroughly and completely leader of the Catholic world. Hither came ambassadors, visitors, petitioners, and travellers curious or pious. Hither came to reside distinguished converts from Protestant countries, like Christina, queen of Sweden, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus. Hither came those who had lost their all through devotion to the Catholic faith, like the last of the Stuarts, the descendants of James II who was driven from the throne of England.

Rome during the Counter-Reformation

During the latter part of the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth, after the wars of religion were over and the great religious struggles had been fought out, Rome settled down more and more into quiet dignity and greatness, still sought by visitors, great in the present but greater in its monuments and traditions from the past.

Rome during the eighteenth century

Here visitors saw the *Pantheon*, the *Arch of Titus*, and ruins of the *Colosseum;* everywhere were memorials of the Middle Ages, such as the "*Tower of Nero*"; and in all parts of the city and environs were the catacombs, the basilicas, the churches which devotion of Christians had reared as the centuries passed. The country about Rome continued in the lonely desolation that had come down upon it. Rural inhabitants of the States of the Church were depressed from taxes and restrictions that favored the citizens of Rome at their expense. As before, for the most part, the government of this country was backward, inefficient, repressive.

The papal country

Florence and the Tuscan country

To the north of Rome, but on its own western and northern sides nearly encompassed by the Papal States, in the middle of the fifteenth century, was the territory of Florence, known as the Grand Duchy of Tuscany later on. This district was part of the country of the ancient Etrurians, one of whose settlements was at the place afterward called by the Romans *Florentia*, later known to many peoples as Florence, but to its own inhabitants as *Firenze*. This country, like that to the southward, was ruled successively by Romans, Goths, Byzantines, by Lombards, and by Franks. In the ninth century it was made a margravate, or frontier province of the Frankish empire. From the rulers of this margravate descended the Countess Matilda (1076–1115), who assisted Gregory VII and his successors against the emperors, and dying bequeathed her dominions to the popes. The emperors, however, would in no wise admit this bequest. In the contest that followed the Tuscan country was broken into fragments, various republican states being established about such cities as Pisa, Siena, Lucca, and Florence. In an era of prosperity and industrial expansion that followed each one of these communities rose to prominence and power. Ultimately Florence gained the mastery over most of them, and added them to her dominions.

The Countess Matilda

18. ITALY ABOUT 1600

Medieval Florence

In the medieval period Florence was a place of great prominence and historical interest. Here began the struggle between the Italian factions, the Ghibellines and the Guelfs. Here Dante was born, father of Italian literature, greatest writer of the Middle Ages. The Tuscan dialect of Italian, used in Florence and the regions thereabout, Dante employed in his *Divina Commedia*, and this dialect in after times was used by most educated Italian people. Here lived Boccaccio, friend of Petrarch and of many of the great men of his time, author of the *Decamerone*, one of the most charming collections of stories in the world. Meanwhile, the industry of Florence continued to flourish and increase. Wealth accumulated and the city became one of the principal banking centers of Europe. During the fourteenth century, in the wars between the king of England and the king of France, the campaigns of the English were financed partly through money loaned by Florentine bankers—the Bardi and the Peruzzi. Their bankruptcy, brought about when Edward III did not pay them what he had borrowed, was the greatest financial failure of the Middle Ages. The prosperity and industry of Florence continued to advance, however.

Industrial prosperity and wealth

Government of Florence

Here, as in so many other places at this time, the government of the city was founded upon the trade guilds (*arti*), whose chief officers ruled the city, though the nobles (*grandi*) had earlier had control, and it was difficult to hold them in check. The older nobility was in course of time displaced by a newer aristocracy founded on wealth and commercial success. Meanwhile, the mass of the people (*popolani*), whose prosperity was also increasing, sought for a share in control. During the fifteenth century members of the family of Medici rose up as leaders of the *popolani*, and gradually increasing their own power through most skilful management, presently became almost absolute rulers of Florence, though the outward form of republican institutions was preserved. Cosimo de' Medici

Rise of the Medici

laid the foundations of his family's power (1434–1464), while the highest point was reached during the long rule of his grandson, Lorenzo The Magnificent—*il Magnifico*—(1469–1492).

Florence the seat of the Renaissance

During this period Florence was the center and mainspring of the Italian Renaissance; and the variety and beauty of the work of the men who wrought there rivalled the best that was done once in Athens. Cosimo de' Medici was the liberal patron of the architect Brunelleschi —who completed the *Duomo* (cathedral) at Florence, of the sculptor Donatello, and of the painter Fra Filippo Lippi; and he was also the founder of the great *Medici Library*. In the time of Lorenzo the patronage and favor were increased, and Florence was the most brilliant and charming city in the world. This great age has long since passed, but still the principal monuments of the place, the *Duomo*, the *Campanile* (bell tower), the *Battistero* (baptismal chapel), attract visitors from all over the civilized world, while the pictures in the *Pitti Gallery* and the *Uffizi Gallery* are to this day almost unrivalled.

The Grand Duchy of Tuscany

During the troublous period following the invasion of Italy by the French came confusion, tumult, and decline. In 1494 the Dominican monk, Savonarola, led the people in reëstablishing the old republic. He incurred the enmity of the pope, however, soon lost his popularity, and was put to death four years later. Then the rule of the Medici was set up again, and confirmed by Charles V, who in 1530 appointed Alessandro Medici hereditary duke of Florence.

Cosimo I

Cosimo I (1537–1574), a soldier of great ability, enlarged the dominions of his house by the conquest of neighboring cities and districts. By him was acquired Pisa, once the rival of Genoa for the commerce of the western Italian coast. Under him also was obtained Siena, at one time a city of 100,000 inhabitants, and formerly the principal industrial rival of Florence. Siena had been an early center of the Renaissance; it is

ennobled by one of the most beautiful cathedrals in Italy and by numerous splendid buildings. In 1569 Cosimo obtained from the pope the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany or Florence.

Tuscany becomes a Hapsburg possession

During the seventeenth century this territory along with other parts of Italy suffered decline and decay. In the early part of the eighteenth century it was eagerly sought for by Spain and by the empire. In 1737 the line of Medici rulers became extinct, and the emperor annexed Tuscany to his domain as a vacant fief. By the Third Treaty of Vienna (1738) Duke Francis Stephen of Lorraine, who had married the emperor's daughter, renounced Lorraine to France, and was allowed Tuscany in exchange. In 1763 the country was declared an appanage or holding of the second son of the emperor. For some time now Tuscany was ruled by the Grand Duke Leopold I (1765–1790) who abolished the inquisition and other old institutions, and effected reforms, until Tuscany was in many respects one of the best governed countries in Europe.

Ferrara

Northeast of the Tuscan country and north of the Papal States was Ferrara, a district around the city of that name. During the Middle Ages Ferrara came under the rule of the House of Este. It shared in the commercial and industrial prosperity of these parts of Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and it was one of the centers of the Italian Renaissance. It was also for some time the principal center of Protestantism in Italy. At Ferrara the poet Tasso long enjoyed the patronage of the court. On the extinction of the House of Este in 1597 Ferrara was claimed by the pope as a vacant fief, and annexed to the States of the Church.

Modena

West of Ferrara and north of the Papal States there was later on another small domain, the Duchy of Modena. In the tenth century this district had come under the rule of the lords of Este. Later on it was part of the dominions of the Countess Matilda, but afterward it came again

into possession of the family of Este. At the end of the sixteenth century, when Ferrara was made part of the papal territory, Modena remained under the rule of a branch of the Este family, and so it continued during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The second wife of James II, king of England, was Mary, a princess of Modena.

Parma

West of Modena and to the north of Tuscany there was during this later time the Duchy of Parma, about the city of Parma, where Correggio painted so many of his pictures. In 1346 Parma was taken by the Visconti, who presently ruled in Milan; and for a long time afterward the district was generally part of the Duchy of Milan. In 1512 it was annexed to the papal territory, and somewhat later a pope, Paul III, bestowed Parma and the neighboring Piacenza upon his son, Pier Farnese (1545). One of the dukes of Parma, Alessandro Farnese, was viceroy for Philip II in the Netherlands, and commanded the Spanish army that Philip designed for the conquest of England—the army that watched the Spanish Armada defeated go fleeing past Gravelines. In 1731 the male line of Farnese became extinct. The country was claimed by Austria, but after many negotiations and struggles, by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), Parma and Piacenza were ceded to Don Philip, second son of Elizabeth Farnese, who had married Philip V, the Bourbon king of Spain.

Genoa in older times

West of Parma and northwest of Tuscany ran the narrow strip of the territory of Genoa. On a bay that for beauty almost rivals that of Naples in the south, the city of Genoa drove a thriving trade four centuries before the Christian era, and was a place of considerable importance in Roman days. During the period when the empire in the west was broken and its parts were being taken by Germans, Genoa came to be the principal power in the region, and was afterward the leader in resisting Saracen incursions.

Pisa, Genoa's rival

Meanwhile, somewhat to the south a rival was rising. Pisa also had long been renowned as a seaport, and was important under the Romans. During the early Middle Ages Pisa and Genoa were the two principal commercial cities on the western coast of Italy, as Venice was on the eastern, as Marseilles was in France, as Barcelona was farther west. In the eleventh century the Pisans took from the Saracens Corsica, Sardinia, and Balearic Isles. They, like the Genoese and the Venetians, took a prominent part in the Crusades: it was largely by coöperation of these naval powers that the Crusaders could get to the east. From the profits of her commerce and her shipping Pisa became wealthy and great. The power and magnificence of these times is still attested by one of the most beautiful groups of buildings in the world—the *Duomo*, the *Battistero*, the *Campanile* (the "Leaning Tower of Pisa"), and the *Campo Santo* (burying place). But Pisa came into relentless rivalry with Genoa, her commercial competitor, and with Florence, her industrial rival inland. In the course of the struggles between Guelfs and Ghibellines the Pisans were defeated by the Florentines at Castel del Bosco (1222). Later on their naval power was annihilated by the Genoese in the terrible battle of Meloria (1284). The colonial possessions were now lost one after the other. Commerce dwindled. The prosperity of the city was ruined by internal dissensions. On several occasions Pisa was seized by captains of *condottieri*, the mercenary soldiers employed by Italians to fight their battles, and who so often turned on their masters. In 1405 one of these conquerors sold the city to Florence. Thereafter, save for a brief period, it was part of the Tuscan possessions.

Florence and Genoa break the power of Pisa

Pisa subject to Florence

After their triumph over the Pisans the Genoese acquired Corsica, and remained supreme over all the waters around. Genoa and Venice had now become the leading maritime powers in southern Europe. Both had taken

great profit from the Crusades, and both had secured numerous colonies and distant possessions. Between these two great commercial republics bitter rivalry developed. The two of them, along with the Catalans of Barcelona to a lesser extent, were the carriers of trade from the Levant to the countries of western Europe. Each one strove for the greater share and strove to exclude the other. Down toward Egypt and the southeastern Mediterranean the Venetians held the advantage, but at Constantinople and in neighboring waters they gradually lost to their rivals. It was the Venetians who had assisted the soldiers of the Fourth Crusade to overthrow the Byzantine Empire in 1204; but with aid from the Genoese a Byzantine emperor entered Constantinople again in 1261. The Genoese now carried on a fierce struggle with the Venetians and the Catalans who acted with them. In 1291 the matter came to issue when the Genoese defeated the combined fleets of their enemies within sight of Constantinople itself. They now remained masters of the commerce that came down from out the Black Sea. During the thirteenth century, when the power of Genoa was at its height, she not only had a flourishing commerce and great wealth, but was mistress of Corsica, and settlements in the Crimea, in Syria, in Cyprus, in Tunis, and Algeria, while from her settlement at Pera, the northern quarter of Constantinople, she dominated the commerce near by.

Rivalry between Genoa and Venice

Genoa secures the Black Sea trade

Decline presently set in. The prosperity of the city was gravely hurt by the endless feuds of her factions, arising from the rivalries of noble families, and the opposition of Guelfs and Ghibellines. Government was controlled by the leading nobles. In 1339 this was altered by giving the supreme executive and administrative power to a *doge* (duke) elected for life. With Venice the long contest reached its crisis. In 1379 the powerful Genoese war fleet captured Chioggia, a strategic point near Venice, from which the siege of that city was begun. For some time

Genoa overthrown by Venice

it seemed that the Genoese were about to overcome their great rival completely. But the Venetians held out, as the Greeks of Syracuse had resisted long before the expedition sent out from Athens. In the end the results were the same. Athens did not recover from the terrible losses in the Syracusan campaign, and Genoa, after the capture of all her armament in the lagoons near Venice (1380), never got back her strength again. A century later, after the Turks had taken Constantinople (1453), Genoa was deprived of most of her commerce and all of her possessions in the east. Toward the end of the fifteenth century, in these days of decline, one of her skilled mariners, seeking elsewhere opportunity for advancement that his own city could no longer give, entered the service of Castile, and discovered "the Indies" for Spain.

Decay of Genoa

Genoa much influenced by France

During much of this time Genoa maintained close relations with France, her great neighbor to the west, and France sometimes gave her protection. During the sixteenth century, under the influence of the *doge*, Andrea Doria, who left the service of the French, Genoa came over to the emperor's side. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, in days of continued decline and quiescence, she was often influenced or coerced by the French. In 1729 her last colony, Corsica, revolted. The rising was put down, but only with the aid of France, and the French presently took possession of the island for themselves (1768). During all this time Genoa continued to be governed mostly by an oligarchy of aristocrats.

Milan in older times

Northeast of Genoa was the Duchy of Milan. The plain of Lombardy, as this northern Italian district has long been called, is the most fruitful district in Italy. There, within sight of the Alps, and not very far from the main mountain passes that allow entrance to Italy from the north, the city of Milan rose to greatness in ancient times. Under the Roman Empire it was the second city of Italy, and at one time more important than Rome itself. After

the end of Roman authority in the west, the Germanic Lombards established a kingdom in this country, and the name Lombardy, taken from them, remained after later conquests by the Franks and others. In the confusion of the following period the archbishop of Milan was the principal authority in this country. By the twelfth century Milan had become an important industrial city, the most important center of weaving in southern Europe. During the struggle between emperors and popes the city was totally destroyed (1162) by the emperor, Frederick Barbarossa. Restored five years later, however, it became the leader of a combination that broke the emperor's power in Italy at the battle of Legnano (1176), an episode that had much to do with the failure to make strong the authority of the Holy Roman Empire.

Lombardy

During the period of her rise and prosperity Milan, like other cities of the Lombard plain, had been a republic. Disorder and dissensions presently made it possible for one of the families of nobles, the Visconti, to make themselves masters of the government. In 1395 the celebrated Gian Galeazzo Visconti became the first duke of Milan and of the territory it controlled round about. During this period manufacturing continued to increase, and the Visconti extended the territorial possessions of Milan. After the extinction of the Visconti line (1447) the Family of Sforza ruled for some time (1450–1535). At the beginning of the sixteenth century France, after vainly attempting to get possession of Naples, laid claim to the Milanese, and for a while had control of the country; but the Spaniards, who had driven the French from Naples, expelled them from the Milanese also.

The Visconti found the Duchy of Milan

The Sforza family

On the death of the last duke of the house of Sforza (1535) Milan was taken over by the Spaniards, and thereafter for nearly two centuries remained an important possession in the empire of Spain. During this period, in spite of oppressive government and heavy taxes levied

The Milanese ruled by Spain

by the Spaniards, the city continued to grow. A Milanese writer about the end of the thirteenth century reckoned the population of his city to be two hundred thousand. At the end of the sixteenth century the number had increased to a quarter of a million. When by the treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt (1713–14) the Spanish empire was divided, Lombardy passed to the emperor, and under Austria there was considerable improvement in government and general conditions. During the remainder of the eighteenth century it enjoyed a certain quiet prosperity, but always under alien masters.

Under the Hapsburgs of Austria

The Venetian coast

East of Milan lay the territories of Venice, in many respects the most important Italian state. At the head of the Adriatic is a low, gently sloping plain, in ancient times covered with pine forests, of which the *pinetum* at Ravenna is an example at present. Across this plain sluggish rivers have long borne alluvial matter to build up a delta and narrow strips of mud bank or land (*lidi*) off the coast, thus forming lagoons or landlocked bodies of water in between. Near by in ancient days was the Roman naval base Aquileia. In the fifth century Aquileia was destroyed and all the neighboring country ravaged by Attila's Huns (452). Then refugees fled to the lagoons where they established a new community. When the Lombards overran the mainland near by, Byzantine power kept the refugees safe, and it was under the protection and influence of Constantinople that this new community developed.

The earlier history of Venice

Here about the beginning of the ninth century Venice was established. Her earlier history is obscure. Gradually her commerce and power increased. In course of time a flourishing city was developed on the little islands off the coast, by the lagoons and along the "canals." For some time Venice was chief center of trade between the Frankish empire or the states that grew from it and the Byzantine Empire in the east. As her commerce developed she made many conquests and acquired colonies

and trading stations. Along with Genoa she furnished the naval contribution to the Crusades, and she took an important part in these expeditions. Venice furnished the fleet in which the soldiers of the Fourth Crusade were transported, and when they turned upon the Eastern Empire instead of attacking the Saracens, the Venetians had part in the assault and capture of Constantinople (1204). The possessions of the Eastern Empire were now divided among the conquerors, and Venice received rich spoil. Three eighths of Constantinople and of the Byzantine dependencies were allotted her, and she now acquired Candia (Crete), the Ionian Islands, and numerous places in the Ægean. She had already established her lordship over the cities of the Dalmatian coast, on the eastern side of the Adriatic. In all these waters her powerful war fleet made her for the time supreme.

Obtains part of the Byzantine Empire

Her supremacy in some places, however, was successfully contested by Genoa, her principal rival. After a bitter struggle (1261–91) the Venetians were expelled from Constantinople and from the trade of the Black Sea, which Genoa now obtained. Venice continued to hold the principal share in trade to Syria and Egypt, and it was her ships that brought the wares of Acre and Alexandria to western Europe. The struggle with Genoa was long continued, and on one occasion, when the Genoese held Chioggia (1379), Venice was nearly reduced to despair. Next year, however, by a mighty effort, she shattered the power of her rival. Thereafter for some time she was the leading Italian commercial city and principal naval power in the world. In the meantime, her manufactures increased so greatly that profits from them vied with the yield of her commerce. Sanuto, an old Italian writer, declares that in the fifteenth century the Venetians had a merchant fleet of three thousand ships, protected by a war fleet of forty-three great galleys and three hundred smaller vessels. The traders of the city employed each year a

Greatness of Venice

Venetian commerce

capital of ten millions of ducats, on which the profits were forty per cent. During this period of greatness also Venice had acquired a considerable territory on the mainland behind. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries many cities with surrounding districts were acquired, including Vicenza, Padua, Verona, Brescia, and Bergamo. A considerable portion of Greece, especially the Morea (Peloponnesus) was occupied, and all the Adriatic coast, from Durazzo up to Trieste—which the Venetians did not obtain—then on around the bend at the head of the Adriatic down the west shore to the mouth of the Po.

Territory acquired on the mainland

The continued prosperity and success of the Venetians was partly due to the constitution of their government. This government differed from that of other Italian communities, and is one of the most striking instances of rule by oligarchy in the history of political institutions. In 1297 the nobility excluded the rest of the population from all share in rule of the state. The government now became an aristocratic republic. The supreme authority was vested in the *maggior consiglio* (greater council), which consisted of all members of the nobility above the age of twenty. The executive and administrative power were vested in a *doge* (duke) assisted by the smaller council of the *pregadi* (invited) or the senate. But while these institutions remained, after the conspiracy of Tiepolo (1310) all the real power in the state was vested in the *consiglio de' dieci* (council of ten). This system of government by a small oligarchy controlled with success both nobles and the mass of the people and long remained efficient and effective. During the period when the power of Venice was highest, in the fifteenth century, the *maggior consiglio* chose most of the officials who served the republic—though not the highest—and exercised judicial powers. The legislative powers which it once had enjoyed had been lost to the smaller council, the senate (*pregadi*). The senate contained about 250 members, some *ex officio*, some elected

The government of Venice

An oligarchy of the nobles

19. ITALY IN 1720

for one year, some with right to debate but not to vote. Its powers were chiefly legislative: it passed laws which had been proposed by the college, the supreme executive body. It also chose some of the higher officials. The members of the council of ten were chosen by the *maggior consiglio* for one year, its members not to be eligible for reëlection for a year after holding office. It superintended important questions of finance, military organization, and public policy, and it tried important cases, especially treason. Because of the secrecy of its work and its terrible power, it was an object of reverence and terror in Venice, and had an ominous renown abroad. The executive power was apparently vested in the *doge;* but he had lost his real power; his position was ornamental and his functions purely formal. The real executive was now in the college (*collegio*), consisting of the *doge* and six others elected for six months at a time.

The council of ten

Government of the Venetian dependencies

In the dependencies local government and custom were disturbed as little as possible, and where altered it was the purpose of the Venetian rulers to give to subject peoples a government as nearly as could be like that which Venetians had. In each dependency the authority of Venice was represented by the *rettori* (rulers), directly responsible to the senate and the council of ten, but bound by oath to respect the local privileges. They were the *podestà* (supreme civil officer), who controlled administration, and the *capitano* (captain), who supervised military affairs. Under the Venetian system there was strong rule and there was administration of justice effective and impartial.

Unique success of the Venetian oligarchy

The ruling class of Venice succeeded in what a great many others had failed in: they erected an oligarchic government small enough to be effective, sufficiently powerful to govern long and govern well, yet never so powerful that it could seize all authority and hold a despotic power. In other Italian communities there was either democratic government, with much confusion and

tumult, or else some despot seized all power and then gave security and order. In Venice, generation after generation, a small body, the senate, and especially the council of ten, controlled the executive and supervised the government, yet always remained substantially under the control of the body of the nobles who chose them.

Exhausting war with the Turks

The zenith of the greatness of Venice came in the fifteenth century. After 1453 the Turks gradually extended their conquests and constantly encroached upon the possessions of Venice. After the fall of Constantinople she was, indeed, for some time the principal bulwark of Christendom against the Turks. She was forced now to carry on protracted contest with her superior foe at a time when her resources were slowly growing less. Her eastern commerce was presently diminished as the Turks conquered countries with which she had formerly traded. A far more terrible blow, however, was the change in the great trade lines that followed the expeditions of the Portuguese and others, who opened better ways to the far east. Other misfortunes came also. The neighbors of Venice hated and feared her, and did what they could to diminish her power. In 1508 the pope, the emperor, France, and Spain formed the League of Cambray against her, and next year her forces were totally defeated by the French at Agnadello. For a time Venice was deprived of her continental Italian possessions. Meanwhile, she had had to buy peace with the Turks by ceding them the Morea (1503). It was not possible, however, to make sufficient concessions to keep peace with the Turks, and Venice was worn out by long wars which she had to fight. One after another she lost her more distant outlying possessions: her Ægean islands (1540), Cyprus (1571), Candia or Crete (1669). The Venetians took part with much success in the European war against the Turks in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Under their great leader, Morosini, they reconquered the Morea and other parts of Greece, and the

Change in trade routes

Protracted struggle with the Turks

Turkish fleets were defeated. By the Peace of Carlowitz (1709) Venice was given the Morea; but a few years later the Turks took it again, and by the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718) they retained it.

Venice in the eighteenth century

Meanwhile, Venice, like Holland, had been forced to make exertions beyond her resources. Her strength lessened, her commerce diminished, and she went slowly down in decline. Her city, with its glorious relics of Byzantine art, its fine churches, its marble palaces by the canals, its multitude of works of art done in the days when great artists delighted to work there, attracted many visitors and seekers of pleasure, and in the eighteenth century Venice was what Paris became long after, principal pleasure place to which the wealthy and the idle resorted.

Passive, retiring, and weak

But the greatness of Venice had departed. She was no longer one of the important European powers. In all the contests now she sought to be neutral. She could no longer defend herself against an aggressor. Thus, the life of her state died slowly. At the end of the eighteenth century began the French Revolution, which her conservative and retiring people could scarce comprehend. Then came Napoleon who seized the city and delivered it to Austria (1797). Thereupon the last *doge* abdicated his office. So ended the long independence of Venice after most of her glory had departed.

Piedmont

Finally, in the northwest corner of Italy was the country of Savoy, in many respects least important of the large Italian states, but destined finally to be the leader of them all. This is the mountainous country, where the Alps come down toward the sea, where the Italian plain slopes up toward the foot of the mountains, *Piedemonte*, as men afterward called it. Like many other mountainous regions it was long secluded, remote from great affairs, unimportant. It was a part of Italy in the days of the Romans. After the breaking-up of their power it was taken by various Germanic invaders, especially the Bur-

gundians in the fifth century and the sixth. It was part of the empire of Charlemagne, and it was afterward part of the Kingdom of Arles, one of the jurisdictions established in the time after the Frankish empire had fallen to pieces. When the Holy Roman Empire was reëstablished, it came under the authority of the German emperors, but it was not easy for them to control such a district. It was nominally a part of Upper Burgundy now, but in the hills and the mountains many nobles ruled in virtual independence.

Savoy

Among them during the eleventh century the leaders of the House of Savoy rose to power. Gradually, as a result of very dexterous policy in siding with emperor or pope—according as one or the other was stronger—during the struggles between the two, the House of Savoy increased its dominions and strength. Turin, Nice, Geneva, and part of the Piedmont country were gradually acquired. In 1416 the emperor Sigismund made Amadeus VIII duke of Savoy.

A buffer state not ground to pieces

During the sixteenth century, in the great contests of France with Spain and the empire, the dukes of Savoy, situated in between and forced to take sides, gave assistance to the enemies of the French. The greater part of the duchy was now conquered and annexed to France, but as a result of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559), which brought the conflict to an end, most of the conquests were restored to the duke, Emmanuel Philibert, who had long served the emperor and Spain. During the seventeenth century, as the power of France increased, Savoy was bound more and more to dependence upon her. During the War of the Spanish Succession, however, the duke of Savoy broke the connection with France (1703), and assisted the enemies of Louis XIV. By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) he received Sicily as a reward. In 1720, in consequence of the alteration of the Treaty of Utrecht made in that year, he was obliged to give Sicily to the

emperor, and received in exchange Sardinia, less valuable but nearer to Savoy. He now assumed the title of king. Thereafter the ruler of Savoy was known as king of Sardinia. During all this time the progress of Savoy had been owing to her opportunities to profit from the quarrels of greater neighbors. Her strength and security came from her mountains. She contributed nothing to the Renaissance nor to the art and the culture which other Italian countries developed so greatly. In the end, however, she made a lasting contribution to the life of the Italian people.

The Kingdom of Sardinia, 1720

Piedmont becomes the leader of the Italian people

After the French Revolution had done its work, and when the wars of Napoleon were over, Sardinia became the leading free Italian state. During the first half of the nineteenth century she was able to hold her own and go forward. Gradually it was to her that the peoples of other Italian districts looked for leadership, and she it was, under the guidance of her great statesman, Cavour, who brought about the unification of Italy and establishment of the Italian nation. These were tasks that had baffled generations of statesmen and patriots in earlier times. They had been beyond the power of the best Italians since the passing of old Roman greatness.

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CHAPTER XI

THE GREATNESS AND THE DECLINE OF SPAIN

Que se fizo el rey don Juan?
Los ynfantes de Aragon,
que se fizieron?
Que fue de tanto galan?
que fue de tanta ynuencion
como truxieron?

Coplas que fizo DON JORGE MANRIQUE [1440–1479] *por la muerte de su padre.*

. . il dominio del quale è così grande, che di giri e circuiti di paesi, di ampiezza e moltitudine di Stati, di quantità e qualità di sudditi, di copia ed abbondanza di ricchezze, eccede senza dubbio quello di qualsivoglia Potentato che oggidì regni nel mondo, e forse maggiore quanto alla grandezza dello Stato di quanti Imperj abbino mai per lo passato signoreggiato . . . perrchè si estende lo Stato del re cattolico, molto ampiamente, in tutte quattro le parti del mondo.

FRANCESCO SORANZO, *Relazione di Spagna* (1602), in Barozzi and Berchet, *Relazioni degli Stati Europei*, 1st ser., i. 36.

This country is in a most miserable condition; no head to govern, and every man in office does what he pleases . . . They are trying all manner of ways to raise money . . . yet all the funds are already anticipated for so many years, that . . . nobody will advance . . . their army . . . cannot make together, horse and foot, above 4,000 men fit for service. . .

Letter of ALEXANDER STANHOPE, British Minister at Madrid, to LORD GODOLPHIN, 8 October, 1694.

Former greatness of Spain

SPAIN belongs to that company of states whose people, like the Romans, the French, the English, the Germans, have had their chance at primacy, lordship, and dominion. There was a time when the Spaniards, like the Romans and the English, ruled other peoples, and held the greatest power in the world. As the eighteenth century

especially was the era of the greatness of England; as the seventeenth century particularly was the period of the primacy of France; so the sixteenth century was the age of the supremacy of Spain. Then her people held the greatest and most lasting empire seen since the days of the Romans. The Spanish court was the proudest and grandest in Europe. Spain's soldiers were the terror of all others, and were very seldom defeated. For a time she had command of many of the seas, and her galleons flew the flag of the chief naval power in the world. She was by far the greatest state in Europe, and her dominions extended wide over continents that had never been known to the Romans. Her art and her literature flourished; they were admired by all discriminating people then; they remain a glorious heritage now. In many respects her people were leaders of the civilization of their time.

The leading state in Europe

Spain and her people

Spain, like France, rose to power as a result of the gradual uniting of many smaller jurisdictions, and from the gradual building up of a strong central government through the work of her kings. That she rose to primacy in Europe before the French won that position resulted partly from good fortune and from circumstances largely accidental. That her predominance soon passed away was owing to the fact that, unlike France, Spain was not a very rich country, not endowed with great natural resources. That her success was as large and lasting as it was resulted largely from the character of the Spanish people, who ever have been—in good fortune or bad—proud and strong and fine, essentially noble in character and bearing.

The Spanish peninsula

The Spanish peninsula, which is little smaller than France, has much less good country in its area. A great part of the surface is covered with mountains. From east to west run numerous parallel ranges, down whose valleys flow the Spanish rivers to the Mediterranean or the Atlantic. Each mountain range (*sierra*, saw) separates

one river valley from another; the mountain passes are few; access from one part of the country to another has always been obstructed. Much of the country not covered with mountains is tableland, arid and barren. A comparatively small portion of the country is suitable for agriculture, unless irrigation and artificial devices be employed. The mountains do contain a great store of minerals, and they have from ancient times yielded wealth and strength. None the less, in earlier ages, when the basis of the life of a people and their principal means of support were agriculture, Spain could never be very wealthy from her own resources, nor could she support such population as could the French lands and other of the fertile countries.

Mountainous and barren

In very ancient times the country was held by Celts, and by the Iberians who had had it before them. These people were conquered by the Carthaginians, and later on by the Romans. Hispania was one of the principal western provinces of the Roman Empire, and while its inhabitants were less thoroughly Latinized than the people of Gaul, yet Roman law and institutions became the basis of their organization later on, and Spanish, like French and like Italian, is a daughter of the Latin tongue. With the passing of Roman authority in western Europe, Spain, like other provinces of the empire then, was ravaged and subdued by wandering Germanic peoples, the Alani, the Vandals, the Suevi, and presently by the Visigoths, who established a West Gothic kingdom early in the fifth century. The history of this kingdom is obscure. The Visigothic power for some time was outwardly imposing, but afterward it was seen to have undergone much decay until it rested on foundations thoroughly unstable. The church and upper class of conquerors ruled over the mass of the people who were held in low social and economic subjection. The West Gothic warriors remained bold and warlike, but they were divided by jealousies and by dissensions.

Earlier history of Spain

The Visigothic Kingdom of Spain

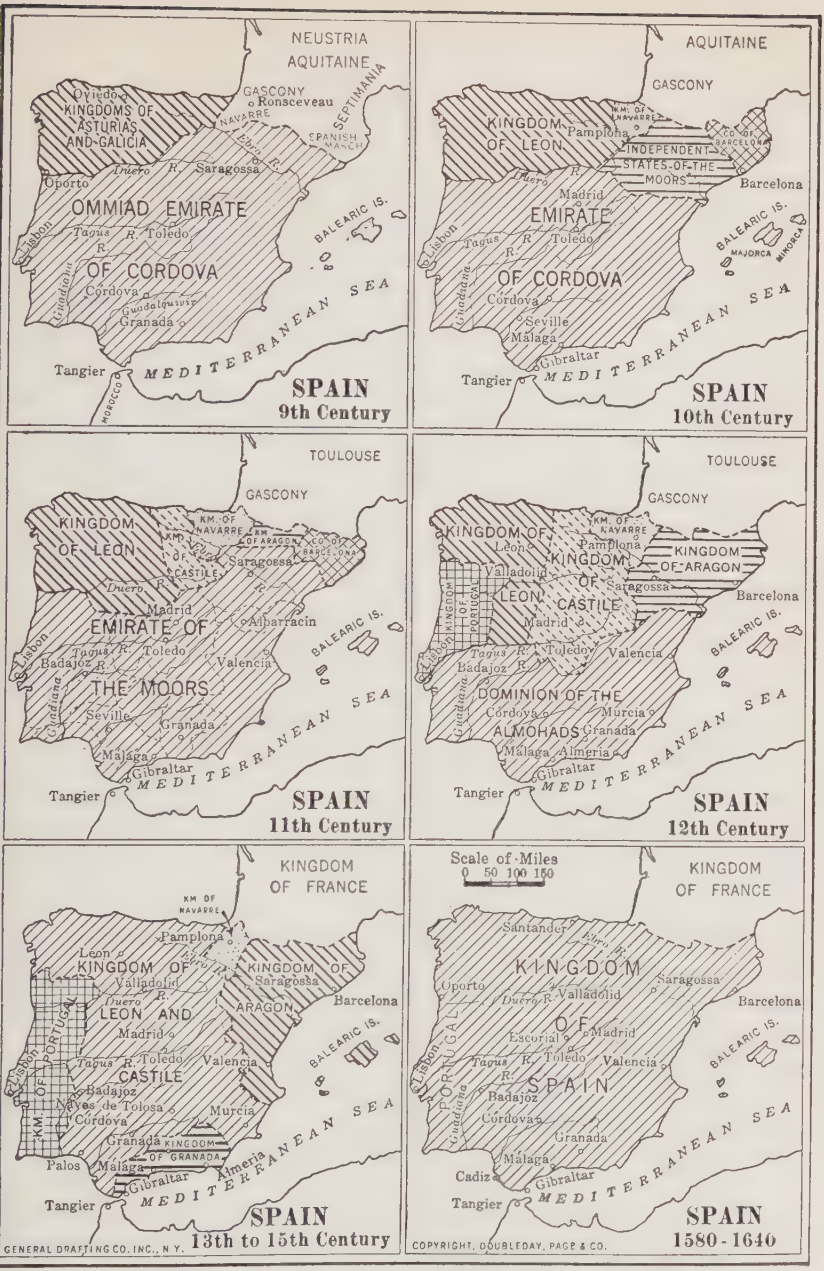
Rise of Mohammedan power

A great danger was approaching. Early in the seventh century, in far-distant Arabia, there had arisen, all unnoticed, a prophet, Mohammed, who taught a new faith to the people of the deserts. Suddenly a storm arose and burst upon the Christian world with a fury that threatened to submerge it. Eastward the Mohammedan advance swept over Persia and remoter countries and on to the Indus River. North it went across Syria to the gateway of Asia Minor. For a moment Constantinople was in imminent peril, and the Byzantine Empire seemed about to go down in destruction. Westward the Mohammedan flood rushed across Egypt, then on along all the north African coast, until at last the soldiers of the crescent reached the mountains that look over at Spain. Nor did the advance stop here. In 711, after a Mohammedan and Moorish army had crossed the Strait of Gibraltar, the Visigothic host was irretrievably defeated in battle, and the last of their kings lost his life on the field or in flight. Rapidly now the kingdom was conquered, and the Saracens even went on through the Pyrenees into southern French lands. Here, however, they came into conflict with the stronger power of the Franks, and in 732, at the Battle of Poitiers or Tours, their advance in this part of the world was finally checked.

Conquest of Spain by Arabs and Moors

The Moors in Spain

In Spain, after some vicissitudes, the Saracen dynasty of the Ommiads established a flourishing kingdom with its capital at Cordova (756). Under Saracen rule there was much prosperity and improvement. For some generations the Caliphate of Cordova was one of the great powers in western Europe, and the principal seat of civilization and the arts in that part of the world. Better methods of cultivation were introduced in the southern provinces of Spain, and an admirable system of irrigation increased the yield of the land. Flourishing industries grew up. In most respects Spain was more prosperous and flourishing than it had ever been under Visigoth rule.



20. TO ILLUSTRATE THE HISTORY OF SPAIN, 9TH TO 17TH CENTURIES

Some Christians remain independent

The Moors had conquered all Spain excepting a mountainous district far in the north, where some of the Christian population took refuge and was never subdued. Here was established the first of the new Spanish Christian states, the Kingdom of Asturias, of which Pelayo (718–737) was the first ruler. Slowly this state extended its bounds to the southward, and presently became the larger Kingdom of Leon (914). Constantly the wild and hardy Christian mountaineers of the north carried further their success. The Moors became less aggressive, and their martial ardor declined in the midst of the prosperity which they developed. Furthermore, the Saracens were weakened by internal dissensions, and they lessened their power of resistance by dividing in several states.

Small kingdoms and military orders

Other Christian dominions arose: Navarre, in the Pyrenees (900), Castile (1033), Aragon (1035), Portugal (1094). All through the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries these communities increased their strength and possessions, though their success also was hindered by frequent quarrels among themselves. None the less, the work of reconquest went on, carried forward largely by great military orders. The Order of Calatrava (1158), the Order of Santiago (1175), and the Order of Alcántara (1177) did in Spain the same sort of work against the Moors as the Knights of the Teutonic Order did in Slavic lands along the eastern Baltic against the pagan people living there. In course of time these orders acquired great wealth and landed possessions, and were among the most important forces in medieval Spain.

Rise of Aragon

For some time during the reign of Sancho the Great (970–1035), Navarre was the leading Christian state, and even won supremacy over the neighboring Castile and Aragon. But another kingdom, Aragon, soon advanced farther. As the Kingdom of Asturias-Leon to which Castile was afterward added was built up from the Cantabrian Mountains and the Bay of Biscay southward, and

as Navarre was founded at the western end of the Pyrenees, so Aragon was gradually extended southward from the central and eastern Pyrenees toward the Mediterranean Sea. It became a kingdom in 1035. A century later Catalonia to the east fronting on the Mediterranean was acquired (1137), and Aragon was presently one of the principal naval states in southern Europe. During the Middle Ages, Barcelona, the great Catalan seaport, rivalled Genoa and Marseilles. From Catalonia came one of the first codes of maritime law. The great Catalan admiral Roger de Lauria (died, 1305) was the most eminent naval commander and perhaps the greatest admiral in all the Middle Ages. The Catalan sailors and soldiers served in the Crusades. About the beginning of the fourteenth century the Grand Company of the Catalans, under Roger de Flor, the most terrible body of mercenary soldiers in Europe, acquired renown throughout the Levant, and conquered a part of Greece for themselves.

Maritime power of Catalonia

During the thirteenth century the territory of Aragon was extended south and west by the conquest of Valencia from the Moors (1238), though this country had earlier been overrun by the famous free commander, the Cid Campeador (warrior), whose exploits afterward made the subject of the *Cid*, the national epic of the Spanish people, and who was afterward the national hero, perhaps, of Spain. After the greater rise of Castile, Aragon was the second most important of the Christian states in the Spanish country, and keeping its power and increasing its strength it was in the end one of the two principal jurisdictions from which the Kingdom of Spain was made. Because of her naval power, Aragon was also able to win possessions beyond the sea: Sardinia (1325), the Balearic Islands (1343), and, more important, Sicily (1282), Naples (1442). It was because of acquisitions in southern Italy by Aragon that Spain afterward came to be master of Italian countries.

Aragon enlarges her dominions

Overseas possessions

The Catalans

The people of the Aragonese districts had their particular laws and dialect of speech. The customs and privileges which they had developed they long continued to hold, though many of them were finally lost as the Spanish monarchy was consolidated and the power of the central government extended. These differences, however, long created a spirit of separatism, and on several occasions afterward Catalonia attempted to break away from the Kingdom of Spain, to establish its own independence, or even seek union with France. In the nineteenth century, while most of Spain remained agricultural and conservative, industry and commerce were greatly developed about Barcelona, and differences between the Catalans and other Spaniards continued a striking factor in the life of the country. The language spoken and written in this district also continued to be quite different from the standard language which most educated people in Spain had adopted. Catalan was almost as closely related to the Provençal of southern France as it was to Castilian, the prevailing literary language of the rest of Spain.

Separatism

Castile and Leon

In 1037 the Christians' cause was greatly advanced by the union of two of their principal states, Castile and Leon. In 1086 Alfonso VI, king of Leon and Castile, conquered the great Moorish city of Toledo. The union of the two kingdoms was presently undone (1157), but in 1230 they were permanently united in one strong state, destined finally to be the basis of the greater Spanish kingdom.

Waning of Moorish power in Spain

Somewhat before this reunion the allied forces of Christian Spain had inflicted upon a Moorish army the terrible defeat of Navas de Tolosa (1212), a defeat from which Saracen power never really recovered, a defeat followed by the breaking up of the Moorish dominion into several smaller states. Now Ferdinand III, king of Castile and Leon, invaded Andalusia, captured the Moorish metropolis, Cordova, and another great city, Seville. James I of Aragon overran Valencia and won the Balearic Isles

off the Valencian coast. The islands became the Kingdom of Majorca. They were annexed to Aragon a century later. Meanwhile, Portugal, at first a fief of Castile, had become an independent kingdom (1140), and was extending its dominion southward down the Atlantic coast.

Rise of Castile

Castile and Leon united as a single state (1230) came to be known in common parlance later on as Castile, from the larger and stronger part. Castile (*Castilla*) had taken its name from the numerous castles that dotted its borders. Originally it had been a frontier and debatable land, at one time a dependency of the kings of Leon, at another of the kings of Aragon. Like Leon it was based upon the northern mountains and the Bay of Biscay, but extending southward to the east of Leon, it presently extended farther south and southwestward, cutting off Leon from further possibility of expansion at the same time that opportunity for further aggrandizement remained to itself. After the conquests of Ferdinand III (1217–1252) Castile, including Leon, was the largest state in the peninsula. The son of Ferdinand, Alfonso X (*El Sabio*) the Wise (1252–1282), was known all over Europe, partly from his unsuccessful efforts to become emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. He caused the Bible to be translated into Castilian, a potent cause later on in making Castilian the language of Spain. His *Siete Partidas* (Seven Parts) was not only the basis of Spanish jurisprudence, but the first of the great codes of law since Justinian's time. It was to assist a king of Castile, Pedro the Cruel, that the English Black Prince led his army to win the fruitless battle of Navarrete (1367).

Alfonso the Wise

The Moors hold the southernmost portion

By the middle of the thirteenth century almost all of the Mohammedans in Spain had been conquered. In the southernmost portion, however, in Andalusia and in Granada, they maintained themselves because of their strongly fortified cities, because of dissensions among the Christians, and assistance from their kinsmen in Morocco.

Accordingly, Spain remained for two centuries longer divided: a Mohammedan portion, from which gradually most of the Christians were expelled, and a larger portion, in turn divided among several Christian states.

Expansion of Portuguese power

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries these Christian kingdoms continued their development, while the Kingdom of Granada remained the last outpost of Mohammed in western Europe. During the fifteenth century Portugal carried forward the great maritime discoveries down the west African coast that led at last to the finding of a new route to India and to Portuguese glory and wealth in the era that followed. The principal advance, however, was made in 1479 when Castile and Aragon were united. Ten years before, Isabella, daughter of the king of Castile, had married Ferdinand, son of the king of Aragon. On the death of her brother they succeeded jointly as rulers of Castile (1474), and a little later Ferdinand succeeded his father as king of Aragon (1479). This union of Castile and Aragon, a union destined to be a permanent one, laid the foundations of a great Spanish monarchy, and still later made possible the union of all the districts in the Spanish peninsula.

Union of Aragon and Castile

The Conquest of Granada

In 1482 Ferdinand and Isabella began a war for the conquest of Granada, the small but flourishing kingdom that remained to the Spanish Moors. Granada was at the moment weakened by internal dissensions, but the Moors made a valiant defense. The innumerable sieges, combats, and episodes of this struggle have been immortalized in many stories since. The odds were overwhelming, and the defense could only be prolonged for a while. In 1491 the city of Granada, the last great stronghold, surrendered to the Spanish sovereigns. Next year Moorish power in Spain came to an end. The last sultan of Granada and some of his people crossed over to Africa, but most of the Moors remained as subjects of Castile, in whose territory their country was incorporated now. They were

granted liberal terms and freedom to keep their religion. After a few years, however, this privilege was withdrawn, despite the promise of the Castilian government, and the Moors were offered the alternative of baptism or exile from Spain. Those who accepted baptism—the Moriscoes, as they were called—remained objects of suspicion and dislike in the midst of their bigoted neighbors.

Moors and Moriscoes

In 1492, the year of the conquest of Granada, Isabella procured for Castile and for all Spaniards a vaster empire. Cristoforo Colombo, a native of Genoa, it is believed—though some now say of Corsica or Spain—certainly a citizen of Genoa, had long sought aid for the fitting out of an expedition to sail for Asia by a new route which he conceived could be used. In common with many other well-informed mariners of that time, he understood the world to be round. He believed it smaller than was afterward found to be so. He knew not, nor did others, that a great land mass lay out in the Atlantic a thousand leagues westward of Europe. He supposed that by sailing west he could reach India, hitherto usually thought of as lying eastward of Europe. Genoa had fallen on evil days, and from her he could expect no assistance for such a speculation. He went to Portugal, but there men were interested in the discoveries which their countrymen were making far down the west African coast, and Columbus had no favorable hearing. About 1484 he went to Castile, but the Spanish sovereigns were interested in other designs, and he demanded large honors and grants in case of success. Columbus was about to leave Spain finally, when Isabella hearing him once more, complied with his terms and the necessary assistance was granted by the queen and some Spanish merchants. In October of 1492, after a voyage of more than two months, he reached one of the Bahamas and a little later Cuba and Haiti (Hispaniola). Such was the discovery of America, or "the Indies" as was then believed, and such the beginning of the first

Columbus discovers a new world for Spain

Assisted by Isabella of Castile

and for a long time the greatest of modern colonial empires.

Colonies of Castile and Spain

From Castile Columbus received his assistance, and for Castile the new countries were found. From Seville, one of the principal seaport cities of Castile, they were administered. But in larger sense these new lands were the common property of the people of the new united kingdom of Spain, and it was partly upon the gains that came from them that Spanish greatness was founded. In the course of a few generations the Spaniards had obtained nearly all of South America, including the wealthy empire of the Incas in Peru, and all of the southern part of North America, including the wide domain of the Aztecs in Mexico. In the far east, as a result of the expedition of the Portuguese mariner, Magellan (Magalhães) who sailed in the service of the king of Spain (1519–21), the Philippine Islands were acquired. From these new possessions a variety of products were obtained, and from them was received more gold and silver than any European country had acquired for ages. Spain herself was not rich. The store of treasure that soon came from her colonial possessions made it possible to play a part in affairs beyond her actual strength. It was partly because of her holdings in America that in the sixteenth century she was able to be dominant in Europe.

Riches and power for the Spanish people

Ferdinand V, the Catholic

Isabella died in 1504. After a brief interval Ferdinand was proclaimed regent of Castile, and continued to govern all the Spanish dominions until his death in 1516. Under his rule the power and possessions of Spain rapidly increased, and the Spanish monarchy became the great rival of France for position of primacy in Europe. Ferdinand, who much resembled in character and ability that French king, Louis XI, who had once built up the power of France, was cautious, capable, and shrewd. Heartless, cold, untrustworthy, far less lovable and noble than his consort Isabella, he was the ablest sovereign of his time,

and it was largely owing to his skill and diplomacy that a greater Spanish power was constructed.

Acquisition of most of Navarre

The father of Ferdinand had ruled Navarre as well as Aragon, but had bequeathed Navarre to his daughter, Leonora de Foix. During the wars against the French, in which Ferdinand tried to drive them out of Italy, Navarre gave assistance to France, whereupon all that portion of the little kingdom lying south of the Pyrenees was overrun and annexed to Castile (1513–15). Navarre north of the Pyrenees maintained its independence and close connection with France. When its king became king of France as Henry IV (1589), it was incorporated in the Kingdom of France. As a result of his acquisition of the greater part of Navarre, Ferdinand now ruled all of the Spanish peninsula excepting Portugal alone.

Naples held against the French

Greater conquests had been made abroad. When in the thirteenth century the Sicilians revolted from the Angevin masters whom the pope had called to rule Sicily and Naples, Peter III, king of Aragon, who had claim upon these countries through his wife, assisted the rebels, and became king of Sicily. The naval power of Aragon, directed at first by Roger de Lauria, enabled her sovereigns to hold Sicily as an outlying dominion of their crown. Later on Naples also came under the same rule (1442), so that both of the Sicilies were held now by Aragon. In 1494, in Ferdinand's time, the French, reviving the old Angevin claim, attempted the conquest of Naples. They had entire success at first, but the Spanish armies which Ferdinand dispatched, under the command of Gonsalvo de Cordova, soon drove them out completely. Gonsalvo was, indeed, the greatest commander of his time. He had already won numerous triumphs in the Moorish wars. In Italy now his exploits brought further distinction. To his countrymen he was then and he has since been known as *El Gran Capitan* (the great captain).

"The Great Captain".

Louis XII of France tried to carry forward in Italy the

Acquisition of Milan

schemes which Charles VIII had begun. Having made with Ferdinand a treaty by which in return for considerable concessions he was to have half of Naples, he sent out a powerful army which occupied Milan in northern Italy. But the Spanish government and the French government disagreeing about how Naples should be partitioned, Gonsalvo again drove the French altogether out of Naples, and a few years later Spanish generals also expelled the French from Milan. Spain now became the predominant influence in northern Italy, and later on upon the extinction of the line of Sforzas, who ruled Milan, that wealthy district likewise became a possession of the Spanish crown (1535).

Accession of Charles I (Charles V, the emperor)

On the death of Ferdinand (1516) he was succeeded by his grandson, Charles (Carlos) I (1516–1556), better known as Charles V, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1519–1556). Ferdinand and Isabella had no son to succeed them, but their daughter, Juana, surnamed *La Loca* (Joanna the insane), had married the son of the emperor Maximilian, Philip the Handsome. On the death of Isabella of Castile (1504) he and his wife became sovereigns of that country for a short time (1504–1506). But Philip I soon died, and since the queen of Castile was now insane, her father Ferdinand continued, after this brief interval, to rule Castile as well as Aragon. On the death of Ferdinand, Charles I, son of Philip and Joanna, succeeded to all his grandfather's dominions, which thereafter remained a united kingdom of Spain.

Hapsburg marriages and acquisitions

Charles had succeeded to an inheritance much vaster than the countries of the Spanish peninsula. His paternal grandfather, Maximilian, had married Mary of Burgundy, daughter of that Charles the Bold whom Louis XI of France had striven to despoil. On the death of this duke of Burgundy Louis did seize the Duchy of Burgundy, thenceforth incorporated permanently in the Kingdom of France, but the other possessions which the rulers of Bur-

gundy had acquired—the county of Burgundy, upper Alsace, Luxemburg, and the Netherlands—remained to Mary and came to her husband. Their son Philip inherited these domains, and from him they had descended to Charles, king of Spain. Hence Charles was lord of German territories along the Rhine, and of the Netherlands, still one of the richest and most flourishing districts in Europe. Later on, upon the death of Maximilian, his grandfather, he inherited the Austrian possessions (1519). From his other grandfather, Ferdinand of Aragon, he had the Aragonese dominions abroad, Sardinia, Sicily, Naples, and virtual control of Milan. From his grandmother, Isabella, he had not only Castile, together with Granada and Navarre, which had been conquered recently for Castile, but the overseas possessions which Columbus and his followers had discovered and claimed for that kingdom. In 1493, at the request of Spain and of Portugal, the pope had divided the new-found parts of the world between them. Next year, by the Convention of Tordesillas, they agreed that all lands discovered or to be discovered west of a line 370 leagues out beyond the Cape Verde Islands should belong to Spain, while territories east of that line should go to Portugal. In the illimitable areas thus claimed for Spain valiant companies of explorers and settlers were going forward to acquire a vast new Spanish empire. From these colonial dominions during the time of Charles I increasing quantities of gold and silver came pouring into his coffers, until presently they approached the vaster revenues which he drew from his Netherland possessions. So Charles had not only the widest dominions in western Europe, but he was the wealthiest sovereign of his time. Finally, to all his greatness came an addition of dignity and honor, when he was chosen emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1519), though this last accession added rather to his burdens than his real strength. After 1519 Europe knew him as Charles V;

Vast inheritance of Charles

Revenue and wealth

but to his Spanish subjects he was Charles I, *el Emperador* (the emperor).

Charles defeats all his enemies in Italy

The Italian provinces which Charles had inherited from his Spanish grandfather soon involved him in war. Francis I, king of France, undertook to win back what his predecessors, Charles VIII and Louis XII, had striven to obtain and had held for a moment. At first he had much success, and Milan was again conquered for France. In 1525, however, Francis was totally defeated at the Battle of Pavia by the Spanish and imperialist forces. He was taken to Spain where he remained prisoner until he accepted the humiliating Treaty of Madrid (1526). Charles never received the Duchy of Burgundy, which by this treaty Francis promised to cede, but the campaign of Pavia virtually ended for more than a century French efforts to make conquests in Italy, and it finally established the supremacy of the Spaniards there. A little later one of Charles's armies captured Rome and made the pope prisoner (1527). All Italy now was subject to his will.

Expeditions against the Barbary pirates

Charles was usually busied with affairs of the Netherlands, with politics of the empire, and with German matters, so that often he was absent from Spain. Some of his activities, however, had to do with things in which Spain had the chief concern. For ages the north African coast, across the sea, to the south, had been the seat of corsairs and pirates, who troubled all western Mediterranean lands. They were a terror to the people of Italy and of France as well as of the Spanish kingdoms. Spain lying nearer was often more exposed than the others, and the constant wars with the Moors had frequently brought their African kinsmen to give them such assistance and do such harm to the Spaniards as they could. Many a writer has left account of the dread that these marauders inspired, and of the terrible captivity into which prisoners were taken. On two occasions Charles sought to lessen the

evil of this menace. In 1535, after a well-conducted expedition, he conquered Tunis. Six years later he led an unsuccessful attempt upon Algiers.

Abdication of Charles

In 1556 Charles abdicated, and his jurisdiction was divided. Already, in 1521, he had partitioned the dominions that had come from his father and his father's father. To his brother, Ferdinand, he granted them the Austrian provinces, retaining the Netherlands and Franche-Comté. During the lifetime of Charles it had become increasingly evident that the German princes, jealous of foreign interference and fearful of Spanish troops, would never choose the son of Charles for their emperor. In 1521 Ferdinand was made president of the council of regency which governed the empire while Charles was in Spain, and ten years later Ferdinand was elected King of the Romans. Now, in 1556, he became emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Under his personal rule he held the Austrian dominions. The union of these dominions with the Spanish possessions, which had been accomplished for a short period by Charles, was never effected again. All his other possessions, however, Charles bequeathed to his son Philip (Felipe), who now became Philip II of Spain (1556–1598). Lord of the Netherlands and of Franche-Comté, as ruler of Spain Philip was lord also of the Italian dependencies and of the colonial empire of Spain.

The Austrian and the Spanish Hapsburgs

Philip II, his character

During the long reign of Philip II the power of Spain reached its highest point. His character and his abilities have been variously judged. In his own time he was lauded throughout large parts of Europe as the most powerful sovereign and the most admirable king. To Catholics he was a valiant champion of the true faith against heresy and error. To his enemies he was a despot, a dangerous and encroaching tyrant, his enormous power a threat to the liberties of all other nations. Among Protestants he bore a terrible name—one whose hands were stained with the blood of many who had sought the

true God. By fire, by torture, by persecution, through his engine—the inquisition, he would stifle Protestantism and freedom of thought. In English-speaking countries the writings and tradition of men who had hated and feared him long distorted his character and blackened his name. He is now seen to have been a powerful monarch, but neither a great statesman nor a very great ruler. Bigoted, narrow, unlovable, cold, and hard, he was yet, like many others of this type, a man of good intentions, who labored zealously and spared himself not to rule well and maintain what he thought to be right.

Much condemned by some

Philip II as a ruler

As a ruler his chief fault was that he strove to do and accomplish too much. The tendency toward centralization of government in Spain brought all real power now into the hands of the king. Unlike greater sovereigns, he did not delegate important parts of his work to able subordinates, and then supervise and control them. He himself sought to direct all matters of governance, great and small. To his room in his palace, the *Escorial*—which he built out on the lonely plain some distance north of Madrid—came all the questions that concerned Spain and Spanish interests. All papers he tried to read and decide upon, and all decisions depended on him. In course of time much of the business of state was ill-done, and Philip was crushed by the burden. Important memorials received no attention, and the ruler of a great monarchy struggled with innumerable details instead of grappling mostly with policies and general questions. After his time, under kings of less ability and industry than himself, the governmental system of Spain went quickly to ruin.

A great ruler requires much assistance in governing

Spanish government in earlier times

Under Philip II was accelerated a process toward despotism and centralization which had been going on rapidly since Ferdinand I. In the Middle Ages, when Christian Spain consisted of several states, in each one of them, as elsewhere in most countries then, the central government was weak, and the king had to deal with

numerous other established authorities and jurisdictions. As elsewhere, the church to a great extent ruled its own affairs and protected its own officials, largely outside of civil jurisdiction and beyond it. The very circumstances of Spanish history at this time—constant warfare with the Moors, and acquisition of territory by conquest at their expense—made the feudal vassals and noblemen peculiarly independent and strong. These circumstances of continual warfare also brought about the rise of the three great military orders, which, after a while, had very extensive powers of their own. In the Spanish lands also, as elsewhere then, cities acquired immunities and privileges which made them, in many ways, small, independent jurisdictions, fully controlling their own affairs.

Local privileges and established jurisdictions

Such power as the king did have was based very largely on his own domains. To secure the assistance of the other powers in his dominions, he was compelled to call *cortes* (courts) or assemblies of the various nobles and ecclesiastics, much as in France or in England the king called a great council or assembly in the Middle Ages. In the Spanish kingdoms, as in the French and the English, representatives of the towns were presently called to these *cortes*. Hence, there was among Spaniards during mediæval times, as there was then among various peoples, an assembly, partly based upon representation, assisting and partly controlling the king. When Ferdinand and Isabella combined the various Spanish kingdoms together to form one Spanish state, the powers of the sovereigns were further limited through the fact that in the various parts thus united there was a multitude of different privileges and customs that had to be respected and observed. On the other hand, during the Moorish wars it had been necessary for the kings to have sufficient and increasing power for effective operation. After the Moors had been conquered and unification achieved, Spaniards were more occupied with the Renaissance, with the dis-

King and *cortes* in the Middle Ages

Growth of royal power

coveries, with foreign wars, and with the Counter-Reformation, than with constitutional matters and limitation of royal power.

Ferdinand and Isabella

The power of the crown had been greatly increased by Ferdinand and Isabella. At their accession the nobles of Castile were turbulent and powerful; there was much disorder, oppression, private warfare. In 1476, with the consent of the *cortes*, the *Santa Hermandad* (Holy Brotherhood) was organized: a strong military force supported by the cities of Castile and managed by a *junta* (council) of deputies representing the cities. It was to enforce the decisions of the magistrates and of the courts. The power of the nobles was soon effectively curbed, and many of their castles and fortresses razed. In Spain such results were achieved as Henry VII and his Court of Star Chamber were at this time obtaining in England. Taxation also was reformed, and the royal revenue increased thirty-fold in Isabella's time.

The inquisition an instrument of despotism

In 1480 the inquisition was established at Seville. Its work was soon entrusted to the zealous Torquemada, and its operation was presently extended to Aragon and to the districts annexed to Castile. This institution, so justly regarded in Protestant countries as an engine of religious persecution, was also the most powerful instrument working to bring about the unification of Spain and increase the authority of the crown. It was controlled entirely by the sovereign; it was responsible to him alone. There was no appeal from its decisions. It reached ecclesiastics as well as laymen. The Spanish inquisition crushed out all heresy and religious dissent. It also crushed all opposition to the king and enormously enhanced royal power.

Absorption of powers by the crown

Finally, it was the policy of these sovereigns to take for the crown the power and possessions of the military-religious orders. As the grand-masterships became successively vacant, Ferdinand annexed them to the crown: Calatrava (1487), Alcántara (1494), Santiago (1499). Ferdinand, especially, en-

croached steadily upon old vested rights and privileges, and drew the various functions of government as far as possible under his own control.

Reaction: the *comuneros*

When Charles I, a year after his accession, came to Spain, he encountered much opposition and loud demands for a change. The nobles still had extensive domains, on which they did much as they pleased, and they yearned to recover something of what they had lost. The various *cortes* and cities also were insistent that their old privileges be respected or restored. The discontent increased after the departure of Charles, and in 1520 the *comuneros* (burghers) of Castile revolted. They set up a *junta* (assembly), and demanded that Charles summon the *cortes* and promise to govern Spain according to the "ancient laws." They drew up a charter of liberties in which they demanded that *cortes*, representative of the three principal orders—clergy, nobles, and *bourgeoisie*—should meet once every three years. But they also demanded that the exemptions of the nobility be abolished, and the nobles refused to support them. Soon their cause was ruined by dissensions and their army totally defeated at Villalar (1521).

A "parliamentary" movement

The Spanish nobles lose power

When Charles returned the next year he took full advantage of his triumph. The *cortes* of Castile were summoned, but they had to grant a tax (*servicio*) before the king would hearken to any complaints. The nobles of Castile, continuing to insist on exemption from taxation, were excluded from the *cortes*, where they might have contributed powerfully, as they had in England, to make a parliamentary check upon the sovereign's power. Accordingly, they lost all influence in political affairs. In course of time afterward the Spanish nobles had as little effect upon the government of their country as the French nobles had after Richelieu's time. The greater nobles, *ricos hombres* (rich men) enjoyed wealth without power in the state; the lesser nobles, the *hidalgos* (men of pedigree)

and the knights (*caballeros*), were glad to be the subservient servants of the crown. The church was brought completely under the sovereign's control, partly through the work of the inquisition, partly because the king appointed all important officials of the church. The *cortes* continued to meet, but the representatives of the towns who attended were elected largely as the government wished, and were bribed or influenced to do what the king most desired. In so far as Charles gave his attention to affairs of government in Spain there was constant tendency to arrogate all powers of government to the crown, and the administration of that government to the bureaucracy of officials which the crown had been busily creating.

The *cortes* made subservient

Philip II devoted himself almost entirely to Spanish government and the administration of his empire. In the outlying European possessions old rights and privileges were formally respected, though there was constant encroachment upon them, which led to discontent in Milan and the Sicilies, and presently to a revolt in the Netherland country. In the American colonies effort was made on the whole to give the inhabitants such rights and standing as they would have had residing in Spain. In all these places, however, supreme authority was in the hands of viceroys appointed by the king and responsible to him, and the power of a viceroy was upheld by Spanish soldiers. In Spain many old customary privileges and rights (*fueros*) continued to exist, and these *fueros* were more or less respected; but they rather enabled men to retain something of what had been than give effective control of the government of their own times. *Cortes* continued to be summoned in Castile, in Aragon, and in other districts of the monarchy. In theory no legislation could be passed in any of these districts except at the desire of the *cortes*, and always the taxes must be granted by them. Actually, however, the views of the *cortes* were frequently disregarded by the king on grounds of alleged expediency;

Government under Philip II

Fueros

legislation consisted of ordinances given out by the king; taxes were often imposed by his authority only. Moreover, parliamentary development in Spain had taken different course from that taken in England, where parliamentary institutions were destined to achieve their greatest success. In England there had developed, with increasing power, one assembly for all of the kingdom. In Spain there were various local *cortes;* none representing all of Spain.

Little power in the *cortes*

In practice, then, government in Spain was now almost entirely in the hands of the king. He controlled the executive and administrative functions, he had practical control of all legislation, and taxes were levied largely at his will. He appointed all the important officials; and they were responsible to him alone. He controlled all the military and naval forces, and in Philip's reign there was instituted in Spain—what had long before appeared in France and in the Ottoman Empire—a standing army of soldiers paid by the crown and dependent solely on the king, instead of the militia and feudal levies hitherto relied on. The king of Spain had entire control of diplomacy and foreign relations. His control of the church was just as complete as his mastery of civil affairs.

Government now centered in the king

In this centralized and almost despotic power the king of Spain, like the king of France, the king of England, the sultan of Turkey, employed many officials to assist him in administration and in the doing of his will, so that under the king government was carried on by a large bureaucracy of officials. In France the king's highest subordinates formed the *conseil d'état* (council of state), from which presently emerged a smaller body of the king's most trusted and capable assistants, the *conseil de cabinet* (cabinet council). In England also there was one powerful central administrative body, the privy council, from which presently emerged the smaller and more powerful cabinet council. In Spain development was different.

Government through councils

There was no single powerful council of state assistant to the king. The various branches of government were carried on, under the sovereign, by several councils, each singly responsible to the king and by him directed. In Philip's time there were twelve such councils: the council of Castile, most important of them all, with functions mainly judicial; the *camera* (chamber), originally a committee of the council of Castile; the council of Aragon; the council of Italy; the council of Flanders; the council of Portugal—after that country had been conquered; the council of the Indies, for administration of the possessions in the new lands; the council of state—which dealt with foreign affairs; the council of war; the council of the inquisition; the *hazienda* which dealt with finance; and the council of the orders, which dealt with affairs of the military orders. These bodies were filled with functionaries completely submissive to the will of the monarch. Since administration was thus scattered in so many separate bodies, for a long time no council developed sufficient power—as was the case with the cabinet in England—to check the authority of the king, and take some of that authority from him.

Several councils in Spain

In foreign affairs Philip had for a long time great success. When he came to the throne Spain was at war with France. In 1557 the French army was totally defeated at St. Quentin near the Flemish border. Had Philip pressed his advantage, peace might have been dictated in Paris; but the victory was not followed with vigor. None the less, the terms of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559) were favorable to Philip's interests. In 1571 a great fleet of the ships of Spain and of Venice, under command of his half-brother Don Juan (Don John of Austria) defeated the Ottoman fleet in the mighty conflict of Lepanto. This victory also was not vigorously followed, yet Ottoman naval power was decisively checked, and Spain, dominant in the western Mediterranean, was

France defeated

The Turks defeated at Lepanto

for some time now the foremost naval power in the world.

Portugal annexed to Spain

In 1580 what seemed at the time a far more substantial triumph was achieved, when Portugal was conquered and annexed to Spain. Two years previously, the young Sebastian of Portugal, leading an ill-advised expedition against the African Moors, had lost his life and his army in Morocco. In 1580, his great-uncle, who had succeeded to the throne, died. There were other distant heirs or claimants, but the direct line of the house that had ruled Portugal ended now. At this juncture Philip II of Spain asserted his claim, derived from his wife, Sebastian's aunt. A powerful army had been collected near the frontier, and under Philip's commander, the duke of Alva, it overran the country at once. Resistance was put down with relentless severity, and there was much atrocity and pillage, afterward remembered with smoldering resentment. Yet, for the time, at all events, the last remaining independent jurisdiction in the peninsula was incorporated in the Spanish monarchy; and the unification of all the Iberian districts now was complete.

Importance of the conquest

Had this conquest been permanent, it might have been as important in the history of Spain as the union of England and Scotland afterward was in that of Great Britain. Besides the added strength that seemed to come from the union of Portugal with Spain, and the accession of important territory it brought, there was added to the immense colonial empire of Spain the less extensive but very lucrative colonies which Portugal possessed. Eighty years later Portugal won independence again, but her colonies had meantime been largely taken by enemies of Spain, and them she never recovered.

In the meantime, there had been for Spain losses and great disasters, and presently misfortune took the place of success. At home Philip's principal purpose had been to perfect a strongly centralized government with himself in

Revolt of the Netherlands, 1567

entire control. Abroad his great objects were to increase the power and possessions of Spain, advance the Catholic religion, of which he conceived himself the temporal leader and protector, and everywhere crush out heresy and religious dissent. In 1567 a revolt broke out in the Netherlands, the richest and most important provinces in his empire. The rebellion was provoked by political and economic encroachment, and by persecution of the Protestants there. At first the rebels seemed to have no chance against the mighty forces he was able to bring up against them, and at one time the movement appeared indeed to be crushed. Some of the most desperate and resolute, however, held out in their ships and certain seaport strongholds. A long, stern struggle continued year after year, in which the resources of Spain were slowly exhausted. Following an agreement made with Philip's commander, Alexander Farnese, in 1579, the Catholic provinces of the south and the west were won back to Spain, and were thereafter held as the Spanish Netherlands until 1713. But the eastern and northern Netherlands, in which the population was predominantly Protestant, had declared their independence, and they maintained it. In 1579 they combined in the Union of Utrecht, and an interminable struggle went on, in which gradually fortune inclined in the rebels' favor.

Prolonged and exhausting struggle

Strength of the Dutch at sea

The principal strength of these Dutch rebels was at sea, and they soon began to plunder Spanish shipping and attack Spain's possessions wherever they could. It was as a result of these operations that in course of time many of the richest Portuguese colonial possessions, now held by Spain, were seized and afterward retained as colonies by the Dutch.

This struggle involved Spain with another seafaring people. Many of the English, Protestants as they were, strongly sympathized with the Dutch fighting, as they thought, against religious oppression. Not a few of the

English were eager for excuse to prey upon Spanish commerce, for on the sea not much law was recognized yet. Accordingly, English sea adventurers, often with secret connivance of the government, plundered Spanish ships, and began to prey on the commerce that came from America to Spain. At last even the great treasure ships that brought the king's bullion were not safe from these marauders. Gradually, relations between the Spanish and the English governments became worse and worse, though for a long time Philip was forbearing and Elizabeth of England very cautious. In course of time, however, sea communication between Spain and the Netherlands was virtually cut by English ships. As the sea was by far the best line of communication for campaigns against the rebels, operations were gravely hampered. So, Philip resolved to conquer England. He would stamp out heresy in the principal stronghold that Protestants had, free himself from an enemy on his flank, and restore his line of communication. In 1588 in the Spanish Netherlands a powerful army was collected, and from Spain one of the greatest fleets ever assembled was dispatched to make clear the crossing. But the Invincible Armada, as it was called, was roughly handled and driven off in defeat, and only a small part of the expedition ever returned. The army was unable to cross, and the whole enterprise came to nothing. England was not to be conquered, and, as the event finally proved, the Dutch would not be subdued.

Spain drifts into war with England

Defeat of the Spanish Armada

In spite of the great losses that Spain had endured and exhaustion from the endless struggle with the Dutch, Philip did not abandon his plans to subdue them both, though Spain had entered into other conflicts. At this time France was torn by terrible religious wars. The French Catholics sought Spanish aid to overcome their countrymen, and when a Huguenot, Henry of Navarre, succeeded as king of France, the most irreconcilable of the French Catholics refused to accept him and asked

Costly intervention in French affairs

Philip II to rule them. Philip, who had already given extensive aid in the contest, accepted. In the end, however, Henry IV of France was reconciled to the Catholic faith and acknowledged by most of his subjects. Strong feeling of nationality was aroused among Frenchmen against Spanish interference, and the Spaniards were, after a while, completely expelled from the country. In 1598, by the Treaty of Vervins, Spain evacuated all the conquests she had made in France, excepting Cambray, on the northeastern frontier. With the English and with the Dutch the conflict dragged on; and Philip did not live to see its conclusion. Shortly after the Peace of Vervins he died at the *Escorial*. Spain was still the most imposing power in Europe, but her finances were in confusion, her resources exhausted, and her real power greatly diminished. She had now definitely begun to decline—this at a time when her rivals were about to be more powerful than ever before.

The Treaty of Vervins

Philip III

He was succeeded by his son Philip III (1598–1621). During this period the decline of Spain was accelerated, and greater mischief done to her well-being. Peace was, indeed, made with England (1604); and a truce was made with the Dutch (1609), by which their independence was not acknowledged, but nevertheless virtually established. It should now have been the principal task of Spanish statesmen to procure for their country a long period of tranquillity in which to improve administration, develop her resources, and recover the national strength. Actually the most striking measure of the reign was one that permanently weakened the country.

Religious intolerance in Spain

Spaniards had for a long time been especially distinguished for religious bigotry. The age-long wars against Mohammedan Moors had had many aspects of a crusade. In Spain devotion to the faith had been developed to the highest pitch, and it came to be the supreme ambition of many Spaniards to permit no deviation from the faith

21. THE EMPIRE OF SPAIN IN EUROPE AT ITS GREATEST EXTENT, ABOUT 1581

they believed to be true. In no Christian country then was there much of religious toleration, but there soon came to be, perhaps, less of it in Spain than anywhere else. In 1480 the inquisition had been established to search out heresy and destroy it. In 1492 the Jews, some 200,000 in number, were expelled from Spain. With them departed many of the ablest merchants, financiers, and men of science whom Spain then had. About this same time, when Granada submitted, the Moors were definitely promised freedom to keep their Mohammedan faith, but as a result of very strong feeling against such tolerance, the promise was withdrawn in 1502, when the Moors were offered the alternative of exile or baptism. Some departed, but most of them, outwardly accepting the Christian faith, remained. These Moriscoes were thenceforth objects of jealousy, hostility, and suspicion.

Expulsion of the Jews

Expulsion of the Moriscoes

When the Protestant revolt spread outward from Germany it presently reached as far as Spain, and there were for a while numerous converts among the nobility and the upper classes. The inquisition, however, and the government dealt sternly with them, and in a brief space Protestantism was extinguished in Spain. During the Counter-Reformation, while in other countries Catholics were struggling against Protestants, in Spain there was, with the exception of the Moriscoes, some of whom were suspected of not being devoted to Christianity, complete uniformity throughout the land, entire orthodoxy, and absence of dissent. In 1609 the work was utterly completed when the Moriscoes were expelled from Spain in a body. Multitudes of these wretched people, suddenly driven forth, perished in the lands to which they were sent, and many others lost all the property they had. To Spain the loss was as great as that which France experienced somewhat later when the Edict of Nantes was revoked (1685), and so many Huguenots left the country. In the expulsion of the Moriscoes Spain deprived herself

Great loss resultant

of the best body of artisans she possessed and the most skilful and industrious agricultural workers in the country. Economic decline, already marked, was now more rapid than ever.

Philip III was succeeded by his son, Philip IV (1621–1665). Spain was still a powerful state, and outwardly very imposing. "I know not," said the experienced English observer, John Chamberlain, in 1623, "how the Spaniard hath got such a hand everywhere, that he carries more sway where he comes than all other ambassadors together." But the forces of decay were ever at work, and the period that followed brought much humiliation and disaster.

Philip IV

In 1618 the Thirty Years' War had broken out in central Europe. In this contest the Spaniards gave assistance to the Catholic powers in Germany, and in 1621 the war with the Dutch Netherlands was resumed. At first in some parts of the Holy Roman Empire the Protestants were overwhelmed and nearly destroyed. After a time, however, Catholic France entered the contest, assisting the Protestant states, in order to weaken her two old enemies, the empire and Spain. In 1635 France declared war upon Spain. In the midst of economic decline, intellectual stagnation, and defeats at sea, the Spanish armies had continued to be reckoned the best in Europe, and, since the days when Gonsalvo conquered Granada and expelled the French from Naples, it was seldom that their renowned infantry had ever yielded to a foe. Accordingly, for a time Spain held her own against France and even gained some successes. The French armies were gradually reorganized, however, new methods of warfare were worked out by able commanders, and presently the tide was turned.

Spain in the Thirty Years' War

War with France

French naval power was increased, while Holland was already the principal maritime power in the world. Accordingly, Spain's communications by sea with the Spanish

Spain's naval power destroyed

Netherlands were severed. In 1639 a Spanish fleet, after eluding French warships, fell in with the Dutch fleet in the Channel. The Spanish admiral made for the Downs, near Dover, seeking protection of the neutral English shore. Thither the Dutch pursued him, destroyed part of his fleet, and forced the rest of it to flee in confusion. At this contempt for its sovereignty the English government could only have silent indignation, for the Dutch were all-powerful at sea, and English sea power was not yet strongly developed. In 1646, in a conflict off the Italian coast, the French defeated the Spanish fleet and got control of the Mediterranean waters. Two years later Masaniello led a revolt in Naples. It was long before Spain was again important on the sea.

Loss of military power: Rocroy

On land she had met defeat still more decisive. In 1643 a French army under Condé encountered an invading army of Spanish veterans near the northeastern frontier. At Rocroy the Spanish army was destroyed completely, and Spain soon ceased to be an important military power. Meanwhile, in 1640, encouraged and assisted by France, the Catalans had revolted and the Portuguese had thrown off the Spanish yoke. The Catalans were subdued later on and brought back to unwilling allegiance, as they were destined to be again after another revolt in the future. Portugal, however, reëstablished her independence under the House of Bragança; and protected first by France and afterward by England, she remained thereafter independent.

Spain holds her own for a while

In 1648 the Peace of Westphalia put an end to some of the wars that had so long been raging, but this treaty brought no peace between France and Spain. Rather it left France free to devote attention entirely to Spain, and the position of that country, so weakened and so oppressed with disaster, seemed nearly desperate now. Actually, however, France was herself greatly weakened by the civil war of the *Fronde* (1648–54) which now began,

and Spain for a while won considerable advantage. Catalonia was subdued as Naples had been, losses in the Spanish Netherlands were retrieved, and France herself was invaded. But in 1656 France made alliance with England against her. The English admirals, who had already been operating against the Spaniards and who had seized Jamaica in the West Indies two years before, swept Spanish shipping from the seas, and in 1657 destroyed a great Spanish fleet at Santa Cruz in the Canary Islands. That year the allies defeated the Spanish army in Flanders at the battle of the Dunes, captured Mardyke and Dunkirk, ports on the Channel, and overran a great part of the Spanish Netherlands. Spain now sought for peace. By the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659) she ceded to France Roussillon and Cerdagne, her remaining provinces on the French side of the Pyrenees, and Artois on the border of Flanders. It was arranged that Maria Theresa, Philip's daughter, should marry Louis XIV, king of France. In consideration of a large dowry the princess was to renounce any future claims upon the throne of Spain. The dowry was never paid, and her alleged claims, afterward revived, led to one of the great wars in the history of Europe.

Defeated by England and France

Treaty of the Pyrenees

The Hapsburg dynasty in Spain came to end with Philip's son, Charles II (1665–1700), *el Hechizado* (the bewitched). The weakness, decrepitude, and decline of the country seemed to be typified in this ruler, diseased in body and weakly in mind. All the government seemed afflicted with palsy. Administration was feeble and ineffective. Revenue diminished and sources of revenue dried up. The army almost disappeared, and the navy nearly ceased to exist. Idleness and beggary increased as agriculture declined and industry withered away. Spain was no longer a counterpoise to France, and France under the ambitious and resolute Louis XIV did as she pleased, constantly encroaching upon the Spanish Netherlands, and threatening to seize them all. That France did not take

Charles II: general decadence

these provinces was due not to resistance from Spain but to opposition from England and sterner opposition from the Dutch. None the less, by the Treaty of Nymwegen (1678) France gained the old free county of Burgundy, Franche–Comté, farther south. The Spanish empire lay inert and helpless, at the mercy of whoever wished to despoil it.

The Spanish succession

The disposition of this empire soon became a great European question. It was evident that Charles II would leave no heir of his own, that with him the Spanish House of Austria would end. The most powerful claimant of the Spanish inheritance was Louis XIV's eldest son in virtue of the right of his Spanish mother. For France, already so powerful, to rule the vast Spanish dominions, or for them to be ruled by any French prince, seemed to other European states too great an addition to France, and a menace to the safety of Europe. After much negotiation between the French court and other courts of Europe it was agreed in secret understandings that the Spanish dominions should be divided among various claimants. This the Spanish people were not disposed to endure. They desired their dominions to be ruled by their next king entire. Much intrigue ensued, until finally the king of Spain decided to bequeath all his possessions to the second grandson of Louis XIV, believing that France, the most powerful state in Europe, would best be able to defend the inheritance and hold all its parts together. Accordingly, in 1700 a French prince came to the throne, and as Philip V (1700–1746) began the rule of the House of Bourbon in Spain.

Proposed partition of the Spanish dominions

A French Bourbon rules Spain

This arrangement was opposed by the emperor, various German states, the Dutch Netherlands, and by England, who formed the Grand Alliance to drive Philip from Spain. The War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14) followed, a struggle that extended over all western and central Europe. France was defeated, meeting great disasters in Germany,

Italy, the Spanish Netherlands, and along the eastern French frontier; but in Spain her armies were successful, largely because supported by the Spanish people themselves. The Spaniards had no effective army, but they harassed the English and the German invaders in guerilla warfare, as a century later they wore away the strength of Napoleon's armies. Accordingly, when the long contest was ended, the French prince remained king of Spain, with the proviso that the same sovereign should never wear the crowns of France and of Spain. But what the Spaniards had desired to prevent was now carried out: the dominions of Spain were divided. By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), Spain kept her colonial empire, but the outlying European possessions, won long ago by kings of Aragon or brought by Philip, father of Charles I, were lost. Austria received the Spanish Netherlands, thereafter called the Austrian Netherlands, and she received some of the Italian dominions of Spain—Sardinia, Naples, and Milan. Sicily was ceded to Savoy. Great Britain kept the island of Minorca and Gibraltar on the Spanish mainland. This was the nadir of the period of decline. Spain seemed no longer a great European power.

Loss of the outlying European provinces

A period of revival began almost at once, however. The son of an Italian gardener, Giulio Alberoni, a man of the highest ability, became principal minister in Spain. Philip V was indolent and of inferior ability, so that the government of Spain was largely controlled by his second wife, an Italian princess, Elizabeth Farnese, of Parma, and the minister, Alberoni. The Duchy of Parma comprised the districts of Parma and Piacenza. They had belonged to the Duchy of Milan until annexed to the Papal States, after which Paul III bestowed them on his son, Pier Farnese (1545). The Duchy of Parma had been ruled by the House of Farnese since then. Now, when the male line was approaching extinction, Elizabeth desired that the inheritance and also Tuscany, upon

Alberoni

which likewise she had a claim, should pass to her son. The queen and the minister both desired to make good some of Spain's recent losses in Italy.

Revival and new strength

Large reforms were carried out. Government was made much more effective. The previous system of numerous councils, which, except under a very strong and very active ruler, produced confusion and prevented any decision, was now abandoned, and French methods were followed. Most of the administrative authority of the kingdom was concentrated, under the king, in the hands of four or five powerful secretaries of state: so that a small effective executive council was produced, as in France, and somewhat as had been done in England. At the same time the government was made more of a despotism than it had been in the days of Philip II. The *cortes* fell as much in disuse as the States General had fallen in France. The finances were reorganized, expenditures reduced, and the revenue much increased. Agriculture, commerce, and manufactures were all encouraged and revived. The army was made over, and the navy rapidly built up again. The results of this remarkable work soon appeared. Population had long been declining in Spain: it now began to increase. In all respects the nation seemed to take on new life, and rapid strides were made forward.

Government more centralized and effective

Foreign relations

In foreign affairs, Alberoni sought to enlist outside assistance for Spain against Austria with respect to the Italian schemes. The emperor had not acknowledged Philip as king of Spain; it was known that he wished to secure Sicily as well as Naples, and it was soon evident that he wished to add Tuscany and Parma to his province of Milan. These schemes were alarming to the other powers, but Alberoni could get no more than sympathy from Holland, England, and France. They were, indeed, so determined that another great European war should not break out that when Alberoni went forward alone with his schemes, they combined to oppose him.

Spain overpowered by the Quadruple Alliance

In 1716 the English government proposed that the emperor should acknowledge the arrangement in Spain, that he should receive Sicily in exchange for Sardinia, and that eventually Parma and Piacenza should go to Elizabeth's son. In 1717 the Triple Alliance, of France, England, and Holland was formed to maintain the recent settlement and the European peace. Austria and Spain rapidly drifted into war, however. The new Spanish fleet easily got control of the Italian waters; a Spanish expedition seized Sardinia; and in 1718 Sicily was conquered also. To the Triple Alliance was now added the emperor, thus forming the Quadruple Alliance, to act against Spain. The Spanish fleet was destroyed by the English off Cape Passaro at the southeastern extremity of Sicily (1718). A French army invaded Spain. The Austrians drove the Spaniards out of their conquests in Sicily (1719).

The Treaty of London, 1720

Alberoni was dismissed in the midst of these disasters. It seemed that his work had been crushed with failure. Yet, what he had planned was all accomplished somewhat later. Actually, he had given such impulse to recovery and reorganization, that his work was of value almost as great for Spain as that which another Italian, Mazarin, had once done for France. By the Treaty of London (1720) Spain yielded to the Quadruple Alliance. The reversion of Parma and Piacenza to Don Carlos, son of Philip and Elizabeth Farnese, was arranged a little later. After some years of intrigue and growing friendship between Elizabeth and the Austrian government, which culminated in the secret Treaty of Vienna (1725), Austria and Spain again drew apart. Then France and Spain drew closer and closer together, and the family friendship and understanding between the Spanish and the French Houses of Bourbon came presently to be one of the important factors in the political relations of Europe. In 1733 along with Sardinia Spain assisted France against

France and Spain draw together

A Spanish Bourbon obtains the Two Sicilies, 1735-8

Austria in the War of the Polish Succession. In western Europe the allies were largely successful, and by the Third Treaty of Vienna (1738) Spain yielded to the emperor the claims of her prince upon Tuscany, Parma, and Piacenza, which were now added to the Austrian dominions, while Don Carlos received the Two Sicilies. Thus was restored to Spanish influence and a Spanish prince the southern part of Italy which Spain had ruled for so long. Somewhat later, during the general European settlement in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), Spain secured Parma, Piacenza, and the neighboring Guastalla, for Don Philip, second son of Elizabeth Farnese and Philip V.

Spain and the Seven Years' War

Philip was succeeded by the son of his first wife, Ferdinand VI (1746–1759), a man of small ability and melancholy temper, who presently became insane. During his reign the government of the country was almost entirely in the hands of leading ministers. During the latter part of this period another great European conflict broke out, the Seven Years' War (1756–63). In western Europe the principal opponents were Great Britain and France. Both of them eagerly sought the assistance of Spain. England held out the possibility of the restoration of Gibraltar, while France promised Minorca, which she had recently captured from the British. At first, however, strict neutrality was maintained.

The Family Compact

Ferdinand was followed by his half-brother, Charles, already king of the Two Sicilies (1735–1759), who now became Charles III of Spain (1759–1788). He was the ablest Spanish sovereign since the days of Philip II. Spain again took a great part in the affairs of Europe, for some time with much failure, at last with no little success. In 1761 she entered into a secret agreement, the *Family Compact*, by which she agreed to give France assistance. But the assistance came too late and was futile. England, under the guidance of William Pitt,

her great minister and leader, was proceeding in a mighty career of triumph, and the principal result of the entry of Spain was to prolong the contest a little and then add to the conquests of Britain. In 1762 Spain lost Cuba in the West Indies and the Philippine Islands in the far east. By the Treaty of Paris (1763) she received back Cuba and the Philippines in exchange for Florida, which she was forced to cede to Great Britain. As some compensation for her losses France gave her the town of New Orleans, near the mouth of the Mississippi River, and the remainder of her North American possessions—the vast, uninhabited Louisiana.

Spain along with France defeated by Great Britain

From these losses and humiliations both France and Spain presently recovered something, though not enough to compensate either for the additional expenditures made. Their enemy England soon suffered a great disaster: her principal colonial dependencies, the thirteen mainland colonies in America, revolted, and in 1776 proclaimed independence. Shortly after, partly through desire to cause loss to England, France allied herself with the rebels and urged Spain to join in giving help. The Spanish government was for some time reluctant to encourage colonial rebels, justly fearing that success in the English colonies would make it difficult to retain her own American possessions. Gradually, however, desire to recover territories formerly seized by England induced her. In 1779 she declared war on Britain, and began the investment of Gibraltar. A memorable siege of four years followed. The French and the Spanish navies had command of the sea for the most part, but not during all of the time, so that the English relieved the garrison; and it proved impossible, despite desperate and prolonged efforts, to reduce the fortress by assault. In 1782 England regained command of the sea, and thenceforth the attempt had little chance of success. In 1783, by the Treaty of Versailles, Spain won back Florida and Minorca. She did not obtain Gibraltar,

Attacks Great Britain during the American Revolution

Siege of Gibraltar, 1779–83

but this was the best treaty she had made since Cateau-Cambrésis (1559).

The latter days of the Old Régime

On the whole, despite costly wars, during the eighteenth century, the position of Spain improved. Steadily she developed her resources and won back some of the power and prestige she had lost in the century preceding. Some reforms and some changes continued to be made. In 1767, at a time when the Jesuits were being attacked in many parts of Europe, Charles III expelled them from Spain and from all the dependencies of Spain.

During the reign of his son and successor, Charles IV (1788–1808), a reign that belongs almost entirely to the following period of European affairs, Spain continued in peace and in slow transition until suddenly affected by the mighty changes that followed the French Revolution.

Portugal regains independence

In 1640, the French, then at war with Spain, had stirred up a revolution in Catalonia, and this in turn encouraged the Portuguese to revolt. So much was Spain occupied with the Catalans and the French, that Portugal was able to assert her independence. A member of the House of Bragança, descended from the illegitimate son of a former king, mounted the throne as John (João) IV (1640–1656). The independence of Portugal was thenceforth maintained. It was not recognized by Spain, however, until the Treaty of Lisbon (1668).

Portugal and England

Meanwhile, the French strove to ensure the independence of a state troublesome to Spain, their rival, by effecting close relations between Portugal and England. In 1662 Charles II, king of England, married Catherine of Bragança. The ties between the two countries were drawn closer a generation later by the Methuen Treaty (1703), an agreement by which Portuguese were given preference over French wines and Portugal became practically a commercial dependency of England. More and more thereafter was Portugal in effect an outlying naval base of Britain, a point from which she might fall upon the

flank of Spain and cut communications within the Spanish empire. This base was likewise used against France, first in the War of the Spanish Succession, afterward in the Peninsular War of Napoleon's time.

Portugal in the eighteenth century

The eighteenth century was a period of decrepitude and quiescence in Portugal as much as in Italian countries. The great days were gone. Fine palaces and monuments remained, but energy and treasure had been spent. Memory of the navigators and captains lingered, but colonies and trade had mostly been lost. For some years (1756–77) the country was virtually ruled by the able and ruthless minister, João, Marquis of Pombal. He expelled the Jesuits from the country and crushed all who opposed him. Hard and unscrupulous, he wished to be a "benevolent despot" and rule Portugal well. Under him commerce and agriculture recovered a little, but neither in the eighteenth century nor afterward did Portugal become prosperous again.

Pombal

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CHAPTER XII

THE GROWTH OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY

Cumpainz Rollant, sunez vostre olifan.
Si l'orrat Charles ki est as porz passanz;
Je vus plevis, ja returnerunt Franc.
Ne placet Deu, ço li respunt Rollanz,
Que ço seit dit de nul hume vivant
Ne pur païen que ja seie cornanz!

. . . . . .

Franceis sunt bon, si ferrunt vassalment.

Le Chanson de Roland (eleventh century), ll. 1070–80.

Stimano tanto l'utile e il danno presente, che cade in loro poca memoria delle ingiurie o benefizi passati, e poca cura del bene o del male futuro.

Sono piuttosto taccagni che prudenti. Non si curano molto di quello si scriva o si dica di loro. Sono più cupidi de' denari che del sangue.

Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), *Della Natura de' Francesi.*

France, mère des arts, des armes & des loix,
Tu m'as nourry long temps du laict de ta mamelle
Ores, comme un aigneau qui sa nourrisse appelle,
Je remplis de ton nom les antres & les bois.

Joachim du Bellay, *Les Regrets* (1558), ix.

French people and civilization

In the history of modern Europe the people and civilization of France have probably been more influential and important than those of any other country. Other peoples look back upon a glorious and successful past. Several states in turn have held dominating position in Europe. Byzantine Empire, Holy Roman Empire, Ottoman Empire, Spain, France, Great Britain, the German Empire have risen and in turn seen their day. For a

century now France has been left behind by the growth of more powerful states. Yet, in the past thousand years, the French have several times been the most important people in Europe; and until recently, with the vaster growth of other peoples, their civilization has probably been more potent than any other in Europe.

Influence of the French in the Middle Ages

From the eleventh to the fourteenth century, at a time when there was as yet no great and united French state, the culture and the people of the French lands influenced most of western Europe. The University of Paris was the greatest medieval institution of learning. The glorious church architecture of the country round about Paris was much copied and loved. The long poems of the *trouvères* of north France and the *troubadours*' songs in the south were widely known and cherished. The Normans, inhabitants of one French district, conquered England (1066), and the language and culture of England were profoundly affected by French civilization and speech. Other Normans and Frenchmen established themselves in Italy, in Sicily, at Constantinople, in Greece, in Syria, in Palestine. The Crusades, those expeditions from western Christian Europe against the Saracens, were predominantly French expeditions, and it was as *Francs* that all western Europeans were long known throughout the Levant.

Normans and Frenchmen

A fine and numerous people

This influence and this predominance were based upon a fertile country supporting a large population, brave and energetic, with lively character and fine intellectual endowment. Students of statistics estimate the medieval population of the French countries at from sixteen to twenty-three millions; and those who affirm the higher figure maintain that the number of the French people was held at this high level from the twelfth to the nineteenth century. Strong, exuberant, influential, they constituted the largest mass of civilized, fairly homogeneous people in the world. Because they were not united under one

strong government to form a single great state, for some time they suffered grievously from attacks by the English, less numerous, but better organized for war and ruled by the most effective government in Europe. After terrible disasters in the period of the Hundred Years' War (1336–1453) the invaders were repelled, and a strong central government emerged in a large part of the French-peopled districts.

Rise of a strong French state

Slowly, during the next two centuries, adjacent districts were incorporated in the French state and the French monarchy constantly grew larger, richer, and stronger. Progress was long delayed by unwise foreign policy, by internal dissension, by religious civil wars; but in the seventeenth century the work of a succession of able rulers —Henry IV, the great ministers, Richelieu and Mazarin, and finally Louis XIV—made France the leading state in Europe. Again her literature and her language were imitated, copied, and admired by all the people who knew them, and their influence was spread over Europe.

Second period of French influence

French art, French science, French manners and style were everywhere followed. France was the great power, the French king the *Grand Monarque* of Europe. So powerful did France now become and so great the ambitions of her rulers, that she was feared by all of her neighbors. After many vicissitudes, great European combinations were formed against her; at length she was defeated; her aggressions were checked; and her power was partly broken.

Influence continued when power had declined

During the eighteenth century she suffered some decline and was long in recovering the strength she had lost. During this time she was eclipsed in power and in strength by Great Britain, to whom she lost, in disastrous wars, most of her colonial possessions. During this time, however, her influence continued to extend, her great philosophers and writers were the teachers of Europe; her literature and her styles were more widely admired than

before; the French language was used in the speech and the writings of the upper classes of most of Europe. Finally, toward the end of the eighteenth century, in that vast upheaval and alteration known as the French Revolution, the radical doctrines of French teachers were put into practice, and in the period of wars that followed were spread far beyond the borders of France. In the end the best of these doctrines became the common possession of mankind.

The French Revolution

The most important parts of the history of the French from the end of the Middle Ages to the period of the French Revolution have to do with the consolidation of the various French districts into one state ruled effectively by the king of France; with the gradual extension of the territories of France by further consolidation, annexation, and conquest; with the development in the state thus created of strong, effective central government, and of stronger national feeling.

Factors in the history of France

The making of a great French state was largely completed by the end of the Middle Ages. Preëminently had France been the work of the kings of France. In the tenth century the French countries had been divided among great feudal lords. One of them, with territories about the upper Seine, and capital in the city of Paris, was king. His lands, the Île-de-France, were less extensive than those of some of the other French magnates. By agreement, however, he was recognized as suzerain or feudal lord. Thus he had over all the others a certain superiority, and could demand obedience in certain things. Some of the great vassal magnates, like the dukes of Normandy and Anjou in the eleventh century, were so much more powerful than their overlord that they obeyed him but little, and he could enforce obedience upon them scarcely at all.

The early kings of France suzerains among greater vassals

Ultimately, however, the kings of France were fortunate and very successful. For three centuries there was gener-

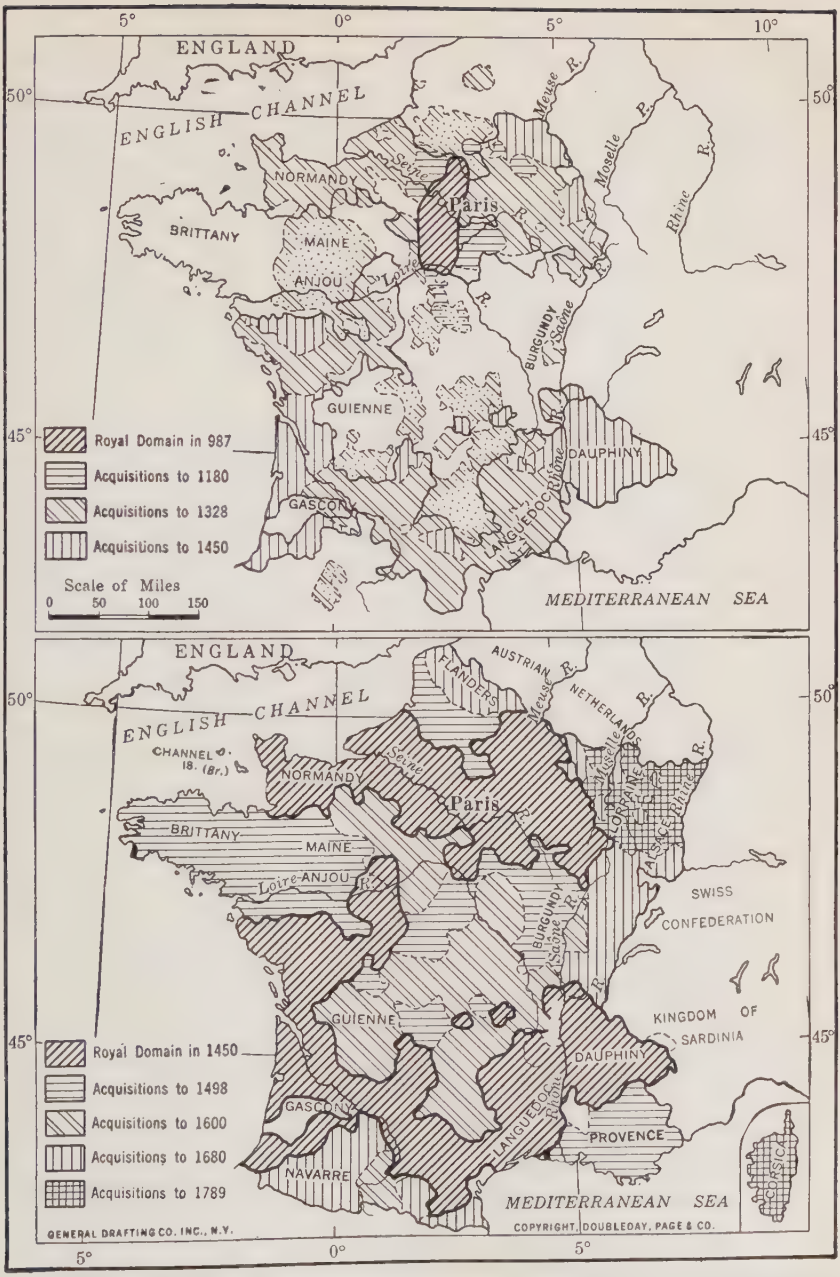
The kings add to the royal domain

ally a succession of able monarchs, and most of them reigned many years. Hence they could carry out a crafty and aggressive policy with persistence and skill. Gradually, they were able to take advantage of the legal rights of their feudal position; and the disobedience of vassals was punished by annexation of the fiefs of such vassals to the royal domain. Thus, to punish the transgression of his vassal John, duke of Normandy and lord of other French fiefs, also king of England, the French possessions of John were declared forfeit, to Philip II, Augustus, of France (1204). To the French king's possessions were now added wide northern and central French lands. In this manner was formed a powerful French state in the northern portion of France.

The southern French lands added to the king's domain

Beyond the Loire, to the south, the country seemed divided from the north by the character and speech of the people. In the south was employed a different dialect of French (*langue d'oc*) from that used by the people in the north (*langue d'oil*). Of this southern country a large portion in the southwest, Guienne, was held by the kings of England—who had until recently also held such large possessions to the north. Northward and east of Guienne lay Poitou, Auvergne, Toulouse, and other districts, the seat of a brilliant civilization, where some of the most striking literature and culture anywhere in Europe had developed. Among these people of the *langue d'oc* arose the heresy of the Albigenses, which awakened the hostility of the Church of Rome. Urged on by the pope, a crusade was undertaken against them—virtually a great military expedition of the soldiers of the north French lands against those of the south. The Albigensian heresy was crushed, and along with it much of the southern civilization. The country was now made more dependent on the kings of France, while part of it was annexed to the French king's domain. In 1271, on the death of Alfonse of Poitiers, most of the remainder of central and southern

The Albigenses conquered



22. GROWTH OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY, 10TH TO 18TH CENTURIES

France—Poitou, Toulouse, Auvergne—fell in and were also annexed. By this time in the Kingdom of France the royal domain made up nearly three fourths of the entire extent, this domain including all of the territory within the boundaries of the French kingdom save only a few great fiefs which remained—the Celtic district of Brittany in the northwest corner, Flanders in the northeast, Blois in the center, Champagne and Burgundy on the eastern frontier, Guienne, in the southwest corner, held by the kings of England, and the smaller Navarre lying beyond in the Pyrenees Mountains.

The Hundred Years' War

Continued and successful aggressions by the kings of France against the French possessions still held by the kings of England was one of the principal causes that led to the terrible Hundred Years' War. On the other hand, the kings of England laid claim to the crown of France itself. On several occasions—at Crécy (1346), at Poitiers (1356), at Agincourt (1415)—their armies of hired cavalry and archers, with superior equipment and better tactics, inflicted crushing defeats on the larger but less effective feudal levies of France. Many vicissitudes marked the long struggle. The French were overwhelmed with disaster. Their prosperity and well-being disappeared in the midst of the contest. Contending armies lived on the country. They marched back and forth over the land plundering, burning, destroying. Famine and misery followed the warfare, and pestilence came in their train. After a succession of defeats the French offered more successful resistance, but even so the English were able to impose the Treaty of Bretigny (1360) by which, among other things, the king of England, renouncing his claim to the crown of France, was yet to receive in full sovereignty, with no more homage, Calais—opposite Dover, in the north, and the great southern districts of Poitou, Saintonge, Gascony, and Guienne.

Ruin of France

Half a century later, when a weak ruler and jealousy

of factions made France a feeble opponent, the warlike Henry V, king of England, renewed the claim to the French crown. In a series of brilliant campaigns he nearly attained his object. By the Treaty of Troyes (1420) it was provided that Henry should marry the daughter of Charles VI, king of France, and that their heir should inherit both France and England. Untimely death prevented Henry from completing his work, but the able generals of his school subdued all the northern half of the country down to the Loire. At this moment, under the inspiration of the heroine, Jeanne d'Arc (Joan of Arc), began a revival of courage and national spirit. Then slowly, but surely, the dwindling forces of the invaders were driven from France. By 1453 the struggle was over. England had lost all her French territory save Calais and a little district about it.

France nearly conquered by the English

This struggle produced lasting consequences in the history of France. The first and most important result seemed, doubtless, at the time, that a large, powerful, compact kingdom had been welded together, and that from French territory the kings of England, once the greatest possessors of French territory, were now almost entirely expelled. Another consequence was that common suffering and common disaster along with common heroism and effort had laid securely the foundations of a real French nation with common national feeling. Old local differences continued to persist: they did in all extensive areas in the old days before modern communication made it possible to bring these differences largely to an end. The people of the south were still in many matters of custom, habit, and speech unlike the inhabitants of the north. Nevertheless, by the middle of the fifteenth century a French nation had appeared, in which the similarities and the common ties were much stronger than the differences still remaining. Finally, the character and the structure of the government were permanently altered.

A French nation and state had arisen

Local differences remain

Development of institutions

During the Middle Ages government and political organization had been much alike in England and in the French countries. Actually, some institutions—itinerant justices, exchequer, jury, and the feudal organization—which later on had such important development in England, were originally brought from the continent by the Norman-French. Between English and French institutions, however, there was presently much divergence. In course of time the English, generally safe from disaster and sheltered from foes in their insular position, developed jury and representative government into the most successful system of government by the people in the world. In France the people, from no essential difference in character and because of no inferiority in political instinct, abandoned many of their earlier modes. Instead of developing participation in government by an increasing number of people, they allowed all the functions of the state to be more and more concentrated in the hands of the king and his officials, until by the end of the seventeenth century France had the most effective system of centralized government known to the peoples of Europe. This had resulted very largely from geographical position. France might be and often she had been invaded by foreigners, with a great deal of suffering and disaster. In the course of long experience it had seemed supremely important to erect a central government strong enough to defend Frenchmen from their foes outside. This had largely been done by sacrificing future self-government and safeguards of personal freedom.

A strong government needed more than parliamentary institutions

Parliamentary development in England

In England the basis of the larger powers of parliament—that organ of central government in which to some extent self-government by the people was developed—was control of financial affairs. A medieval English king had various sources of revenue entirely under his control, but from time to time more revenue was needed. This could be best obtained, as experience gradually showed, by per-

suading representatives of the property-owners in the counties and in certain of the towns, known collectively as the house of commons, to grant taxes or financial aid to the king. In course of time, by a natural process of bargaining, the commons obtained considerable power over the making of laws and entire control of direct taxation. Later on—in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—parliamentary taxation came to be the principal and finally the sole source of revenue, so that the house of commons, controlling taxation, in the end rendered king and king's ministers subordinate and dependent. Accordingly, in England representatives of the people at last got control of the government, controlled the finances, made the laws, and supervised the ministers in their executive and administrative work.

Laws and taxation

In France during the Middle Ages, there was also an assembly, the states general (*états généraux*), that bade fair to develop into a body like the parliament of England. It was made up of members or representatives of the three principal orders or estates of the realm—nobility, clergy, and *bourgeoisie* or representatives from some of the towns. They were first summoned by Philip IV in 1302, a little after the Model Parliament of Edward I in England (1295). Neither in England nor in France for a long time did these assemblies representing the different orders obtain much power.

Parliamentary development in France

During the troublous period of the Hundred Years' War the states general permanently lost any chance to develop effective control of the king. During the fearful disorder and misery of these times it seemed to most people more important than anything else to have a government strong enough to repress disorders and repel invaders. In the time of Philip Augustus there had been a permanent military force controlled by the king. It was supported by payments from the abbeys, cities, and corporations, in lieu of military service from them—like the payment of

The states general surrender their power

scutage in England. In 1202 this force contained 2,800 men. Under Charles VII (1422–1461) beginning was made anew of a standing army of professional soldiers directly controlled by the king. At Orleans in 1439 the states general published the ordinance of the army (*Ordonnance sur la Gendarmerie*) which provided that in future companies of soldiers should be raised only under license from the king and by commanders who had the king's commission. Pillage and private war were forbidden. For the support of these troops under the king's control, a land tax or tallage (*taille*) was to be levied throughout the kingdom and paid to the king, while the nobles might no longer levy a *taille* on their own domains. This *ordonnance* involved a great weakening of the power of the nobles and much enhancement of the royal power. On the one hand, the nobles lost the right of taxing their dependents and the right of maintaining their own military forces, while the crown was to receive a large and regular revenue—1,800,000 *livres* a year—and have, what was then in western Europe, a powerful military force on a permanent footing. The nobles attempted resistance to this, but their resistance speedily collapsed. By 1445 there was a standing force of fifteen companies of cavalry—the *gens d'ordannace*—each horseman with his accompaniment of two assistants and three archers, the total number 9,000. Three years later was established an infantry force —the free archers (*francs archiers*)—these archers to be free or exempt from the *taille*, each parish of the kingdoms to maintain one of them in time of peace, the force to be paid by the crown during service for the king.

A standing army for the king of France with maintenance assured

Large consequences followed. An efficient military force was created, one that answered the wishes and expectations of the people in complete suppression of the brigands and soldiers who tormented the country, and, a few years later, in the expulsion of the English invaders. The power of the king and of the central government was

Large enhancement of royal power

greatly increased. Thenceforth there was constant decrease in the power of the nobles, with as constant a consolidation of the parts of the country, and enhancement of the power of the government in Paris. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries all France had come to be strongly ruled by one central government entirely in the hands of the king, who ruled through his officers and his advisers.

Political power of the nobles declines

In England at an earlier time—during the Norman and the Angevin periods (1066–1399)—this same tendency, for the king to become all-powerful and for royal authority to engross all the government, had also been strongly marked. There, however, it had been partly checked by the resistance of the nobility and presently by the rise of parliament, a body representing the nobles and the classes with property. In England by the eighteenth century the power of the king had largely declined, and the government of England was really controlled by parliament and carried on by the leading nobles and greatest politicians. In France from the fifteenth century onward the political power of the nobles declined. Manorial rights they largely retained, and also a social superiority more striking and exclusive than the nobles of England kept; but after the wars of religion and after the work of Richelieu in the first half of the seventeenth century their political power had been entirely lost to the crown.

Retain their high social position

Decline of the states general of France

Meanwhile, what might have developed into the parliamentary organ of France—the *états généraux*—had lost also all its real power, and had constantly diminished in importance. By granting to the king adequate revenue for the support of a sufficient army the states general lost their best chance of acquiring more power. The revenue granted came to be regarded as perpetual revenue and was gradually increased and extended. Hence the representatives of the kingdom lacked power to bargain with the crown and win concessions and increased importance;

while the crown gradually took to itself all control of all taxation. By the middle of the seventeenth century France was a strongly organized and firmly consolidated kingdom in which the government was completely vested in the king, and somewhat later its standing military forces contained 200,000 men, the most dreaded army in Europe.

France at the conclusion of the Hundred Years' War

The earlier part of this work was accomplished with the greatest difficulty, and for a generation after the end of the Hundred Years' War the future of France seemed uncertain. During the latter part of that struggle, Burgundy, one of the great feudal dependencies, largely increased its domains outside the French king's jurisdiction —in the Netherlands and the valley of the Rhine. Presently increasing in power and importance, it became virtually an independent state and a dangerous rival to France. Brittany remained almost independent. Provence in the south was held as a fief of the empire.

Dauphiné and the *Dauphin*

Dauphiné, which stretched toward the Alps, was largely independent. In 1349 this province had been bequeathed by its ruler, whose crest was a dolphin (*dauphin*) to the king of France, on condition that it be an appanage of the eldest son of the king. Thereafter, until 1830, the heir to the crown of France bore the title of *Dauphin*. In 1456 Charles VII, then at odds with his son, overran this country and attempted to bring it more under the authority of the crown.

Louis XI

The work of restoration and consolidation, skilfully begun by the ministers of Charles VII, was still more ably carried on by the next king, Louis XI (1461–1483). One of the most unlovable, he was also one of the craftiest and ablest monarchs who ever ruled over a kingdom. He was wise, patient, and far-seeing. With unremitting care he devoted himself to increasing the greatness of France and strengthening the power of the crown. On several occasions the principal nobles, who saw their own power constantly curtailed, strove to overthrow him. Some-

times he was at the brink of disaster, and conflict with Burgundy once threatened him with complete destruction. But in the end he triumphed over all his enemies, and succeeded in all his designs. By craft and skill and patient labor the efforts of the nobles were defeated, and power of the crown over the feudal magnates was made greater than ever before. For some time, however, Burgundy proved a formidable and a dangerous rival.

Earlier history of Burgundy

During the invasions of the German barbarians, when the Roman Empire in the west was breaking up, the Burgundians settled in the country of the upper Rhine and in what was afterward the eastern part of the French lands. During the early Middle Ages two successive kingdoms of Burgundy arose and then disappeared. Most of the territories that had composed them remained fiefs of the Holy Roman Empire, while the French Burgundian country became a feudal dependency of the French king. In the fourteenth century, on the extinction of the ducal line, this great duchy fell to the king of France, but in 1363 King John established one of his sons as duke of Burgundy, and the fortunate union was quickly undone.

The dukes of Burgundy more powerful and almost independent

During the confusion of the Hundred Years' War the dukes of Burgundy became more and more turbulent, powerful, and independent. It was a struggle between the faction of Burgundy and their rivals, the Armagnacs, that made it so easy for Henry V of England to conquer all northern France. By the Treaty of Arras (1419) the duke of Burgundy joined the English. During this time he increased his power, and when the tide turned against the English he reaped greater benefit still. By another treaty of Arras (1435) he joined the king of France against the English, in return for which he was given numerous districts and cities so that his frontier reached west almost to Paris. Meanwhile, by marriage with the heiress of the count of Flanders, the duke of Burgundy had gained new

Profit from the troubles of France

rich possessions, districts in the Flemish Netherlands. So the duke of Burgundy, while legally but a feudal vassal—to the king of France for some of his possessions, to the emperor for some of the others—was actually becoming one of the most powerful and important rulers in western Europe. Charles, surnamed the Bold, duke of Burgundy (1467–1477), aspired to increase his possessions, to join together those which were separated, and make himself an independent king. With Charles the Bold, Louis of France came into desperate conflict. For some time Charles, with superior military and financial resources, had the advantage. Once Louis was completely in his power. But the French king slowly gained strength while his antagonist threw advantages away. Charles was a brave leader, but he had neither the ability of a great general nor the acumen of an able statesman. He became involved in a death struggle with the mountaineers of the Swiss country. The Swiss with patient courage and with their long pikes had become the most formidable infantry in Europe. In 1476 the army of Charles was routed at Granson. At the beginning of the next year his power was ruined and he himself killed at Nancy. His dominions were now broken up. In 1477 the armies of Louis XI overran all the French portions, and two years later the Duchy of Burgundy was annexed to France.

Charles the Bold

Ruin of all his schemes

Shortly after the death of the duke of Guienne, in 1472, Louis's troops overran that country, so that all the rich districts about Bordeaux were brought directly under authority of the king. In 1481 the last Angevin ruler of Provence bequeathed all his dominions to the crown of France. As a result of this inheritance Louis brought under his immediate jurisdiction the central provinces of Anjou and Maine, and also the much-prized country that stretches northward from Marseilles and Toulon to Dauphiné. France was now a great sea power on the Mediterranean, her coast stretching from Navarre,

Guienne, Anjou, Maine, Provence annexed to the crown

near the Pyrenees, to where the Alps come down to the sea. For some time after it seemed also that France might reach eastward and southward into the Italian country. In 1458 the doge of Genoa bestowed that city on Charles VII, but the inhabitants rose shortly after and drove the French garrison out. On several occasions afterward Genoa fell under French authority or influence, but was never permanently annexed to France. The country to the north of the Genoa coast, Savoy, stretching up to the mountainous country held by the Swiss, was several times overrun by French armies, and during one period (1536–59) was held as a conquered land. The French were unable to retain this district, however. Genoa continued to be the great northwestern seaport of the Italian people, and Savoy remained mostly in the hands of Italians.

France fails to hold Genoa and Savoy

The extension of the Kingdom of France was carried on in the reign of Louis's successor, Charles VIII (1483–1498), when Brittany was also annexed. This duchy, in the extreme northwestern corner, outside the French country, had remained more apart from the Kingdom of France than had Wales from the Kingdom of England. The Welsh, indeed, retained their Celtic language and many of their customs, but their country was largely conquered by the English in the thirteenth century, and by the sixteenth century was completely incorporated in England. The Bretons not only kept their Celtic tongue and manners but the duke who ruled them, while nominally vassal to the king of France, had preserved almost complete independence. As the Scots so often sided with the French against England, so the Bretons on several occasions assisted English invaders of France. This condition was brought to an end when in 1491 Charles VIII married Anne, duchess of Brittany, and the country was virtually incorporated in his dominions. On the death of Charles, his successor, Louis XII (1498–1515), divorced the wife

Brittany annexed

A Celtic country on the French border

whom he already had, to marry Anne, and perpetuate the arrangement. After Anne's death, in 1532, Brittany was annexed definitively to the French crown. The people long retained their own language and customs, however, and many of them continue to do so to the present.

France now a powerful state

As a result of all these annexations, by the beginning of the sixteenth century France had become a great consolidated state with a government whose strength was constantly increasing. Its territory extended from the Channel in the north down to the Mediterranean in the south and almost to the Pyrenees Mountains, from the Bay of Biscay in the west eastward through Burgundy to Flanders and to the German cities and districts that were here the outposts of the Holy Roman Empire. On three sides the frontier was now fairly strong, capable of defense at most points. On the eastern side it was weaker, and Paris was then, as in the second half of the nineteenth century, exposed and in danger from attack by a foe. On this side, accordingly, further attempts at expansion should have been undertaken, in case any further expansion was sought, and here the great leaders of France in the seventeenth century, from Henry IV to Louis XIV, attempted their principal conquests. About the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, rash attempts were made to conquer Italian states; and for two generations French strength was wasted in pursuit of this end. Partly because of mismanagement, partly from geographical position and inadequate power on the sea, all these efforts came to nothing. In the end the failure of the French to conquer Italy was as complete as had been the failure of the Germans in the Middle Ages.

Need of a stronger frontier on the east

Angevin claims upon Naples

At the end of the fifteenth century Italy was, as it had been for a long time and long afterward continued to be, a country divided into several states of various sizes. Of these the southernmost, Naples, sometimes joined under one government with Sicily and sometimes separate from

it, had been under various rulers. In 1266 a French prince, Charles of Anjou, obtained the Two Sicilies by conquest. Soon the island was lost, but Angevin rulers continued to hold Naples until 1441, after which it came, as Sicily had long before come, under the dominion of princes of Aragon. The Angevin heirs, however, continued to assert their title, and in 1481 when Charles, Angevin ruler of Provence, bequeathed Provence and his other possessions to France, he also bequeathed his title to the Kingdom of Naples. The wise Louis XI would have none of it; but the young Charles VIII, who succeeded, resolved to win the bequest. In 1494 Charles led an army south to conquer Naples. This was the beginning of a long series of events that ruined Italy, weakened France, and ended by making Spain dominant in the Italian countries. Afterward the expedition appeared an event so important, as, in foreign politics and diplomatic affairs, to mark off the Middle Ages from the modern period succeeding.

Expedition of Charles VIII to conquer Naples

Charles proceeded down Italy with an army of superb equipment. Naples was conquered at a stroke. But to hold this possession, so far from their base, was beyond the strength of the French. Charles soon departed. The Neapolitans rose against the garrison that remained, and, aided by troops from Sicily and Aragon, soon expelled the invaders. By 1496 the matter had come to an end.

The French driven from Naples

In 1498, with the death of Charles VIII, became extinct the Valois branch of the Capetian dynasty whose kings had so long governed France. In 987, at the end of Carolingian times, Hugh Capet had been chosen by his fellow nobles to be king of the French. His direct descendants followed as kings and built the medieval French state. Their line ended in 1328. The monarchy then went to kings of the Valois dynasty, descended from Charles of Valois, second son of an earlier Capetian king. The line of Valois ended now with Charles VIII, and was succeeded by the Orléans dynasty, a collateral branch, descended

End of the House of Valois

The Houses of Orléans and Bourbon

from the second son of an earlier Valois king. The direct line of the Orléans branch became extinct in 1589, with the death of Henry III. France then came under the dynasty of Bourbon kings, beginning with Henry IV, descended, from Louis of Orléans, second son of Charles V, of the House of Valois. Except for certain years in the period of the French Revolution and Napoleon's time (1793–1815) Bourbons ruled France until 1830; after which a descendant of the House of Orléans ruled until 1848, when kingship was abolished in France.

The French again lose Naples, 1504

French ambition to make conquests in Italy continued in the reign of Louis XII. He resolved to regain the kingdom of Naples and conquer the territory of Milan. In 1499 a powerful French army set out. Savoy was at once overrun, and Milan was soon entirely in the hands of the French. Next year Louis made a treaty with the crafty Ferdinand, king of Aragon, by which France and Aragon were to seize Naples and divide it between them. In 1501 Naples was easily taken by the Spaniards and the French. Soon they quarreled about division of the country. After some vicissitudes, the Spaniards, led by Gonsalvo de Cordova, defeated the French at the Garigliano and captured their stronghold at Gaeta. By 1504 the French were completely driven out of Naples again.

The French driven from the Milanese

For some years French authority in the north was upheld and extended. Against it at various times were raised up the power of Spain, the empire, and the pope. In 1511 Louis's generals conquered from the pope the important city of Bologna. A powerful combination of Venice, Spain, and the pope was now formed against France. But a French army, led by the youthful Gaston de Foix, executed one of the most brilliant of campaigns before Frederick of Prussia and Napoleon the Great. Bologna was relieved and the Venetians defeated. Then the French turned to meet the Spanish and the papal troops. At Ravenna in 1512 was fought a battle long

remembered as the most terrible fought in those times. The artillery of Ferrara—the best in Europe—in the service of France, did appalling execution. The Spanish infantry, however, matchless with their short swords, would have cut to pieces the German spearmen who fought in the service of France—like Romans against Macedonians a long time before—had not the French cavalry saved them. The Spaniards, though defeated, could not be entirely broken, and at last, in a moment of fury, Gaston charging them lost his life. By his death a brilliant triumph was ruined. Soon the French were driven out from nearly all they had conquered.

The Battle of Ravenna, 1512

Under Francis I (1515–1547) the Italian adventure was resumed. In 1515 a powerful French army performed the brilliant exploit of suddenly crossing the Alps into Italy. Much of Milan was reconquered at a stroke, and at Marignano, near the city of Milan, Francis's generals defeated a great Swiss army which attacked them. These attempts to conquer Italian possessions had become now part of a vaster conflict.

Francis I conquers Milan again

The schemes of the French had been viewed with jealousy by Spain and by the empire. Spain had driven the French from Naples and kept it for herself. In 1519, Charles, already lord of the Netherlands and king of Spain, was elected emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and thus became overlord of the German lands also. France was now in difficult and dangerous position. To the north was the old rival England, whose hostility might always be awakened. On two sides were Spain and the empire united under one ruler and increasing in power so that they threatened to crush France to pieces. To the south, the Italian lands were the battle-ground on which many of the claims were fought out.

France endangered by the Hapsburg power

For some time France held her own amid increasing difficulties with much success. In 1525, however, Francis I besieging Pavia, not far from Milan, was com-

The campaign of Pavia, 1525

pletely defeated by Charles's commander, the marquis of Pescara, and he himself taken captive. This was the greatest disaster to France since Agincourt, and it was long before foreign enemies inflicted so great a disaster again. Francis was carried to Spain, nor was he set free until he accepted the humiliating Treaty of Madrid (1526). He agreed to surrender Burgundy and many of the eastern territories of France, and all his claims to Italian countries. When Francis had been released, it was found impossible to enforce the terms of the treaty, and the French government soon found pretext for not carrying it out. As a result of this war, however, the French definitively lost Milan and Naples.

Definitive failure of the French in Italy

Beginning of the Renaissance and of the Reformation in France

During the remainder of his reign Francis defended himself as best he could. To the scandal of Christendom he allied himself with the Turks, who on several occasions distracted the emperor's attention to defense of his German dominions. During this time the Reformation was beginning in France, as it was in the German lands. Francis while persecuting his own Protestant subjects, assisted and encouraged the Protestant princes of Germany to resist and embarrass the emperor. During this time also the Renaissance was beginning among the French. Francis was afterward remembered for patronage of architects and artists when his faults as a ruler and the failures of his reign had been largely forgotten.

The eastern frontier made stronger

The contest was continued by his successor, Henry II (1547–1559). In 1552, during war between Charles V and the German Protestant princes, the French, acting in alliance with them, seized the imperial cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and retained them thereafter as fortresses on their eastern frontier. Shortly after, during a war with Philip II of Spain, the successor of Charles, a French army was totally defeated at St. Quentin (1557), and for a moment Paris seemed in danger. The tide was turned, however, and next year the English, who had

joined Spain, lost Calais, the one possession they still held in France. The contest was ended by the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559), by which France, regaining what the Spaniards had just taken, kept Calais, Toul, Metz, and Verdun, but restored Savoy to its duke, and thus gave over the attempt to win Italian lands.

Capture of Calais, 1558

In the period that followed, during the reigns of Francis II (1559–1560), Charles IX (1560–1574), and Henry III (1574–1589), internal progress and territorial expansion came to an end. During this time France was torn to pieces by the violent struggle of her wars of religion. A strong minority, containing a large number from the upper classes and the most prosperous and intelligent classes, embraced the Calvinist form of Protestantism. Against these Huguenots the majority of Frenchmen, guided by determined and fanatical leaders, waged relentless war, in which the most terrible episode was the massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572). During this struggle the Huguenots sought aid of England, and some of the Catholics were anxious to put themselves under the rule of Philip II of Spain. France now seemed impotent and prostrate. After the accession of Henry IV (1589–1610) the struggle went on for some years. Henry was the Huguenot leader, but for reasons of state he presently returned to the Catholic faith. He had already had much success in reducing those parts of the kingdom which still opposed him. Now he was aided by the reviving national feeling of his Catholic subjects—aroused in their hearts against Spain. In 1594 he got possession of Paris, and shortly after the French wars of religion were ended. The Catholics were satisfied, for their religion would now be maintained. The Huguenots were largely contented by the Edict of Nantes (1598) in which they secured toleration and security for their Protestant faith.

Decline during the wars of religion

Henry IV restores unity and peace

Henry IV, though dissolute and somewhat careless, was one of the wisest and most competent rulers France ever

Reign of Henry IV

had. Under his vigorous and enlightened administration, in which he was assisted by Sully and other very able ministers and officials, excellent reforms were carried through and many improvements were made. In the era of peace and good government that ensued France rapidly became strong and prosperous again. At this time were laid the foundations of the power and greatness that followed. Henry was presently at leisure to cherish plans of high ambition and extensive scope. In the midst of preparations for another struggle with Spain and the empire, suddenly he was struck down by the dagger of an assassin.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE ASCENDANCY AND THE DECLINE OF FRANCE

Lors que Votre Majesté se résolut de me donner en même temps & l'entrée de ses Conseils, & grande part en sa confiance pour la direction de ses Affaires; je puis dire avec verité que les Huguenots partageoient l'État avec elle, que les Grands se conduisoient comme s'ils n'eussent pas été ses Sujets, & les plus puissans Gouverneurs des Provinces, comme s'ils eussent été Souverains en leurs Charges.

Armand du Plessis, Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, *Testament Politique* (Amsterdam, 1688), p. 6

Ragionare sopra la prima corte di Europa in un tempo ch'è divenuta lo stupore del mondo, e si puo dire l'arbitra delle rivoluzioni, e poco meno di tutti gli avvenimenti. . . .

Relazione di Sebastiano Foscarini (1684); Barozzi and Berchet, *Relazioni degli Stati Europei*, 2d series, iii. 354.

Tite-Live disait pourtant de son siècle (qui ressemblait si fort au nôtre), *Ad hæc tempora ventum est quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus:* "On est dans un siècle où les remèdes nuisent au moins autant que les vices." Savez-vous ce que c'est? L'époque est venue de la chute totale de l'Europe.

Abbé Galiani to Madame D'Épinay, May 18, 1776: *Correspondance Littéraire . . . de Grimm*, etc. (ed. Tourneur), xi. 363.

Louis XIII and Richelieu

After an interval, French progress and expansion were resumed in the reign of Louis XIII (1610–1643), son of Henry IV. Louis himself, though more competent than some critics have judged him, was without striking ability. He was fortunate, however, in his ministers, who accomplished for him very great things. Of them most eminent was Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642), the ablest and most cunning statesman of Europe in the seventeenth century, one of the greatest men whom France has pro-

duced. With eminent success Richelieu labored to make royal authority paramount all over the country, and thus, as he believed, improve the government of France. Abroad he would humble the principal enemies, Spain and the empire. At home and abroad he laid the foundations for complete success, and much of it came in his lifetime.

Concentration of governmental power in the crown

The work of Henry IV in reforming and improving the government was continued. In all respects Richelieu would concentrate authority and power in the king and ministers of the king. Louis XIII left administration of the more important affairs largely to his minister, but Richelieu prepared that complete concentration of government in royal hands that came in the reign of Louis XIV.

Power of the nobles reduced

Gradually, with much difficulty, important reforms in administration and government were effected. This could only be achieved by taking from the nobles power which they still possessed, which they used for their particular interests, without regard for the interests of the people, often against the national interests. In 1626 a royal edict declared that duelling should be punished by death, thus putting the nobility, who liked to settle their disputes by personal combat, more under authority of the courts of the king. In the same year another edict ordered that all fortified places not on the frontiers should be destroyed. So, a beginning was made of taking from the nobles the fortresses and castles in which they did as they pleased and dominated the country around.

A bureaucracy assistant to the crown

Meanwhile, constant efforts were made to build up for the administration of government a more effective body of officials, working for the crown, appointed by the crown, and directly responsible to it. The most important step in the process was the institution of the *intendants* (commissioners). From time to time Richelieu appointed for various districts of the kingdom royal commissioners representing the crown in local administration, especially

in the management of judicial matters. In 1637 a royal edict appointed an *intendant* for each province of the kingdom. In the hands of these *intendants* was put the entire power of preserving order and enforcing law, together with complete financial and judicial power in the district.

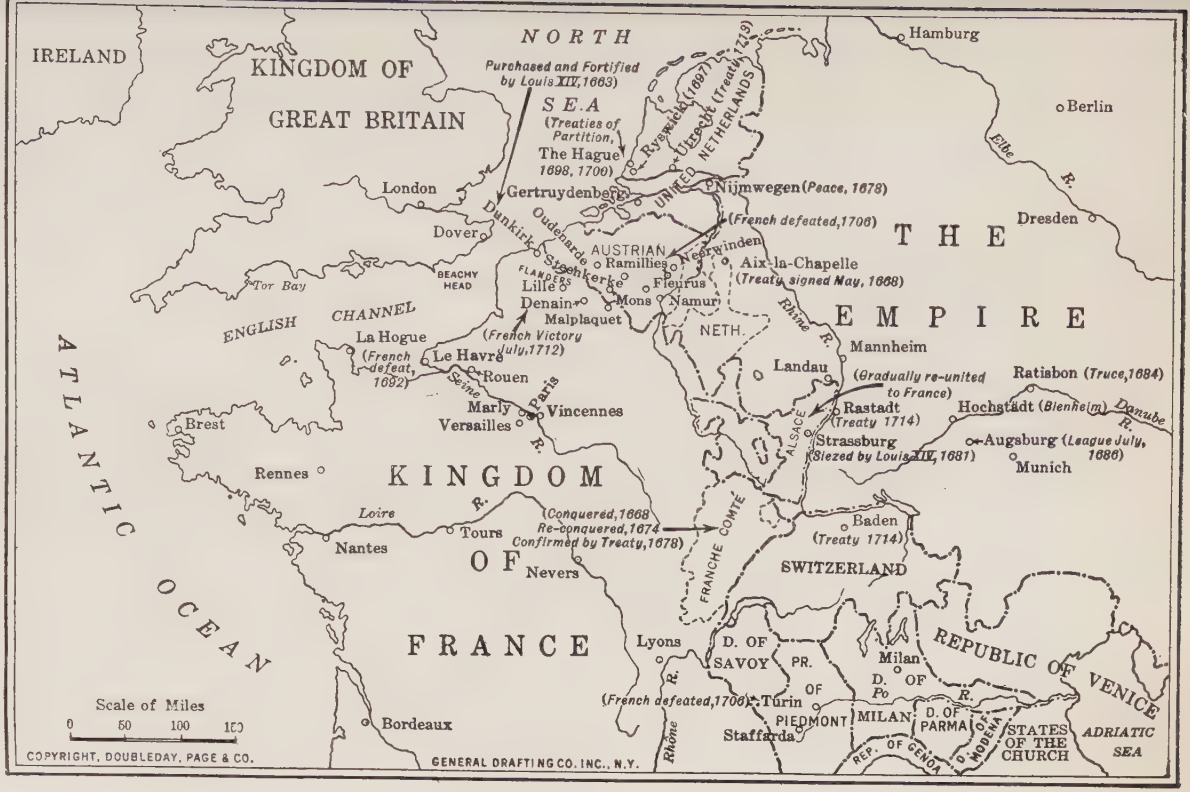
Finance, army, and navy

Along with all this went various reforms in national finance and the collection of taxes, by which indeed the burdens of the people were not lightened but the revenue yielded to the crown became larger. The army, which had fallen into decay and confusion, was again built up on the previous model: an effective standing force paid by the central government, commanded by officers appointed by the crown. Finally, a beginning was made of building up a royal French navy.

Resistance of the nobles

This strengthening of the king's power was not accomplished without resistance from the nobles, who had already lost most of their political power, and were very jealous for what still remained. During this period there was resistance to increasing royal authority both in England and France. In England the king was opposed by some of the nobles and by the middle class (1603–42), overcome by his more extreme opponents in the Puritan civil wars (1642–9), and during the period of the Interregnum (1649–60) royalty was entirely in abeyance, while England was ruled by parliament or by radical leaders of the republican army. In 1660 royal authority was restored in England; but the power of parliament steadily increased, until in course of time the British government came entirely under control of parliament and parliament's leaders. In France during the first half of the seventeenth century a similar but less important contest came to a different ending. Many of the nobles and officials opposed the king and his principal ministers, and sought to maintain their own privileges or strengthen some opposing jurisdiction like the *états généraux* or the *parlement* of Paris. But this movement represented the faction of the

Failure to make effective opposition



23. TO ILLUSTRATE THE WARS OF LOUIS XIV

nobles and the feudal interest rather than the general interests of the prosperous classes and those who desired reform.

The states general fall into abeyance

The states general of France met in 1614, but accomplished little because of their narrow interests and petty dissensions. The kings of France did not find it necessary to summon this body again until 1789. On several occasions the nobles rose in conspiracy and rebellion, but each time they were easily overthrown and their leaders were put to death. The most serious resistance came after Richelieu's time, when his work was being carried on by another minister, Mazarin, and when another king, the young Louis XIV, sat on the throne. Then the malcontents—nobles and officials—undertook to exalt the power of the *parlement* of Paris, and undo the reforms recently made. This opposition was known as the *Fronde* (sling), since contemporary opponents stigmatized its members as mischievous boys who threw stones with slings in the streets. The *parlement*, a law court, was altogether unlike the contemporary English parliament. It represented only a small official class, and attracted no national support against the king. In the wars of the *Fronde* (1648–54) the opposition was completely defeated, and the principal result was a greater strengthening of the royal power.

The *Fronde* and the *parlement* of Paris

Political powers of the Huguenots broken

Along with internal reforms Richelieu broke the Huguenots' power, and so brought greater unity and strength to the nation. During the wars of religion the Huguenots had to a considerable extent lost their national feeling, and the result of that struggle and of the settlement which Henry IV had made in the Edict of Nantes had left the Huguenot communities with almost independent power. This was now brought to an end. In 1628 La Rochelle, their principal stronghold, was captured, despite the aid which England attempted to give them. In the next year their power was shattered in other parts of the country. By the Peace of Alais (1629) the Hugue-

nots lost their guaranteed towns, and their fortresses were to be razed. Liberty of worship was left them, and with that they remained content; but they ceased now to be a political power and a community apart in the kingdom.

Foreign policy

In foreign affairs the work of Richelieu and his successors, Mazarin and Louis XIV, was more striking still. At the beginning of the seventeenth century France had powerful enemies about her; her frontiers in some places were weak. At the end of that century France seemed impregnably strong, and no other power could singly withstand her. When Richelieu's ministry began France was, indeed, a great and a compact state. In the southwest, however, the Spaniards held the districts of Cerdagne and Roussillon, on the French side of the Pyrenees; and through the mountain passes there Spanish armies could easily enter into France. To the southeast the mountains were held by Savoy; and from Italy, then largely subject to Spain, Spanish armies might pour into southeastern France if the duke of Savoy was willing. On the east the strong places were mostly held by the Germans; and they and their allies could easily threaten Paris, not far away. On the northeast were the Spanish Netherlands, from which river valleys led into the heart of France. Along these valleys the thrust of a hostile army might be as dangerous then as it had been after the defeat of St. Quentin in 1557, as it was long afterward in 1914. Moreover, France still lay between enemies who sometimes acted together. On one side Hapsburgs ruled the empire, the principal authority in German affairs; on the other they governed Spain and all of her vast possessions. It was, accordingly, the great object of Richelieu and of the statesmen who followed to win for France stronger frontiers and weaken the House of Hapsburg.

A weak frontier northeast of Paris

The success of Richelieu resulted partly from his craft and consummate diplomatic skill. It also came from conditions prevailing in other countries, far more favorable

European conditions conduced to the success of Richelieu

for France than half a century before. England was completely absorbed in domestic struggles between the king and those who would limit his authority, so that England counted for nothing in foreign affairs at this time. In 1618 a terrible war of religion began in the empire, and for thirty years the German countries were harassed and laid waste by the struggle. Thus Spain would have to face France almost alone, and Spain was exhausted after the reign of Philip II. On the other hand, France was weakened at first by resistance of the nobles to the increasing authority of ministers and the king, by wars with the Huguenots, from the fact that France had as yet no navy, and because her new armies were no match for the soldiers of Spain.

France in the Thirty Years' War

The first blow at Spain and the empire was struck in northern Italy. By the Peace of Cherasco (1631) the French gained some advantage. In Germany where Spain and the emperor and the Catholic states were fighting against the Protestant states, Richelieu assisted the Protestants and encouraged Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden to help them. For a short time, after the destruction of the Catholic army at Breitenfeld (1631), the emperor and his allies were reduced to despair, and Gustavus seemed so powerful that France wished his power to be reduced. But at Lützen next year Gustavus was killed, and in 1634 the Protestants and their Swedish allies were completely defeated at Nördlingen. After this their only hope seemed to lie in larger assistance from France, in return for which they put themselves completely under her guidance.

Failure of the first French campaigns

The French government now made great efforts, and gave large assistance. It became the leader and mover of the opponents of the emperor, so that in the Germanies the struggle, hitherto essentially a war of religion, was now mostly a political contest between the emperor and his enemies, especially France. At the same time France

engaged in decisive struggle with the emperor's ally, Spain. In the course of this conflict the German countries were largely ruined. At first, however, the French were everywhere unsuccessful. They were beaten on the German frontier, and in 1636 a Spanish army from the Netherlands invaded France. But the French armies were improved, and France's allies won new successes. Spain's line of communication with the Netherlands by sea was cut, and the rising French navy soon controlled the western Mediterranean also. Roussillon and Cerdagne were overrun, Savoy was entered, and fortresses captured on the upper Rhine. In 1643, at this moment of triumph, Richelieu died, and his master, Louis XIII, a little later that year. But French policy continued unbroken, for the new king, Louis XIV (1643–1715), was a child, and owing to the influence of his mother, Anne of Austria, the chief direction of affairs was entrusted to Richelieu's disciple, the Italian Giulio Mazzarini, now the French Cardinal Mazarin.

Triumph of Richelieu

Successes more splendid were to follow. A Spanish army from the Netherlands crossed the northeastern frontier. It was annihilated at the Battle of Rocroy (1643) by the French under Condé. This battle marked the beginning of French military supremacy in Europe, as it marked the end of Spain's greatness in war. During the two following years the upper Rhineland was conquered by France. In 1648 the emperor gave up the struggle. By the Peace of Westphalia France obtained Alsace, and formally annexed Metz, Toul, and Verdun. With Spain the struggle continued. The Spaniards were nearly exhausted, but France was greatly weakened by the war of the *Fronde*. In 1656, however, Mazarin made an alliance with the English republic, which, under Cromwell, had suddenly become one of the strong military powers of Europe. The Spaniards were swept from the seas, the allies inflicted on their army a crushing defeat in the Battle of the Dunes (1657), and soon half the Spanish Netherlands

Spain overthrown by France

England assists France to destroy Spanish power

was overrun. In 1659 Spain also succumbed. By the Treaty of the Pyrenees France obtained the district of Artois and certain towns in the northeast, and she completed her Pyrenean frontier by acquiring Roussillon and Cerdagne.

The greatness of France

France had become by far the most powerful state in Europe. She had the largest number of civilized people living under one competent and centralized governmental system. For the most part her frontiers were now strong, as those of her neighbors were weak. Her extensive coasts were secure, and her boundaries on land were guarded by the Vosges, the Alps, and the Pyrenees Mountains. Only on the east and the northeast could her safety be easily threatened. So now it was the ambition of French statesmen to obtain the Spanish Netherlands and extend their country to the Rhine.

The age of Louis XIV

The period that followed was one of greater glory and renown, and of greater power for a while; but it presently led to disaster and failure. Mazarin died in 1661, whereupon Louis XIV took direction of the government himself. He was a man of powerful endurance, untiring industry, excellent in organization and routine, lacking the higher qualities of genius, but of considerable talent, and with much ability in diplomatic affairs. He inherited the benefits of the constructive work of the two great ministers who preceded his administration. For some time he had about him officials whom Richelieu and Mazarin had trained. For some years France went forward in prosperity and triumph. But Louis XIV had not first-rate ability himself, nor could he replace his great assistants, as they died, with new ministers of equal skill. Moreover, he deliberately set forth on the way of excessive arrogance and ambition, in the course of which a large part of Europe combined against him. France was involved in exhausting and ruinous wars; and the long reign, begun with such brilliant promise, ended in defeat and disaster.

Less able than the great ministers who preceded

Splendor and greatness of France

All this was less apparent to contemporaries than it was to the generation that followed. To those who lived in his time Louis was the *Grand Monarque*, greatest of the great, the pattern for other rulers to follow, if they could. His court was the most brilliant in Europe. He was the munificent patron of men of letters and art, and a host of great writers added to the glory of France in his time. French writers, French style, French art, French methods and ways of doing things were everywhere studied and envied. France was the center of Europe, and the leader of European culture.

Power of the king in the government

The government of France was now vested entirely in the king. He was commander-in-chief and principal director of the army and the navy; he was maker and giver of laws (*ordonnances*); he had complete control of taxation and finance; he appointed and dismissed all officials at pleasure; he had complete control of the administration of government and the execution of laws. Such, in theory, had been the prerogative of many medieval rulers. In practice, however, because they lacked effective organization of their government, they had almost never been able to exercise such powers over wide area or over many subjects. Now, as a result of work begun by Charles V and completed by Richelieu, an effective bureaucracy of officials did the will of the king in all parts of his kingdom. In some countries, notably in England, royal power had been limited or checked by other institutions; but in France by the middle of the seventeenth century the *états généraux* had fallen into disuse, and the political power of the nobles was altogether broken. There was no longer any check on the power of the king. In France what pleased the ruler was law, and Louis XIV might justly have declared, what he is reported to have said: "*L'État, c'est moi*" (I am the state).

"*L'État, c'est moi*"

These extensive powers the king necessarily exercised with the help of ministers who assisted and advised him.

Councils assisting kings in their government

In England the king's council of the Middle Ages developed into various courts and councils. At the beginning of the seventeenth century there were in England besides the great law courts the Court of Star Chamber and the privy council. With the assistance of these two bodies the king of England, except in so far as he was compelled to consult the wishes of parliament, carried on the government of England. From the privy council a select body of more important advisers, the cabinet council, was just beginning to emerge. Later on, during the age of Louis XIV, the executive and important administrative work of governing England were carried on by the king with his ministers of the cabinet council and with some assistance also from the larger privy council. There was similar development in France, except that a strong and active monarch like Louis XIV actually kept more power to himself.

Conseil du roi, conseil d'état

There had been in medieval France a *conseil du roi* (king's council), the supreme conciliar body of the kingdom. As time went on, the members of this group attended to different kinds of business, and so seemed to form separate bodies, as the *conseil privé* (privy council) for judicial affairs, and the *conseil d'état* (council of state) for diplomatic and administrative matters. The members of these two bodies, however, were actually the same group of members of the king's council, acting now for one purpose and now for another. This was the case in contemporary England where for one sort of business the king's assistants composed the privy council, while for another they formed the Court of Star Chamber. Under Henry IV in France, as under James I in England, a small body of four or six councillors assisted the king in his most important affairs. Since meetings were frequently held in a room (*cabinet*) of the royal residence, this powerful and secret council was by the time of Louis XIII known as *conseil de cabinet*. Under Louis XIV, and afterward, this cabinet council continued to be the most important ad-

Conseil de cabinet

visory and executive body in the kingdom. But whereas in England later on the cabinet took from the king nearly all of his power, in France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it always remained, what it afterward was in the United States, a council assistant and strictly subordinate to the supreme executive official. In France, as in England, one of the important ministers was often obviously more important than his colleagues, and was known as first or prime minister. So there was on several occasions a *premier ministre* in France. But whereas in England the prime minister later on became head of the government and principal executive official in place of the king, in France he was prominent only in particular periods, as Richelieu under the retiring Louis XIII, Mazarin during the youth of Louis XIV, and, later on, certain great ministers during the minority or indolence of Louis XV.

Premier ministre: "the prime man of the state"

Administration of justice was carried on in the courts of the king, of which the highest was the *parlement* of Paris. This body had continued to be, what for a long time the High Court of Parliament in England also was, the supreme, central judicial court of the realm. It heard appeals from lower courts, issued injunctions (*arrêts*), and formally registered public acts such as ordinances of the king and treaties of peace. Under this tribunal were the various provincial *parlements*, established at various times, from the *parlement* of Toulouse instituted in 1443 to the *parlement* of Nancy, for Lorraine, in 1769. The great mass of the petty law cases were decided by such local officials as the *bailli*, the *sénéschal*, the *prévôt*, as in England similar matters were administered by justices of the peace.

Courts and administration of justice

The central government was supported by revenue obtained from various sources. In the Middle Ages the kings of France, as was the case with kings in England and elsewhere, derived the greater part of this revenue from their own estates, from feudal incidents or payments, and

Revenue and taxation

from payments to their courts of law. In course of time these financial resources had been supplemented and mostly superseded by taxes more in the modern style. In the seventeenth century the most important direct tax was the *taille*, a tax on land or income, paid almost entirely by the lower classes. Of indirect taxes there were, among others: customs duties, levied largely at the frontiers of the kingdom; the *aide*, a tax on the sale of commodities; and the *gabelle*, or payment for salt, which was sold under the monopoly of the crown. By the seventeenth century, taxation and royal finance were altogether controlled by the king.

Taille, aide and gabelle

The power and success that attended the earlier years of Louis XIV resulted largely from work of the able ministers and generals who worked along with him. Turenne was the greatest commander of his time. The army and the administration of army affairs were admirably organized by Louvois. The foreign office and management of diplomatic affairs were as skilfully managed by Lionne. Most striking of all was the work done in financial reform and domestic administration by Colbert. He found the finances in confusion and France very nearly bankrupt. He speedily brought order and improvement, and he enforced honesty upon those who collected the revenue for the king. The amount of the revenue was greatly increased at the same time that Colbert strove to make it easier for the subjects to pay. By every means he encouraged trade and manufactures, and whatever would make the realm more productive. He improved roads, he constructed canals, he promoted colonial enterprise, and in all ways encouraged French manufactures. To stimulate French industry, a protective system was adopted, which consisted in removing all customs duties from French manufactures exported, at the same time that competing wares from abroad were subjected to heavy import taxes. In all respects his policy was very success-

The great ministers of Louis XIV

Colbert

ful. French commerce and manufactures rapidly increased, and along with them national wealth and the revenue yielded to the king. On the basis of all this solid material prosperity was erected a mighty naval and military power. Soon an excellent navy rivalled the fleets of England and of Holland, the principal maritime powers then. In the French military camps often as many as 150,000 soldiers were kept busy at drill. In war 200,000 trained soldiers could go to the field, and in grave emergency double that number.

Increase of French prosperity and power

At the time of Mazarin's death it was obvious that the place of Spain as dominant power in Europe had been completely taken by France. Her rapidly developing strength now seemed to make it possible for Louis XIV to continue his predecessors' work, and go farther forward than they in ambition, aggrandizement, and aggression.

France the first power in Europe

In 1662 he purchased from the needy Charles II of England Dunkirk, which Cromwell's soldiers had obtained for their country when they helped beat the Spaniards in Flanders. It was now made a fortified seaport from which France watched the narrow part of the Channel. Three years later, when his father-in-law, the king of Spain, died, Louis claimed, by the law of devolution, the Spanish Netherlands as the just inheritance of his wife. In the so-called War of Devolution (1667) he overran a large part of this country. Next year, however, he was opposed by the Triple Alliance, of Holland, England, and Sweden. Louis yielded in part, but by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668) he received from the Spanish Netherlands a group of fortress towns that made safer his frontier in this quarter.

The northeastern frontier made stronger

Louis had been thwarted principally by the Dutch Netherlands led by Holland. Upon them he burned to take vengeance. First he detached their allies. With England he made the secret Treaty of Dover (1670). Then Sweden, the old ally of France, became her ally

Conquest of the Dutch Netherlands attempted

again (1672). In 1672 England and France declared war on the Dutch. At once a great French army traversed the country, and Amsterdam might have been taken. But while the French hesitated, the Dutch cut the dikes, and the inrushing waters drove out the French as once they had driven back the Spaniards. Meanwhile, in a desperate naval battle, Admiral de Ruyter defeated the English fleet while the French fleet idly looked on. England soon withdrew from the conflict. On the other hand, the emperor and various princes came to the assistance of Holland. An exhausting contest followed in which France was definitely checked. In 1678 Louis accepted the Treaty of Nymwegen (Nijmwegen) by which he got nothing from Holland, and restored some places in the Spanish Netherlands to Spain. Nevertheless, he gained Franche-Comté—a province on his eastern frontier, once part of Burgundy, and since long ruled by the Spanish Hapsburgs—as well as virtual control of Lorraine.

Louis thwarted, but obtains Franche-Comté

Beginning of decline and disaster

Actually this struggle marked the beginning of a decline of French power, though decline was not yet very striking. Other failures and disasters followed. One by one passed away the ablest of the king's ministers and helpers. His policy of superiority and European greatness involved him in a bitter quarrel with the pope. He was at the same time a very devout Roman Catholic, and he resolved to have religious uniformity in his dominions. This was, indeed, the religion of the great majority of his subjects, but there were also some hundreds of thousands of Huguenots in France. To them Henry IV in the Edict of Nantes had guaranteed religious toleration, and this toleration had been allowed them by the policy of Richelieu later on.

Persecution of the Huguenots

The Huguenots, now peaceable and loyal subjects of the king, were much more important through wealth and position than numbers. Louis first strove to convert them by imposing penalties, disabilities, and repression upon those who were steadfast, and rewarding those who abandoned

their church. The more earnest and prosperous tried to escape from the country; they were forbidden under the horrible penalty of being sent to serve in the galleys. In 1683 a revolt broke out, and its suppression was followed next year by the *dragonnades* or quartering of the king's dragoons in the households of Protestants until they accepted the Catholic religion. In 1685 the Edict of Nantes was revoked, and Protestantism was thenceforth as unlawful in France as in Italy or Spain. The Huguenots now were proscribed as were Catholics in England and in Ireland. In England, however, the laws against Catholics were not then enforced severely, and in Ireland though they degraded the Celtic inhabitants they did not destroy their faith. In France also some Huguenots continued to hold out in the mountainous country of the Cévennes in the south, and in the next reign some religious toleration was granted again.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes

After 1685, however, Protestantism mostly disappeared in France. Many Huguenots gave up in despair and accepted Catholicism. Thousands fled to other countries, where they strengthened the enemies of France and themselves remained implacable foes of the land of their fathers. Some of the French industries which they had developed now withered away. Afterward it was often said that the crushing of these Protestants was as costly to France as expelling the Moriscoes had once been to Spain.

French Protestantism mostly destroyed, at much cost

Political causes, mingled with religious motives, now led to a greater struggle. Catholic neighbors feared aggression and spoliation by France. The Protestant peoples near by had similar dread and they feared also that Louis would extend Catholicism wherever he could. The Dutch had long had fear; after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes the English became apprehensive. The leader of the Dutch Netherlands was the stadholder, William, prince of Orange, a man not brilliant, but careful, cautious, unusually able, and in the end exceedingly successful. He

William of Orange the great opponent of Louis XIV

had led Holland against France in the crisis of the last war. It had come to be his tireless and increasing ambition to oppose the designs of Louis XIV. Hitherto his task had often seemed nearly hopeless. England and Holland together might lead successful opposition against France; but through most of the reign of Charles II (1660–1685), the king of England was a secret ally or pensioner of Louis, and James II (1685–1688), who followed, was mostly bent on restoring Catholicism in England. At this time, however, a great alteration occurred. The English Protestant leaders invited William over to assist them, and Louis, who might easily have prevented the expedition, did not oppose. Louis desired at the moment to embarrass James, and did not foresee what would follow. At once James fled from England, and next year William and his wife, Mary, daughter of James, became sovereigns of the country. Louis tried to restore the fugitive, whereupon it was easy for William to unite the resources of England with those of the Dutch against France.

England and Holland come under one ruler

A long and terrible war ensued, France against England, Holland, and the empire. There were sanguinary battles and grim, protracted sieges; but no great general appeared to carry out brilliant military operations and win sweeping campaigns. The French captured the great fortresses of Mons and Namur (1691) and won the battles of Steenkerke (1692) and Neerwinden (1693). But the tide was gradually turned, and William recaptured Namur (1695). Greater events occurred on the sea. At first the French fleet under Tourville defeated the combined fleets of the allies off Beachy Head (1690), in the Channel, and for a while had command of the sea. A little later, however, he was crushingly defeated off La Hogue (1692), near Cherbourg. The allies thenceforth kept command of the sea. French privateers did enormous damage, but there was no longer for the French any hope of reaching England or restoring James II to his throne. Nor could Louis

Exhausting contest with England, Holland, and the empire

Ruin of French naval power

conquer his other opponents. France was almost completely exhausted, and her enemies nearly as much. By the Treaty of Ryswick or Rijswijk (1697) France gained Strasburg from the empire, but acknowledged William as king of England, and lost some of her colonies to England. The French navy was ruined; French finances were in utter confusion; the nation needed a long period for rest to recover. Moreover, William remained in reality triumphant, ready to lead again the enemies of France.

Treaty of Ryswick

Before any of the combatants had time to recover, a more terrible war completed the prostration of France. In 1700 the childless king of Spain, Charles II, dying left the Spanish empire and all its possessions to a grandson of Louis XIV. Against the possibility of such enormous increase in the power and wealth to be disposed of by France, her rivals and enemies combined in the Grand Alliance (1701) led by William and England. William died as the struggle began, but his work was carried on by capable statesmen, by the emperor's general—Prince Eugene of Savoy, and by Marlborough—the greatest general whom England ever produced.

France against the Grand Alliance, 1701-14

In the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14) French armies triumphed in Spain. Elsewhere they sustained a series of crushing defeats: Blenheim (1704), Turin (1706), Ramillies (1706), and Oudenarde (1708). Marlborough was, indeed, checked in his costly and useless victory at Malplaquet (1709); but France was at last near the very end of resources, and the allies could probably have taken Paris later on. However, the allies, especially England, were also weary of the struggle. In 1710 a political party hostile to Marlborough and in favor of peace got control of the government of England. Shortly after, English ministers began to treat separately with France for a peace, and the alliance soon fell to pieces. Hence, much better terms were obtained than France might have expected. By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) and the Treaty

The War of the Spanish Succession

France defeated holds out

of Rastadt made with the emperor next year, France lost some of her colonies, but kept the frontiers she had formerly won, while the French prince remained on the throne of Spain. France continued to be the principal state of Europe, but she could no longer threaten all of the others. She had now a near and potent rival in England, all-powerful at sea. She would need a full generation of peace to recover from the exhaustion of the conflict. A year later the reign of Louis XIV came to its long-deferred end. The circumstances and time of his greatness had passed completely. Like Elizabeth of England once, he had lived on beyond those who knew him and loved him. France had, indeed, just saved herself, but the dazzling course of *Le Roi Soleil* (the Sun King) had sunk in gloom and disaster.

France no longer so superior to the others

Louis XV (1715–1774), great-grandson of Louis XIV, came to the throne a child. In his minority France was ruled by the regent, the duke of Orléans. The government strove to give France an era of peace for recovery of prosperity and strength. Foreign policy was largely directed by the Abbé Dubois. In 1717, as a result of his work, France joined her recent enemies, England and Holland, in the Triple Alliance, to maintain the settlement made at Utrecht and preserve the tranquillity of Europe. A year later this became the Quadruple Alliance, when the empire was added, after which the settlement of the Treaty of Utrecht was modified to the satisfaction of the emperor, and somewhat to the advantage of Spain.

Accession of Louis XV

These treaties were not popular in France, but peace and returning prosperity were possible largely in consequence of them. With peace and reviving prosperity came a period of reckless expansion culminating in the Mississippi Scheme of the Scotsman, John Law (1717), the wild speculation of the Mississippi "Bubble" (1719-20), and the collapse and panic that followed. Thereafter, industry and commerce continued to recover, and slowly

The regent desires tranquillity and peace

wealth increased once more, until the ravages of the wars of the era preceding were, as is usual, forgotten. After 1726 Cardinal Fleury, who had actually been first minister for some years, conducted foreign affairs. In general, his policy was pacific. Like Walpole, chief minister in Great Britain at this time, he desired to keep peace and the existing arrangements.

A new generation with new ambitions

It was the policy of these ministers to maintain friendship between the two countries. It proved to be impossible to do this, however, in the long run. Divergence of interests caused antagonism to grow between the two nations, at the same time that their nearness made conflict of their interests acute. As a new generation grew up, the policy of friendship with England and peace with the other neighbors was slowly abandoned. As France recovered and grew stronger and stronger ambitious leaders desired to resume the career of predominance and expansion. Meanwhile, changing circumstances elsewhere brought dangerous and difficult crises. With utmost desire for peace it would often have been difficult to keep it. So, during much of the eighteenth century, France was involved in wars that produced great exhaustion, involved large losses, and brought dissolution at the century's end. For empire, for trade, for colonial possessions, she resumed with England a second "Hundred Years' War."

France wins Lorraine

First, France took part in a general European contest known as the War of the Polish Succession (1733–8), in which Russia and the empire accomplished their purposes in Poland, while France and Spain, aided somewhat by Savoy, defeated the emperor in Italy and on the Rhine. By the Third Treaty of Vienna (1738) France obtained for Stanislaus, whom she had supported for the throne of Poland, the German Duchy of Lorraine, with reversion to herself at his death. In this manner she extended her frontier eastward with a valuable acquisition that added much to her strength. Spain, the ally of France, obtained

France and Spain establish a Bourbon in Sicily and Naples

for her prince, Don Carlos, Sicily, Naples, and the ports of Tuscany. So the Bourbons, who had long ruled in France, and who had ruled in Spain since 1700, held southern Italy also now. Thenceforth, when the members of the Bourbon family acted together, as often they did, they were, what the Hapsburgs once had been, the most powerful dynastic group in Europe.

For some years longer France grew steadily in prosperity and power, and French diplomats and statesmen were again the leaders in Europe. Abroad—in America and in India, a colonial empire was being built up and boldly extended. In 1739 Spain, the friend of France, became involved in war with England. Meanwhile, differences between England and France constantly were growing larger. At the same time the question of the Austrian succession was threatening the peace of Europe, as the question of the Spanish succession once had threatened it. On the death of the Emperor Charles VI, in 1740, several of the surrounding powers attempted to seize what they could of the Austrian possessions. Two years before, when France secured the reversion of Lorraine, she had guaranteed the *Pragmatic Sanction* or settlement which the emperor wished to follow his death. When now Frederick II of Prussia seized the Austrian province of Silesia the French, notwithstanding that conflict with England was probable in the near future, joined Frederick in attacking the emperor's daughter, heiress to the Austrian possessions.

Conflict with England approaches and conflict with Austria begins

The War of the Austrian Succession

In the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–8) Frederick of Prussia, after striking victories, made a separate peace with Austria (1742), keeping what he had seized. Two years later he joined France against Austria again. Meanwhile, England gave assistance to Maria Theresa. Gradually the character of the war was changed. It became now essentially a contest between England and Austria against France and Spain. In this war the French

were defeated at Dettingen in Germany (1743) and met with much failure. On the other hand, they won a great victory at Fontenoy in Flanders (1745) and completely overran the Austrian Netherlands, the country, once a Spanish possession, so often desired by France. Meanwhile, the English navy gained complete command of the sea. France could not hold her colonies, and her commerce was nearly ruined.

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle: France gains nothing

The struggle was brought to an end by the general European Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), by which no great changes were made, after all the expenditure of treasure and blood. For the most part the Pragmatic Sanction was now formally accepted, though Frederick kept Silesia and Glatz, and Spain got for one of her princes certain territories in northern Italy. Otherwise, Maria Theresa kept her inheritance, and her husband was acknowledged emperor, as her father had been. France gave up the conquests she had made, and received back Louisbourg and Cape Breton Island in North America, which England had taken. Between England and Spain matters were left very much as they had been.

French government and administration decadent

Louis XV, long since come of age, took no important part in ruling his country. He was peaceful and not without good intentions; but he resigned himself largely to pleasure, debauchery, and ease. The government was carried on mostly by his ministers, and they had often to defer to his mistresses, especially Madame de Pompadour, a woman of personal charm but without knowledge or ability in affairs. For France peace was very desirable; good administration and reform were essential. But scarcely any reforms were made; administration was not improved; the army was not strengthened; the navy was allowed further to decay.

Another great contest was approaching. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had left some of the deepest differences in Europe unsettled. Rivalry between England and

War approaches again

France concerning possessions in India and in North America was bitterer each year. In Europe Maria Theresa yearned to avenge the wrong done her by Prussia and to possess Silesia again. Zealously in secret her ministers worked for a great combination of allies to help to overwhelm Prussia completely. Even France, the old and constant enemy, was approached. At first there was no success, but after a while she was won. What contemporaries regarded as a diplomatic revolution now took place. After enmity with the House of Hapsburg since the era of Charles V, France concluded an alliance with Austria by the Treaty of Versailles (1756). Two years before this time fighting had begun between Frenchmen and Englishmen in their far-away colonial possessions. During 1755 French warships and merchantmen were seized by the English. At the beginning of 1756 the English government, by the Convention of Westminster, made alliance with Prussia, against whom England had fought in the war preceding.

The diplomatic revolution, 1756

The Seven Years' War

In the great European struggle known as the Seven Years' War (1756–63), which now began, France and Austria together with Russia and many of the German states, fought against Prussia, Hanover, and England. In central Europe the combination against Prussia was at first generally successful. Frederick's territories were partly overrun, his resources exhausted in the unequal struggle, and Berlin at one time taken. During the earlier years also the French had much success against the English in North America and in the far east. But the tide was presently turned by the military genius of Frederick the Great and the ability of Pitt, the prime minister of Great Britain. Russia deserted the opponents of Frederick, and he by brilliant victories and wonderful campaigns frustrated every effort to crush him. Meanwhile, the French fleets were annihilated by the British navy. French commanders in India, in the West Indies, in Canada, in the

The French navy destroyed

central valley of North America, cut off from reinforcement and support, were presently overcome by the superior resources of the British. In 1759 the French were everywhere crushed with disaster. In that year their fleet was destroyed in successive battles; their principal army was routed at Minden in Germany; and Canada was conquered. Next year, by the defeat at Wandewash, French power in India was destroyed. It was of no avail that as a result of the Family Compact (1761) Spain came to the assistance of France. The French could not retrieve their losses, and soon the British had taken from Spain possessions in all parts of the world. In 1762 the French lost Louisiana, Martinique—their principal possession in the West Indies, and other islands there, while in western Germany they had no success. Meanwhile, England defended Portugal against Spain, and captured Havana in Cuba and Manila in the Philippine Islands.

A year of terrible disasters, 1759

From this contest Prussia emerged exhausted but safe and possessed of what she had seized in 1740. By the Peace of Hubertusburg (1763), concerning Austria, Prussia, and Saxony, Maria Theresa definitively abandoned Silesia and Glatz to Frederick, while he restored what he had taken from Saxony, Austria's ally. At the same time the Treaty of Paris (1763) was concluded in respect of England, Portugal, France, and Spain. By this treaty France and Spain restored whatever they had taken from Portugal, England's ally. Great Britain was the principal gainer, and now entirely displaced France as the foremost European power. To England Spain yielded Florida and commercial rights in Honduras Bay. The greatest losses were borne by France. To Great Britain she abandoned all her North American possessions on the mainland save Louisiana and some of her West Indian Islands. She lost all political power in India, retaining certain trading posts there, but leaving it to England to conquer a great Indian empire. In compensation for efforts and losses,

The Treaty of Paris, humiliation of France

Loss of the French colonial empire

in her behalf, France ceded to Spain New Orleans along with her vast possession of Louisiana, west of the Mississippi River. So, in 1763, France had lost India and North America. In Canada she was forced to abandon a considerable French population, left thereafter to develop at a distance under British rule. France was now wearied and disheartened by disaster. Taxes were high and the public debt was enormous. French commerce was ruined for the time and the French navy had all but disappeared. In the age-long struggle England had for the moment won complete and resplendent triumph.

France loses primacy to England

Recovery of strength

None the less, after 1763, as after so many disasters in the past, France soon began to recover. Choiseul, a wise and capable minister, had charge of affairs. In foreign relations France and Spain acted in amity and concord. At home there was some amendment. Conditions were bad enough and Louis XV, whose long and inglorious reign was slowly drawing to its end, was said sometimes to utter the cynical remark, *Après moi le déluge* (after me the deluge). Actually, conditions in France were essentially better than in any other great country of Europe, with the exception of England, to whom rising industry, great commercial expansion, and remarkable success in war had given exceeding prosperity and power. France greatly needed long years of peace, Then, wiser and more vigorous administration might restore her to the position naturally hers. After 1763 much was accomplished. Peace was kept; the army was improved; construction of a new and powerful navy was begun. In 1766, on the death of Stanislaus Leszczynski, Lorraine reverted to the crown and was formally annexed to France. Two years later—and only one year before Napoleon Bonaparte was born—Corsica, the large island off the southern coast, was purchased from the feeble republic of Genoa, which was no longer able to hold it. There was also among Frenchmen much hope that after Louis XV was gone his successor

Hope for greater amendment

and the new spirit and desire for improvement would make things very much better.

Louis XVI and his queen

This hope was realized only a little, and after a few years the Old Régime in France was ended by violent revolution, which afterward seemed to have been inevitable, but which beforehand not many expected. Louis XVI (1774–1792) was a well-meaning man of excellent character, but without ability as a statesman, with small strength of mind and little decision. To perpetuate the understanding made with Austria at the beginning of the Seven Years' War he had been married to Marie Antoinette, one of the daughters of Maria Theresa. His queen, like the wife of Charles I of England a long time before, often meddled in governmental matters and influenced her husband to unwise decisions. The disasters that followed were by no means due entirely to the evil state of the country, but partly to the weakness of the government that presided.

Old conditions remain

In some of the European countries then conditions had changed, so that increasingly as time went on there was greater necessity of making changes in government and procedure and custom to conform therewith. Old privileges like manorial jurisdiction and feudal authority, old methods of collecting taxes, ancient rights of corporations and restrictions by guilds, old machinery of government and spirit of administration, had been gradually formed during a long time or had come down from past generations. In course of time new conditions made many things appear less proper than once they had seemed. At the same time there was in France, as in all old countries then, a great deal of conservative instinct and feeling, while the privileged classes were little disposed to permit alteration or reform. Hence reform and change of procedure lagged far behind the alteration that time was producing. Meanwhile, in France, more than in any other of the old countries then, the high civilization and the

Reform, as in ordinary course, comes slowly

prosperity that had come despite the recurring wars, had produced an intellectual movement, a bold spirit of speculation about existing abuses, and eager theorizing about possible reforms and improvement. This unrest of mind and philosophic radicalism were generally tolerated by the authorities, and many opponents took an intellectual interest in it; while a great many in all classes believed that reforms should be made. Economists taught that old restrictions ought to be removed. Admirers of England believed that the royal power in France should be limited and assisted by a parliamentary body. Thoughtful Frenchmen had no doubt that the government must keep peace and foster the industry of the nation, lighten taxes so as to relieve some classes, impose other taxes to increase the revenue, retrench expenditure, and reduce the national debt. Very fascinating to the most ardent and eager spirits of the time was the new doctrine that all men were equal and should have equal opportunities and rights. Most people could not yet conceive of the possibility of the truth of such a doctrine.

Intellectual interest and unrest

Reforms of Turgot

The reign began well, in the midst of high hopes. A group of able ministers, under the lead of the statesman and economist Turgot, was given charge of affairs. Some excellent reforms were made. Restrictions on trade were removed, abuses remedied in the system of taxes, and the *corvée*, or work-tax of the peasants, abolished. Turgot would have gone on to other reforms—the summoning of the states general and abolishing of *lettres de cachet*, or orders by which men could be imprisoned merely at the government's will. The changes made and proposed, however, evoked a storm of opposition, and Turgot was dismissed (1776). He was followed by Necker, who during the next five years undertook to restore the finances.

Actually no essential change in the governmental system of France had been made. Some improvement had come, however, and in time more might have followed.

Quiet, prosperity, and improvement

During these years of peace there was much prosperity, and large development in agriculture, industry, and commerce. The army was strengthened and restored, until it was brought back to the efficiency of former times. Probably most Frenchmen then had no reason to doubt that the reforms they thought desirable or needed might be made—as usually they had been in the past—by gradual alteration and adjustment. With wise management and strong rule this might have been accomplished. Such was not the event. The king lacked strength and decision; good ministers were hampered or dismissed; and France embarked in another war by which her finances were utterly ruined.

France, Great Britain, and America

In the Seven Years' War France had been defeated and mercilessly humbled by Great Britain. By the Treaty of Paris her colonial empire had been virtually taken by England. The British held all the western half of North America now. To their thirteen colonies on the Atlantic coast of that continent—by far the most important part of their colonial empire then—had been added Canada and the country between the mountains and the Mississippi River, which England had taken from France. Between the British colonies in North America and the mother country causes of friction had long been increasing. Before 1763 the colonies were very dependent upon England through dread of the French near by. After the Treaty of Paris this cause of fear was removed, and the quarrel with England increased, as French statesmen had hoped and foreseen when the treaty was made. In 1775 the Thirteen Colonies revolted, and next year declared independence of England. Help was at once sought from France, and secretly and cautiously given. Continued peace was much needed by France, but the opportunity seemed excellent to strike at England and get revenge for the recent defeats. At the same time French liberals and enthusiasts burned to assist liberty everywhere.

Thirteen English colonies revolt

Revenge on England bought with financial ruin

The French government waited only to be sure that the colonists could make effective resistance. When this was evident France declared war upon England (1778). Her intervention was decisive. There was an excellent French navy once more, while the British fleets had been allowed to decline. French soldiers were sent to America, and French control of the sea made possible the establishment of American independence. Assisted by Spain the French gained victories in many parts of the world. The chance of large gains, however, was ruined by a crushing naval defeat off Les Saintes in the West Indies (1782), after which England again had command of the sea. None the less, Britain was thoroughly humbled. By the Treaty of Versailles (1783) she acknowledged the independence of the revolted Americans, and gave back to France and to Spain some of the possessions taken twenty years before.

France wins back a few possessions

Consequences of French intervention

France purchased this triumph dearly. The expenses had been enormous, and beyond her ability to bear. The public debt was now greatly increased. The finances never could be adjusted, nor some of the graver abuses reformed, unless the old system of taxation was altered. When the remedy was sought late and weakly, revolution burst like a great storm over the land. The intervention of France in the American war of independence was, perhaps—in the light of later developments—the most important event in the history of the eighteenth century. On the one hand, it effected the disruption of the older British empire, and the separation of the English-speaking peoples; on the other it led directly to the French Revolution.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE RISE OF ENGLAND

> Kepe than the see, that is the walle of Englond,
> And than is Englond kepte by Goddes sonde. . . .
> *The Libel of English Policy* (c. 1437): T. Wright, *Political Poems and Songs relating to English History*, ii. 202.

> Al be it the kynges maiestie iustely and rightefully is and oweth to be the supreme head of the churche of Englande, and so is recognized by the clergie of this realme in their Conuocacions, yet neverthelesse for corroboracion . . . therof. . . . Be it enacted by auctoritie of this present parliament, that the king our soueraigne lorde, his heires and successours, kynges of this realme, shall be taken accepted and reputed the onely supreme head in erthe of the churche of Englande, called *Anglicana Ecclesia*. . . . .
> *Statutes of the Realm of England:* 26 Henry VIII. cap. i (1534).

> The laws of this country are in truth very different from those of all others, as they make no distinction of persons. . . .
> Conversation of Sir Francis Windebank, secretary of state, with Angelo Correr, Venetian ambassador (1635): *Venetian Transcripts*, xix. 68.

England more important in the Middle Ages than later

During the Middle Ages England held more important position than afterward she could for a long time. It is true, she lay on the outskirts of Europe, distant from older centers of culture and the important influences of that time. True also, she was small, far less in size than the lands of neighboring peoples. In an age, however, when feudalism was the principal characteristic of political organization, when numerous jurisdictions were ruled by lords heeding little any common superior authority, England was organized under one government ruled by a king with actual authority over all his domain which was more than that of any secular sovereign near by.

The strongest government in western Europe

After the Norman Conquest, and following the reforms and regulations of William I, Henry I, and Henry II (1066–1189), the central government of England was more strongly organized and better obeyed than any other in Europe save only that which in Constantinople ruled the dying Byzantine Empire. Hence, the English were often able to take part in affairs far beyond what their numbers would have seemed to permit. With a population not more than a quarter as great as the French, kings of England were sometimes more powerful than kings of France.

Power and renown

Secure in her insular position, which was ably defended by her expert seamen, England was long the protector of the Flemish cities and the dreaded enemy of France. During some periods kings of England ruled more territory inhabited by Frenchmen than the French kings themselves ruled directly. During the time of the Hundred Years' War, partly from superior tactics and better military equipment, English armies defeated their enemies in France, terribly ravaged the land, and carried their high reputation down into Portugal and Castile.

England's neighbors for a time grow much greater than she

This importance of the English among western European peoples was ended for a long time at the end of the Middle Ages. What English rulers had been able to do in the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries great leaders among the French and the Spaniards accomplished in the fifteenth century and the sixteenth. By 1500 substantially all of the Spanish peninsula excepting Portugal had been welded into the powerful Kingdom of Spain, and much the greater part of modern France had been united under strong kings of France. England became relatively much less important. In earlier times her population of four or five millions under a capable government had often been more effective in war than the twenty millions of the French. In the fifteenth century, however, both governments were strong and effective. France, with four times her numbers and resources, was nearer to other

peoples and nearer the larger affairs. For more than a century England was of little moment in comparison with Spain, and often not more important than Holland. As the power of Spain declined, her position of primacy was taken by France, who was, throughout the seventeenth century, far stronger and greater than England. During this period England did not enlarge her territory in Europe and for some time added only slightly to her wealth and population.

In the sixteenth century England was unimportant

During the seventeenth century especially a beginning was made of the process that would make her so much richer and greater. While Spain was declining and while France was giving most of her attention to affairs in Europe, England was acquiring colonies which became the homes of Englishmen outside of England, and she was steadily enlarging her shipping and commerce to become the chief trading nation in the world.

In the seventeenth century commerce and colonies were won

By the end of the seventeenth century England had become very wealthy and strong. She had the greatest navy in the world, and this made her safe in her insular position. She now became head of the Grand Alliance that contested with France. In the War of the Spanish Succession, France though not crushed was defeated and thoroughly checked. The burden of this war had been heavy upon England, but of all the participants her gains were really the greatest. The menace of France was now for a long time removed. British naval power was supreme. The British colonies were more numerous, more prosperous, more populous, more important. So much was she favored in her fertile island, and so favorable was her island position, so prosperous were her industries becoming, and so flourishing was her ever-growing commerce, that England was far less exhausted at the end of the struggle than any of the other contestants. Actually now she was the greatest of the European states.

England checks France then outstrips her

Then England entered upon two centuries of prosperity

and growth that would make her more potent by far. During the eighteenth century she continued her course of commercial increase and colonial expansion. During the nineteenth century the operation of all these factors and also the effects of the Industrial Revolution caused her expansion to continue and her greatness to increase until at last she was mistress of the mightiest empire that had ever been seen in the world. In the fifteenth century, however, though strong and respected, she was small, and her predominance was completely hid in the future.

End of a period of confusion and weakness

The modern history of England may be said to have begun with the Tudor dynasty, of which the first king was Henry VII (1485–1509). The victory at Bosworth which gave him the crown ended a long period of distress and confusion. During that time the rival houses of Lancaster and York, together with English nobles who gave them support, had contended for supremacy in the Wars of the Roses (1455–85). With some intervals, it had been a period of anarchy, of bloody battles, of sieges, of proscriptions and slaughter. Central authority and law had often been in abeyance. Ordinary men had been oppressed, while nobles and their retainers had done as they would. Henry VII was a strong, able man. To some extent he united the remaining pretensions of both of the factions. His strength was greatly increased because Englishmen were thoroughly weary of the sordid strife and confusion. Above all things they desired stable government, a peaceful and orderly state. The king who could give them these things might rely on the nation's support.

Law and lawful authority weak

The English governmental system

Almost at once Henry strengthened the government of England. That government was in those days vested almost entirely in the king. For some centuries, indeed, since William the Conqueror established his power (1066–1087), a king of England had held in his hands the executive and administrative power and most of the legislative power; the officials were his officials, chosen by him and re-

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sponsible to him; he was commander of the army and the navy; war, peace, and such diplomacy as there was then lay entirely within his hands. A great part of all government business then was judicial, but all the principal courts had come to be courts of the king. No one man, however able, could in any large community attend to duties so onerous and many. Administration, therefore, was very largely supervised by a body of assistants and helpers, who composed the king's council. The central government was carried on by king and council, together with the great central courts—King's Bench and Common Pleas and the exchequer or court of the king's finances—all of which had originated from the king's council. This system of government, well managed and admirably effective for those times, was connected with local government by the king's representatives—sheriffs and others—in the counties or shires, and by the members of his great central law courts who, as itinerant justices, made regular journeys around through the local courts. Worked out by a succession of able administrators and capable kings, this was for a long time the most effective governmental organization in western Europe, save only for the powerful ecclesiastical system worked out by the popes for their church. Since the thirteenth century another organ of government, parliament, had been developing; but its work was mostly concerned with granting money to the king, and though it had acquired a minor power in legislation, the days of its real importance had not yet come.

The king and his council

The most effective secular government in western Europe in the Middle Ages

Such, in theory, continued to be the government of England in the fifteenth century. During that time, however, a line of weak kings, the Lancastrians, had lost a great deal of their power. Government often seemed to be directed by parliament, though it was actually in the hands of the church and the great nobles who controlled the king's council and managed parliament. Then came the period of the Wars of the Roses, when the nobles

Decline during the fifteenth century

leading their retainers revived something of the earlier feudal period, while the king's power further declined. Accordingly, it was the task of Henry VII to strengthen the central government and restore the power of the king.

The Court of Star Chamber

In the lawless period preceding nobles and great men had become so strong that when they transgressed there was often no authority able to coerce them and no court that dared to condemn them. Supported by the armed retainers who wore their livery they terrified local officials as well as their foes. Therefore, in 1487 part of the king's council was given the special task of summoning and trying offenders too powerful to be dealt with in ordinary courts. This was, indeed, merely a particular application of the old judicial work of the king's council—work done often before. The members deputed for this task sat in the Star Chamber, at Whitehall, and the court was known as the Court of Star Chamber. As the importance of the work increased all the members of the king's council participated in it. When they were exercising their special jurisdiction they made the Court of Star Chamber; when they were doing the other administrative and advisory work of the king, they acted as the privy council. A hundred years later Star Chamber was used by the English kings as an engine of oppression. In the beginning, however, it was an excellent device. In a short time it had checked unruliness and disorder and restored the supremacy of the law. Meanwhile, belated enforcement of the Statute of Livery (1390) broke up the bands of retainers who had enabled the great men to do as they pleased.

Star Chamber and privy council were aspects of the king's council

Success of Henry VII

Henry VII was a cautious and able monarch. In the course of his reign he steadily enlarged the power of the king at the same time that he gave ordered government and peace. Offenders were sternly repressed. He encouraged industry and commerce and tried with success to increase the prosperity of the country. By economy and care-

ful administration, by fines upon offenders and by various devices, he gradually amassed a great treasure. At the end of his reign he was the richest European sovereign, and his kingdom was one of the best ruled in Europe.

Wolsey, chief minister of Henry VIII

His son, Henry VIII, succeeded (1509–1547). He was a strong, hearty, full-blooded man, who was to develop great courage and indomitable will. At first he appeared as a lover of gaiety and a patron of the Renaissance. The principal administration was left to his favorite and chief minister, Wolsey, of obscure birth but much ability, who was made archbishop of York. Wolsey desired to play a great part in the diplomatic affairs of Europe, and on the whole he played his part with finesse and skill. By some he is thought to have been one of the chief originators of the doctrine of the balance of power, and since at this juncture the great rivals in western Europe, France and Spain, were both anxious to secure England's support, he was able to make England hold the balance between them. Wolsey also greatly desired some day to be chosen pope. Such position did he attain that he seemed to have increasing chance of gratifying his ambition, when a large alteration brought all of his schemes to naught. His master entered on a violent quarrel with the pope, and Wolsey, wishing to offend neither, was crushed in the struggle between them.

Doctrine of the balance of power

Catharine of Aragon

In the days of Henry VII both France and Spain had sought the friendship of England. Henry had chosen an alliance with Spain. This was arranged in the Treaty of Medina del Campo (1489), which for nearly forty years brought coöperation between England and Spain. One of the results of this arrangement was the marriage of Arthur, prince of Wales, with the *Infanta* Catharine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella (1501). Arthur, still a youth, died next year. To retain the dowry which Catharine had brought, the aged Henry would have married her himself; but after some negotiation a dispensa-

tion was procured from the pope, and she was married to Arthur's brother, afterward Henry VIII.

Henry dissatisfied with Catharine

For many years Henry VIII and Catharine seemed to live happily together. They had several children, but in infancy all of them died, excepting a daughter, Mary. In course of time, lack of a male heir caused great disquietude to the king, as was proper enough. In those days the principal tie that united men under a government was allegiance to the person of their king. Lack of a direct heir was frequently the immediate cause of civil wars between rival factions which tried to place their favorite candidate on the throne. Again and again this had happened in England during the century preceding. There was, indeed, the king's daughter Mary, and one day she would come to the throne; but so far no woman had ever reigned over England. Nor had any attempted to reign since Matilda in the twelfth century, when dreadful anarchy and civil war followed. Moreover, Henry was probably tiring of his wife. About 1526 he fell in love with Anne Boleyn, a gentlewoman attendant on the queen. He now resolved to put Catharine away, and then marry Anne. Despite the papal dispensation it had never, he said, been lawful for him to marry the wife of his brother.

Anne Boleyn

Wishes the pope to declare his marriage invalid

Accordingly, he entered a plea with the pope that his present marriage be annulled as unlawful. Such things were then done so, but, altogether irrespective of the ethical and legal questions involved in this case, the pope, Clement VII, found himself in a difficult position. He was unwilling to offend so zealous a supporter as Henry; yet he dreaded to displease the emperor, Charles V, who was nephew of Catharine, and the most powerful potentate with whom Italians then had to deal. He tried to postpone a decision by lengthy and protracted investigations. By 1529 the king's patience was exhausted. Wolsey was cast aside, ruined and disgraced. Henry now gave his ear

Fall of Wolsey

to a new counsellor, Thomas Cromwell, a strong man, and a disciple of the new rules of politics and morality which Machiavelli of Florence had taught. The king was advised to settle the matter by bold measures of his own.

The plan of Thomas Cromwell

In effect, the scheme was that since the pope, head of the Catholic Church, would not annul the marriage, Henry should separate the Catholic Church in England from Rome, and as head of this church in England, himself declare the marriage to be void. Accordingly, now, an ecclesiastical revolution began. What Henry did at first was probably carried out with no great disapproval from most of his people. Legally, what he did was done not solely by his decree, but by laws passed in parliaments, which were to some extent representative of the people. Part of the church organization and many of the clergy had long been unpopular, and people had before this cried out for change and reform.

The English church made subject to the king

The separation was boldly undertaken. In 1532 convocation—the assembly of the clergy, was compelled to agree not to pass any church regulations in the future without royal license. Furthermore, the existing body of church regulations must be submitted to a committee appointed by the king; and only the regulations approved by the committee would be valid. This was agreed to in a document known as the "Submission of the Clergy." Shortly after, the pope was deprived of the revenue which he drew from England through a statute that abolished annates. During all this time Henry's favor toward Anne increased. The pope warned him upon pain of excommunication to reject her, but early in 1533 the two were secretly married. A definite breach between the English church and Rome was now begun with a statute that forbade appeals in ecclesiastical matters to be taken out of England. The head of all things in the kingdom, said this law, was the king. Clement then excommunicated Henry VIII, but the English sovereign replied

Separation of the English church from Rome

by completely separating the church in England from Rome. A second act of annates (1534) forbade any payment of first fruits to Rome, likewise the procuring thence of bulls or briefs (papal orders). In the future, archbishops and bishops, when elected by the deans and chapters, were to have royal license and no papal brief. Another act forbade payment of "Peter's pence" and all other fees to the pope. A little later in the year the Act of Supremacy asserted that the king was "supreme head of the church." Parliament had already declared that Anne Boleyn's offspring should be heir to the throne. In 1529 Catharine had appealed to the pope. Now decision was given in her favor, but it availed her nothing. In retirement, shortly after, she died of a broken heart.

The king of England head of his church

Of the breach with Rome those who desired a change or a reform in religion took advantage, and it was during these years that the Reformation began in England—though not with the government's sanction. Henry considered that the breach concerned ecclesiastical not religious things; that it affected church government, not matters of faith and doctrine. None the less, in the midst of such change and stress, he as head of the church in England was led to define certain doctrines and make many regulations for the church over which he presided.

The breach ecclesiastical at first

In respect of the "divorce" and the separation from the pope, the king's proceedings were probably sanctioned by most of the nation. Some of the changes that were now undertaken were opposed by many in the kingdom and actively desired by only a few of the people. But that minority held control, and like the *Jacobins* in Paris in 1793 and the *Bolsheviki* in Russia in 1918, undertook to force their desire upon the community by a reign of terror. The terror in England lasted from 1534 to 1540. It was largely organized by Thomas Cromwell whose spies were everywhere, and who ruthlessly struck down opponents. Thus the more ruthless attacks on the church in

A radical minority goes further

England, and some of the ecclesiastical changes, as well as the Protestant Reformation in the following reign—like the Counter-Reformation in some places, like the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution—were the work of a minority of the people concerned.

The monastic orders in England

During this period the English government did what was done in German and Scandinavian countries about the same time: it suppressed the monastic orders and seized their possessions. The monasteries had long been envied for their great wealth. The monks and the nuns had often been accused both justly and unjustly of immorality and loose living. Before this, there had been not a few threats to take their property from them. Now a beginning was made of dissolving the monasteries in 1536, and the work was completed by 1540. No change of these times in England was fraught with larger results. The religious houses were parts of international organizations directly subject to the pope; and in England as in other countries they were more closely connected with him than with any other ruler. By 1540, therefore, the power of the pope's most faithful adherents in England was broken. On the other hand, by confiscating their enormous possessions, the king acquired a huge treasure with which to support his schemes, while with part of the plunder he rewarded the followers he had raised up about him. The position of these new magnates rested upon property seized from the church. So they could be counted on resolutely to defend the new order of things. In the end it was found that they were the principal and unshakable obstacle to restoring the order that had been.

Suppression of the monasteries

The "articles" or religious constitution of the church

Henry ordered the Bible to be translated into English (1536), and to be put in every parish church in the kingdom, so that all might read it. In 1536 the faith of the Church of England was defined in the Ten Articles, which embodied some of the new religious doctrines abroad; but in 1539 as the result of a reaction his Six Articles practi-

cally reaffirmed the principles of the Catholic religion. The Six Articles, said a Catholic contemporary, Cardinal Pole, were "the best thing Henry VIII ever did in this world."

Unsuccessful rebellions for the old order

These changes were not made without resistance. Some of the principal nobles and clergy were disgraced or put to death along with many lowlier people. In 1536 a rebellion broke out in various parts of the country, especially in the north. The rebels marched on a "Pilgrimage of Grace" to undo the work of the king's evil councillors against the monasteries and the old faith. The uprisings were easily crushed, and the principal result was that the distant and sparsely inhabited north country, never before very closely attached and joined with the rest, was now united more truly with it. In 1539 the Council of the North was established to rule this country more strictly. It did its work in subordination to the king and the privy council. In 1536 Wales had been incorporated as a part of England, and it also was presently ruled by a special organ of government, the Council of Wales (1542).

The Council of the North

Character of Henry VIII

Henry died in peace, though in a country perplexed and troubled. It is not easy to estimate his character. There was much about him that was sordid and unlovely, much that came of mere passion. On the other hand, he was strong, resolute, bold, and filled with patriotic and national spirit. To a large extent his people loved him and approved what he did. Tyrant though he seemed to some, he really loved justice and endeavored to give good rule. It must be remembered that the sweeping changes he carried through, hateful as they were to so many, were yet approved by parliaments. They were done by a king who had no large standing army, but merely a small bodyguard at court, and who had to depend for the most part upon the loyalty and love of his people.

He had six wives. Catharine of Aragon he married in 1509. By her he had a daughter, Mary. After Catharine

The wives and children of Henry

was put away by the "divorce" he married Anne Boleyn in 1533. By her he had a daughter, Elizabeth. Anne, unjustly charged with adultery, was beheaded in 1536. Ten days after her execution he married Jane Seymour, who in 1537 died a few days after giving birth to a son, Edward. In 1540 he married Anne of Cleves, whom he speedily put aside, since she did not please him. That same year he married Catharine Howard. Two years later he caused her to be beheaded for unchastity before her marriage, which was declared to be treason to the king. In 1543 he married Catharine Parr, a widow. She survived him.

The succession

Because of circumstances connected with the marriage of their mothers, Henry caused parliament to declare both Mary and Elizabeth bastards; but later changing his mind, the two princesses were by parliament declared legitimate again. Henry's will provided that the succession should lie in Edward, then in Mary, then in Elizabeth. Each one of them did reign in turn.

Protestantism established by the government of Edward VI

Henry VIII was succeeded by his son, Edward VI (1547–1553), a delicate youth already touched with consumption. He had been raised under the Protestant influences that were already rising in his father's time, and were favored by his mother's friends. Actually government was mostly in the hands of two successive regents or protectors, the Duke of Somerset (1547–51), and the Duke of Northumberland (1551–3). Both of them were ardent Protestants. Accordingly, during this reign the government established the Protestant religion in England.

A Protestant service compulsory in English churches

In 1547 control of the church by the government was strengthened when it was provided that bishops should be appointed by letters patent of the crown. Certain small religious orders, the chantries, which still survived, were abolished, and their property confiscated. In the same year the Six Articles of Henry VIII, which affirmed the fundamental dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, were repealed, and at the same time the statute *De*

Hæretico Comburendo (concerning the burning of a heretic) by which, since 1401, heretics condemned by the church had been burned by authority of the state. In 1548 the services of the English church were collected in the *First Book of Common Prayer*, written in lofty and magnificent English prose. It was largely the work of Archbishop Cranmer. It distinctly embodied Protestant doctrines, showing traces of Zwinglian influence. The use of this book was prescribed by the First Act of Uniformity (1548), which ordered, in effect, that all worshippers should have in their church a service according to the Prayer Book, and that every Catholic in England should accept as much Protestantism as it contained. A *Second Book of Common Prayer*, substantially that in use in the Church of England at present, was promulgated in 1552. Since great numbers of people "wilfully and damnably refuse to come to their parish churches," the Second Act of Uniformity (1552) provided very severe penalties for all who refused to attend. In 1552 the faith of the Church of England was stated in the Forty-two Articles, which formulated a Protestant religion for England. They also were largely the work of Cranmer. The articles were sanctioned next year by the king and his council, without being submitted to any convocation or synod of the church.

First Book of Common Prayer

A Protestant body of dogmas for the church

Religious radicals went far beyond this. Probably most of the people comprehended the new dogmas as little as they had understood the old, but most men and women were sincerely attached to the old ritual and forms, the gorgeous and elaborate music, the garb of the priests, the mysterious Latin words of the service, the pictures and images of the saints, and the ancient reputed relics. Now iconoclasts went about ridiculing the old observances, insulting priests, defacing images, and destroying relics. Some urged that priests should marry, and parliament passed an act allowing it (1548). All this was far beyond what the mass of the people would have. Had Edward

Radical Protestants desire to extirpate old rites and beliefs

lived longer and had his supporters carried further their work, it is probable that a violent counter-revolution and reaction would presently have followed. In addition to much discontent in respect of the church, economic change and agricultural alteration had brought widespread misery among the masses. As it was, when he died reaction came at once, and in England the Protestantism established by the government was immediately overthrown.

Mary Tudor

Edward VI was followed by his elder sister, Mary (1553–1558), a kindly, well-meaning woman, sincerely attached to the Catholic faith. She hated bitterly those who had ruined her mother and declared her an illegitimate child. What she desired most of all in the world was to restore the Catholic religion in England and the connection of her country with Rome. In this she had immediate and large success, for the great majority of the nation had continued to be Catholic at heart. In 1554 she married Philip, son of the emperor, Charles V, soon to be more renowned as Philip II of Spain. He also was an ardent Catholic and later on became champion of the Catholic faith in Europe.

The English church brought back to Rome

At once the work of Edward VI was undone. Protestantism was uprooted and the older faith reëstablished. Mary next proceeded to undo what she could of her father's work. Here the people supported her less, but she had no difficulty in carrying back the Church of England to Rome. It was, perhaps, the happiest day of her life when in the palace of Whitehall the pope's legate received the realm back in the fold of the Catholic Church, and pronounced the pope's absolution. But all of Henry's work she could not undo. It was impossible to take back the property seized from the monasteries and religious orders.

Then Mary strove to drive the dissenters back into the church. She began a bitter persecution of the Protestants. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, was burned at the

stake as were many others. Most of these martyrs met their death bravely, and so won adherents from among the undecided. The persecution was not long enough or terrible enough to extinguish Protestantism, as was the persecution in Spain about the same time, so that actually it gained for Catholicism less than it lost. It was, however, the most terrible religious persecution ever seen in England, and the queen who caused it long was remembered by her subjects as "Bloody Mary." In 1558 she died, grieving because her husband had abandoned her, and grieving more that she had no heir of her own to carry forward her work.

Persecution of Protestants

Elizabeth, her sister, who followed, had one of the longest, most glorious, and successful reigns in the history of the country (1558–1603). Although she was afflicted with certain bodily ills that affected her health and may have had much to do with causing her not to marry, she was altogether a strong and vigorous person. In mind she was capable, tenacious, alert. With many of the lighter qualities often associated with women she had boldness, shrewdness, and ability to handle business with the best men of her age. In various qualities she was much like her father, but wiser and more cautious than he. In government her confidence was given mostly to the ablest men she could assemble in her council, and to them she gave steadfast support. Without the most brilliant and showy qualities, she had the supreme gift of great statesmen—seeing in a difficult situation how far she might safely go and when she must halt, and of taking the safest and most moderate course through the factors of a complicated problem.

Elizabeth

Assisted by able councillors

With respect to religious affairs she was possessed of the spirit of the Renaissance rather than of the Reformation. Her devotion was to the new learning more than reform or any bigotry in religion. Her cautious and moderate temper caused her to take a middle course, and that

Her ideas concerning religion

course was all-important in deciding the result of the Reformation in England. Her training had led her to adopt some of the Protestant teachings. On the other hand, she was attached to many of the ceremonies, observances, and methods of the older faith. She loved its music, its ritual, its solemn magnificence and dignity; she was personally opposed to clergymen marrying; she was not greatly bothered about transubstantiation; she was determined, like her father, to be head of the church. She desired the support of all her subjects; and for a long time she understood that Protestants were only the lesser part of her people.

She clung to much of the old

In 1559 a Second Act of Supremacy declared, with ambiguity designed not to offend the different parties, that the English sovereign was "supreme governour" of the church. At the same time the Third Act of Uniformity enjoined that the Common Prayer Book of 1552, with some slight alterations, should be the basis of worship in the church, and that all people should come to worship. Actually, however, for a long time Catholics were not molested, but allowed to construe matters as they pleased. The country now settled down to peace, free for a long time from serious religious disturbance.

An ambiguous act of supremacy: Elizabeth head of the church

Elizabeth's position was beset with dangers. Most of her subjects were Roman Catholics. Strictly from the point of view of the church they could not regard her as other than illegitimate and no rightful queen. The principal claimant, in the eyes of a great many, was Elizabeth's cousin, Mary, Queen of Scots, a granddaughter of Margaret Tudor, who was daughter of Henry VII. Mary was a devout Catholic. She had also beauty and personal qualities that easily won her supporters. For some time the pope hesitated what action to take about Elizabeth and England, since her course of compromise and moderation made it difficult for him to judge what ends she purposed to attain. Similarly Philip II of Spain at first

Moderation and success in the midst of difficulties

sought her favor, especially as he wished for English support against France.

Mary Stuart in England

In course of time Elizabeth's position became very much harder. In 1568, Mary, having been deposed by the Protestant rebels in Scotland, escaped to take refuge in England. She was more dangerous to her cousin than ever, since the bolder and more restless Catholics of England felt that their lawful queen was now with them. In 1570 the pope, undecided no longer, excommunicated Elizabeth and deprived her of her "pretended right to the throne." The course of affairs in Europe was making Philip of Spain more and more the leader of Catholics against Protestants. Relations between Spain and England now led him to attempt the conquest of England, and to try to put Mary Stuart on the throne.

Worsening relations with Spain

England was no longer friendly to Spain. English Protestants had great sympathy for the Dutch Protestants who in 1569 had begun their revolt from Philip. Englishmen gave increasing assistance to these rebels, and such was England's geographical position that she controlled the best route—by sea, to the Netherlands from Spain. Under these circumstances it might be that the Dutch could not be reconquered. Moreover, at this time the Spaniards asserted a monopoly of navigation and trade in all the seas about their American possessions. Bold and hardy English navigators were infringing this claim, as Frenchmen had done before them. When the Spaniards strove to punish or expel the intruders, they struck back by attacks on Spanish commerce and by plundering the treasure-galleons that came sailing to Spain. The situation became intolerable to the Spaniards. Finally, England at this juncture stood out in Europe as the bulwark of Protestantism, the place where Protestants were most secure. At last it seemed to Philip that conquest of England would be most advantageous to Spain, and very good for the Catholic Church.

The English freebooters

Conquest of England attempted

For a long time preparations were made. Many accidents and delays intervened. In 1588, however, a great fleet, the Spanish Armada, set forth, and England seemed confronted with one of the greatest dangers that ever beset her. Three times since the Norman Conquest has England been threatened in this manner. In the years from 1914 to 1918, if ever the German fleet had won command of the sea, or submarines had cut England's sea lines, British power would have been broken to pieces. A century before, in 1804 and 1805, Napoleon's army was watching from the opposite shore of the Channel an opportunity to cross and then conquer England, if only for a moment the French fleet cleared the way. Now, in 1588, at Gravelines, near the narrow part of the Channel, was assembled an army of Spanish veterans, reckoned nearly invincible then, waiting for the Spanish Armada to convoy them over to England. The reputation of Spain's navy was high. A few years before a Spanish admiral had defeated the Turks in the mighty Battle of Lepanto (1571). On the other hand, England had no great war fleet. She must depend mostly on the efforts of volunteer seamen and upon gentlemen who brought their own ships. The country seemed in mortal danger, and a great crisis in history at hand. Actually, however, the Spaniards had small acquaintance with navigation and naval warfare in northern waters, and both their ships and their methods were designed for different conditions. One of the Venetian ambassadors wrote at the time: "The English are . . . the finest fighters upon the sea . . . They have no fear that their enemy will be able to come near the English shores."

A Spanish army waiting across the Channel

Defeat of the Spanish Armada

In the struggle that followed the Spaniards were utterly defeated. From the start the crews had lacked water, and an epidemic of influenza had soon broken out, so that morale was low. With their larger and heavier ships the Spaniards wished to close on the enemy and fight a land

battle at sea, as the Romans had done against the Carthaginians, and as the Spaniards and Venetians had destroyed the Turks at Lepanto. The English, with lighter ships, with superior skill in sailing, with knowledge of local winds and tides, kept at a distance, threw the Armada into confusion, and picked off a few straggling ships. None the less, the Spaniards succeeded in reaching Calais, that is in practically effecting a junction with the army awaiting. But that night fire ships were skilfully brought in among them. In desperation they cut cables and stood out to sea. Next day, in the decisive engagement, the Battle of Gravelines, they were thoroughly beaten. The English cannon were heavier; they fired three shots to the Spaniards' one; and the English had much ampler supply of ammunition. Then the Spanish ships fled northward, their men in a panic. Attempting to round the British Isles some of the damaged ships foundered, others encountered the autumn storms and were dashed to pieces on the bleak, rocky coasts of the Scottish isles and of Ireland. Less than half of the great expedition ever returned to Spain.

The fire ships

The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 was one of the decisive battles in the history of Europe. Its consequences, immediate and ultimate, were large. It was a rude and decided check to Spanish power, and afterward seemed the definite beginning of Spanish decline. It largely cut off Spain from the Netherlands, and after a bitter struggle the Dutch Netherlands established independence. It did much to break the power of Spain on the sea, and gave England later a chance to establish her own predominance there. It made the England of Elizabeth safe, and in some sense saved Protestantism in Europe. Finally, the struggle with Spain that culminated in 1588 made England a Protestant country. At Elizabeth's accession the majority of the English people were Catholics. During the years before the Armada many had to choose

Consequences of the defeat of the Armada

between a growing national feeling with support of their Protestant queen, and Catholicism with support of an alien power. National feeling triumphed. After 1588 most Englishmen were Protestant adherents.

Close of Elizabeth's reign

For fifteen years more Elizabeth reigned, in security, prosperity, and glory. Her throne was safe and also the system she had established. Times changed as her long reign proceeded, and changing times brought troubles—with the rising pretensions of her parliaments, and with Protestant radicals and extremists. She outlived her great councillors and statesmen, like Burleigh; and at last people tired of her and hoped for the changes that would come with her death. For a long time afterward, however, the Elizabethan period seemed the most glorious in the history of England.

The Stuart dynasty in England

Elizabeth designated as her heir James VI, king of Scotland, son of Mary, Queen of Scots. He came to England now as James I (1603–1625). He was the first English sovereign of the House of Stuart, that ruled England until 1714. Scotland and England continued to be separate kingdoms, united merely in the person of one king.

A period of great alterations

The Stuart period—like the Tudor period preceding—was to a large extent a revolutionary era in the history of England. In this time great conflicts developed which altered the whole course of things. One concerned religion, the other constitutional and political things. Both had arisen earlier and plagued Elizabeth in her later years. In the Stuart period they reached their crisis and then they were finally settled.

The moderate "reformation" in England displeasing to some

First and most difficult was the religious problem. In England the Reformation had taken a moderate course, and the Church of England now established by the government was, as it were, halfway between the Roman Catholic faith from which the reformers had broken, and some of the more radical Protestant churches like the Calvinist and Zwinglian abroad. The Anglican establishment was,

indeed, a compromise between the old faith and the more radical forms of the new. In Scotland and in England, however, there was presently an increasing number of people who desired that a more thorough "reformation" of the church be effected. Calvinism made great headway in Scotland, where its adherents were generally known as Presbyterians, and presently also in England, where there were Presbyterians and Puritans as well. The organization of the Church of England was the episcopal (*episcopus*, bishop), under bishops subordinate to the king. In the Presbyterian organization the principal factor was the presbyter (πρεσβύτερος, elder), elected by the members of the church congregations. The Puritans were less interested in the form of the church organization, whether of presbyters or bishops, than they were in "purifying" the church of the Romish observances and beliefs which, they affirmed, the incomplete English Reformation had not purged away.

Bishops, presbyters, Puritans

The contest about religion in England was no longer between Protestants and Roman Catholics, for by the time of the Catholic Gunpowder Plot (1605) the English Catholics were a powerless minority. Rather it was between Anglicans who made up the majority of the people, and a powerful, aggressive minority of Presbyterians, Puritans, and others, who either wished to overthrow the Church of England or thoroughly change and amend it. James disliked Presbyterianism and favored bishops. His son and successor, Charles I (1625–1649), was a devoted supporter of the Episcopalian system. Both of them believed there was no great difference between the Roman Catholic Church and their own, and favored a reunion if it were understood that the English king was to continue head of the church in England. Charles especially loved the dignified forms and the gorgeous ritual which some of his subjects associated with popery now. For some years his powerful minister, Laud, archbishop of Canterbury,

The Church of England opposed by English Protestants

Archbishop Laud

strove to enforce such observances upon all the churches in England. There was considerable persecution of Puritans by Anglicans, in the course of which more than 20,000 substantial Puritans left the country for America and became the principal founders of New England. Religious passions were almost as strong as they had been a century before. In the end this problem was only settled with revolution and bloodshed.

The power of the king

The second great issue concerned the government system. Here a sharp diversity of interests had developed. Everywhere in western Europe the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were an era when the power of kings was increasing. It was notably so in France and in Spain. It was so for some time in England, from before 1485 down to 1640. In England for a long while there was no opposition to this process. Men's minds were absorbed in the great movements of the time—in the discoveries, the Renaissance, the Reformation, business and trade. Moreover, after the disorders of the period preceding, most people did not care to oppose the strong rule of a king while he gave them security and order. Finally, during the struggle with Spain, men were intent on defeating the enemy abroad rather than on the conduct of the sovereign at home. Now these conditions had passed. The country was safe. Security and good order had long been established.

Parliament

During the Middle Ages parliament had developed in England, as the *états généraux* had developed in France, and as the *cortes* in Spanish kingdoms. Elsewhere such institutions were withering away before the rising power of the king. In England parliament had been in eclipse, but even the Tudors had preserved it, and used it as the instrument for making their radical changes. Now there was increasing disposition to revive all the powers that parliament ever had had, and to try to improve and enlarge them. To this Calvinism gave great impulse. In

religion it taught that all men were equal in the sight of God. In ecclesiastical organization this was worked out so that all the church members elected the church officials who ruled them. In secular politics it presently developed into ideas of representative, even democratic, government. It caused its adherents to deny despotic power to kings, and assert that kings were responsible to their subjects, nay, accountable if they did not rule well. These ideas were becoming prominent in England when the Stuarts came in to rule. Calvinists and Puritans were especially strong in the English towns, and from the towns were elected most of the members of the house of commons. The Stuarts, however, were filled with conceptions of the majesty of sovereigns and the doctrine of "divine right" of kings.

Calvinist political ideas

The seventeenth century—like the sixteenth—was an era of rising prices. The revenue of the crown was not sufficient to pay the expense of government in England. It had long been an established doctrine that no "taxes" or additional grants should be levied except by consent of the house of commons. Hence it was necessary for James I and Charles I to have recourse to parliaments for more money. Every parliament insisted on concessions and reforms. With almost every parliament these kings had trouble. In 1629 Charles I, thoroughly disgusted, resolved that he would never have a parliament again. He now attempted, as his father had done before him, to raise the revenue he needed by his own devices.

Parliament and king

James had sold monopolies, levied customs duties, and exacted antiquated feudal payments. Charles levied customs duties, ship money—avowedly to build ships for the royal navy—and extorted loans and free gifts. Those who refused or resisted were summoned by privy council and heavily punished in the Court of Star Chamber. James, after cultivating good relations with Spain, had entered upon a war with that country. His son also be-

Revenue

gan a war with France. Peace was soon made, however, and then gradually the revenue was so increased that it sufficed for ordinary times.

Discontent and hostility to the crown

From all this there was a deep, smoldering discontent. The Puritans and Presbyterians, who embraced a great many merchants, lawyers, and men of affairs, hated more fiercely the king and the church. The devices for raising money, though strictly legal, and although the courts so declared them, seemed relics of a bygone time or else improper encroachments, and were regarded as unlawful by numerous people.

The Long Parliament, 1640–60

In 1638 a rebellion broke out in Scotland, where Laud was also trying to impose a strict episcopal system. The Scots soon invaded England. The king found himself without resources for such an extraordinary occasion, and his subjects would not stir to help him. After exhausting all expedients he was compelled to summon a parliament which met in 1640 determined to make drastic reforms. First the king had to promise not to dissolve it unless it consented thereto. In the sequel it did not so consent until 1660, and is still remembered as the Long Parliament. It then proceeded to attack the king's principal ministers, of whom Strafford and, afterward, Laud were put to death. It abolished the Court of Star Chamber, and passed a statute declaring that there must be no interval of more than three years without a session of parliament.

Civil War: parliament against king

So far the great majority of those who took any interest in affairs had been opposed to the king. Now when some members of parliament attempted also to reform the Church of England, many of its supporters fell away. Adherents rallied to the king, and presently civil war broke out. In the First Civil War (1642–5) the forces of parliament won the great battles of Marston Moor (1644) and Naseby (1645), and presently the king was captured. Shortly after, his conquerors divided into factions, and this time the great majority of people supported the king.

Most Englishmen believed now that enough of reforms had been made in the government, and most of them were unwilling for the church to be attacked. The small minority, however, were supported by the army, which Oliver Cromwell, a Puritan gentleman, had wrought into an effective and terrible weapon. The king and his numerous adherents were easily overwhelmed in the Second Civil War (1648). Again was the king taken captive. Parliament and its army were free now to do whatsoever they wished.

Parliament against most of the nation

England entered upon a brief period more revolutionary than any since that time. Like all other revolutions the movement went far beyond the objects sought in the beginning. Originally a majority of the active people were against the king, so as to uphold the rights of parliament and the liberties of English freemen. Now a small minority, for a moment in power, made drastic radical changes, to which most English people were opposed. The house of lords was abolished. Part of the house of commons was expelled by the soldiers. The remainder, the "Rump," became the organ of government, though behind it were the soldiers with the real power when they chose to exert it. Charles I was brought to trial for treason against the nation. By a revolutionary tribunal he was sentenced to death, and then beheaded. He had meant to rule well; he was a man of much dignity and noble character; but he was sometimes untrustworthy and frequently rash and unwise. Under the title of "Commonwealth" the government was made a republic. The Rump Parliament was to govern. Administration was to be carried on by a council dependent upon it, the council of state, much like the privy council of the times preceding.

England a republic, 1649–60

Charles I put to death, 1649

The period of the Commonwealth (1649–53) was one of growing confusion. The government could maintain itself only by force, and the army was more and more discontented with it. After a while all classes wished for the

The Commonwealth (*res publica*)

appearance of some strong man, able to take control and give stability and order again. In Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) the times now brought forth such a man.

Oliver Cromwell

Cromwell was a Puritan country gentleman. He along with others had been oppressed in Charles's time, and once thought of going to New England. During the civil wars he began a remarkable career. Certain eastern counties raised a military force to fight against the king. They were drilled and strengthened, and became renowned as "Cromwell's Ironsides." In an England where there had been no standing armies and no bodies of well-equipped and disciplined troops, as in Turkey, in France, and in Spain, this force was immensely effective. Cromwell had had much to do with the triumph of parliament over the king, and as he rose in command his Puritan army was made larger and larger, until there was nothing that could withstand it in England. Parliament could not govern for a moment if these warriors withdrew their support. It was, indeed, a remarkable body of strong, well-disciplined soldiers, most of whom were earnest and educated men. In religion they were moderate Calvinists—not Presbyterians, but Independents, believing substantially in religious freedom. In politics they were constructive radicals, averse from having kings, desiring a republic with government based on representation of the people. Some of them cherished democratic ideas, believing in the equality of men. It was their ideas that were afterward made current in America by the Declaration of Independence. Their doctrines were taken up and developed by Rousseau and other Frenchmen just before the French Revolution. This army was devoted to Cromwell, and though they sometimes gave him trouble, they followed him as long as he lived.

Cromwell's army

Early English democratic ideas

Cromwell took his army to Ireland and conquered more thoroughly than Englishmen had ever conquered Ireland before (1649). He then invaded Scotland, which he con-

quered at the Battle of Dunbar (1650). The Royalists and another army of Scots, which had invaded England, were then crushed completely by Cromwell at Worcester (1651). Presently Ireland was altogether subdued, Scotland was annexed to England, and England entirely cowed. But parliament could neither please the army nor win the allegiance of the nation. In 1653 Cromwell caused the remnant of the Long Parliament to be expelled.

Cromwell's military triumphs

A new system, the Protectorate (1653–9), was now established by the first and only written constitution that England has had, *The Instrument of Government* (1653). Cromwell was to be lord protector, with the executive power that the king once had had. By a later amendment the protectorship was made hereditary in his family. A small council of state was to assist him. There was to be a parliament based roughly on representation of the people voting in equal electoral districts, whereas formerly some of the members of the house of commons had represented counties and most of the members had represented particular boroughs, or town corporations.

The Protectorate

Order and peace returned for a while, but Cromwell's task was seen to be an impossible one. He succeeded for the moment merely because of his own ability and iron resolution. The large majority of those English men and women who took any interest in general affairs wanted an established episcopal church, and in government they wished for their lawful king. Republican and representative government embodied ideas very different from those of the time. Most Englishmen cared for such things not at all. It was the tragedy of the radicals and reformers that they had fought—so they believed—to establish a better religious system, parliamentary privilege, freedom, self-government. But they could maintain their system only by force more open and oppressive than any Stuart or Tudor had used.

A radical minority imposes its system by force

It was in vain that Cromwell governed ably and well.

Cromwell crushed by his task

It helped him little that he raised England to higher position than she had had in Europe since Henry V. Under the Commonwealth a navigation act had passed (1651) designed to break the commercial monopoly of the Dutch. A war had followed in which the Dutch navy was badly battered. Now Cromwell brought the war to triumphant conclusion. He was eagerly courted by France and by Spain. He made an alliance with France and obtained Dunkirk opposite Calais, while his navy seized Jamaica, in the West Indies, from the Spaniards. Everywhere England was respected and feared. Yet at home he could get no parliament to support him, and his soldiers collected the taxes. In 1658 he died, worn out by his task. He was harsh, stern, able, a tyrant when he had to be, often moderate and kindly when he could be. He was the most powerful of all men who spoke English between Henry VIII and Abraham Lincoln.

Richard Cromwell, lord protector, 1658–9

He had no successor. His son was made lord protector but soon resigned. Then anarchy followed. The army without its leader broke up into factions. The great body of the people wanted the old system again. The son of Charles I, who since 1649 had legally been Charles II, was living in exile. In 1660 the Long Parliament reassembled and dissolved itself. A convention parliament—so called because the writs of election were not issued by the king—was elected. Upon certain conditions it invited Charles to return. In 1660 the monarchy was thus reëstablished.

Restoration of royalty

Charles II reigned from 1660 to 1685. He was followed by his brother James II (1685–1688). James was followed by his daughter and her husband, who reigned as William and Mary (1689–1694) and—after Mary's death—William III (1694–1702). With Mary's sister, Anne (1702–1714), the House of Stuart came to an end. In this period, from the Restoration to 1714, the settlement of the great problems that had led to the Puritan Revolution was accomplished.

The principal results of that revolution were evident in the terms of the restoration and the laws that were passed shortly after. The army was paid off and dismissed, and the English people continued to dread, even more than before, a large standing army. An amnesty was granted that pardoned all but a few—mostly the regicides, who had put Charles I to death. Confiscated property was restored, but property sold was to remain with the purchasers. This meant, in effect, that a great deal of the property that had changed hands in the revolutionary times was left with its new possessors. A fixed revenue from customs and excise was settled upon the king, out of which—with his other resources—he was to pay for the government of England. It was presently evident that not enough had been granted. The great changes made at first by the Long Parliament were not undone, but all later and more revolutionary acts were denounced. That is to say, king, house of lords, privy council, the old parliamentary system were restored; Star Chamber remained abolished. Surviving elements of the feudal system were swept away—feudal obligations and feudal tenures of property. Preemption (reserving for the king) and purveyance (buying for the king at his own price) were also abolished.

The Restoration

The greatest political results were indirect and unmentioned. By war it had been shown that in England parliament was superior to the king. Not again did an English king endeavor to coerce his parliament, though he might try to bribe or persuade it. No longer was there any question that all taxation was to be granted by parliament only. In no other country in the world at this time did a parliament have so much power. Indirectly, at least, Cromwell and the Puritans had brought this about. It is fitting enough that a statue of Cromwell—once he was deemed a traitor—stands near to the Parliament Houses now, beside the ancient Westminster Hall.

Larger results of the Puritan revolution

In settlement of religious questions the Church of Eng-

Triumph of the Church of England

land was completely triumphant. It was restored to the position it had had before 1642. It remained with its episcopal system, not with anything of a presbyterian organization as some of the rebels had hoped. Its ceremonies and dogmas were not altered as the Puritans had wished. Nor could those who, like the Independents, desired religious liberty make themselves heard. The Church of England continued to be the established church of the land, to which the law would try to make all subjects of the crown conform. Since the time of Edward VI and of Elizabeth acts of supremacy and uniformity had been designed to insure this, and recusancy laws had been passed to punish those who would not attend the Church of England. At first all this had principally affected Roman Catholics, then in the Stuart period the Protestant dissenters. Now the triumphant Anglicans renewed the procedure, especially against Protestant non-conformists.

The Clarendon Code

A series of laws was passed, known, from the king's minister who managed the passing, as the Clarendon Code. The Corporation Act (1661) practically excluded Catholics and dissenters from the governments of municipal corporations or towns. The Act of Uniformity (1662) was designed to enforce the service of the Church of England in all churches. The Conventicle Act (1664) provided severe penalties for those who attended conventicles, or religious meetings not under the Church of England. The Five Mile Act (1665) forebade non-conformist preachers to come within five miles of their former parishes, and such preachers and teachers to approach within five miles of any corporate town—most English dissenters lived in the towns. Somewhat later, the Test Act (1673) provided that only members of the Church of England could hold political office. The result of all this legislation, and of other previous laws, was that Roman Catholics were excluded from taking part in government and holding offices, and were subject to punishments until 1829, while Protes-

The Test Act

tant dissenters were under similar disabilities until 1689, and were not entirely freed until 1828. Meanwhile, for long after the Restoration, the Roman Catholics remained a small minority; the Presbyterians lived in obscurity, to increase in happier times; the Puritans disappeared in England, largely absorbed back again into the Church of England. It was in England's northern colonies in America that puritanism lived on. Ultimately it became the dominant force in the life of the United States.

Disabilities for all outside the established church

For some time now England took no important part in foreign affairs. Commercial antagonism led to a war with Holland (1665–7). A doubtful contest was ended by the Treaty of Breda two years later. A few years afterward England joined France in another war against the Dutch (1672–4); but English fear of the growing power of their neighbor soon obliged Charles II to withdraw. None the less, for many years Charles secretly accepted bribes and pensions from Louis XIV in the interests of France. Thus he supplemented his income, and made himself independent of the house of commons.

Relations with Holland and with France

With his parliament Charles had increasing trouble, and after the early years of his reign little constructive work was accomplished. One great achievement there was. In 1678 the Habeas Corpus Act was passed. In England at this time there was more security for personal liberty than almost anywhere else in the world; but it was still possible for men to be committed to prison without cause shown except the government order, and then to be kept in prison without any trial. Now it was provided that unless cause was declared and trial held in due time the prisoner might have granted for him a writ of *habeas corpus* (have the body), which would cause his release. This has since been regarded as one of the bulwarks of liberty among English-speaking people.

Habeas Corpus

Charles had many illegitimate children, but no child by his marriage. The heir was his brother, James, an avowed

Charles regains much power for the crown

Roman Catholic. Strong efforts were made to debar him from the succession, but Charles dissolved the three Exclusion Parliaments (1679–81) which demanded this, and overcame all his opponents. Shaftesbury, leader of the opposition, fled from England. Charles then began a very ably conceived attack upon the house of commons. Most of the members of the commons were returned from the chartered parliamentary boroughs. In his courts the king attacked these boroughs with writs of *quo warranto*, demanding by what warrant they held their charters, and declaring they had violated the charter terms. In almost every case the charter was declared forfeit to the king; after which a new charter was granted so controlling the borough elections that thereafter the members of the house of commons would be subservient to him. When Charles II died in 1685 he had recovered much of the royal power which his father had lost.

The *quo warranto* proceedings

A Roman Catholic rules Protestant England

The reign of James II began with greatest loyalty and devotion from his subjects. The great majority of Englishmen now despised Puritanism, civil war, and opposition to their king. All of his advantages James threw away almost at once. Charles had been polite, cunning, and careful. James was open, honest, and rash. He was a devout Catholic, and desired above everything to restore the Catholic religion in England. The large majority of the people were earnest supporters of the king, yet devoted adherents of the established Church of England. The one thing that could estrange them from loyalty to the throne was dread of popery and Rome. The English Protestant version of the Bible, the so-called *King James Translation*, was the most widely read and most loved book in England. *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, with its terrible woodcuts and pathetic accounts of Protestants burned by the Catholics, had made profound impression on successive generations of the people.

To all this devotion and prejudice James rashly ran

counter, and he did this in spite of the advice of the wiser Catholics and the counsel of the pope himself. He admitted Catholics to governmental, military, and church positions. He assembled a large standing army to awe his subjects. He attempted to procure toleration for all religions. Admirable as this last seems now, it was regarded then merely as a device to get freedom and advancement for Catholics. His heirs were two Protestant daughters by his first marriage. Hence, what he did was unwillingly endured in expectation of it being undone when he died. In 1688, however, a son was born to him by his Catholic second wife. Almost immediately Protestant leaders invited William of Orange, stadholder of Holland and husband of James's elder daughter, Mary, to come over and save English liberties and the Protestant religion. William undertook an expedition at once. Louis XIV warned James of the impending blow, and would willingly have attacked Holland to prevent the movement. But James refused assistance. William landed. Multitudes deserted James and joined the standard of William. In a few weeks all was lost, and the king fled to France for refuge. Such, almost without any bloodshed, was the Revolution of 1688.

James II tries to restore Catholicism in England

The Revolution of 1688

With the Revolution of 1688 a new era began in the history of England. A convention parliament presently declared William and Mary joint sovereigns, after they had accepted a long list of requirements known as the Bill of Rights (1689). This provided that no Roman Catholic could be king of England, nor could any one who had married a papist. The king was not again to infringe on the powers of parliament by interfering with elections, and by suspending or dispensing with laws. The legislation that supplemented the Bill of Rights in the next few years completed the work of the seventeenth century revolution by which the principal power of the government in England had been transferred to parliament from the king.

The Bill of Rights, 1689

Wars with France

England was at once drawn directly into the current of European relations. William, who with the resources of Holland had long taken the lead in opposing Louis XIV, now added to that opposition the greater resources of England. Louis attempted to restore James to his throne. In the course of the struggle Mary died (1694) but William continued as king. Catholic Ireland rose for James, but James was defeated at the Battle of the Boyne (1690) and Ireland was soon utterly conquered. The French fleet got control of the sea for a moment after the Battle of Beachy Head (1690) but was fatally shattered at La Hogue (1692). An exhausting struggle was fought on land, in which Louis was for the first time badly checked. By the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) Louis acknowledged William as king of England. In 1701, after Louis XIV had accepted for his grandson the Spanish dominions, England became head of the Grand Alliance against France. William died soon after, but under his successor, Mary's sister, Anne, England took a leading part in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14). By the Treaty of Utrecht France renounced the Catholic Stuarts, and acknowledged the Protestant Hanoverian succession that parliament had already arranged.

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CHAPTER XV

THE NETHERLANDS AND SWITZERLAND

De Staten Generael van de Gheunieerde Nederlanden, Allen den ghenen die dese teghenwoordighe sullen sien ofte hooren lesen, Saluyt . . . een Prince vanden Lande van Godt ghestelt is, Hooft over sijne Ondersaten, om de selve te bewaren ende beschermen . . . wanneer hy sulck niet en doet . . . moet gehouden worden, niet als Prince, maer als een Tyran . . . wy . . . volgende de Wet der Natueren . . . Doen te Wetene . . . den Coningh van Spaengien verklaert hebben, ende verklaren mits desen, *ipso Jure*, vervallen van sijne Heerschappye, Gherechticheydt, ende Erffenisse vande voorsz. Landen. . . .

Declaration of Independence of the States General of the United Netherlands (July 26, 1581), Dumont, *Corps Universel Diplomatique*, v. part i. 413, 419.

The Low Countries, from Time immemorial have been looked upon as a double Barrier.— On one Side, as that of the Empire, on the other, as that of what are called the Maritime Powers. They were considered as such as well when they were in the Possession of the Dukes of Burgundy, as when they made a Part of the Spanish Monarchy.

Despatch of Sir James Harris (British Minister at The Hague), February 1, 1785.

Two Voices are there; one is of the sea,
One of the mountains; each a mighty Voice:
In both from age to age thou didst rejoice,
They were thy chosen music, Liberty!

Wordsworth, "Thought of a Briton on the Subjugation of Switzerland" (1807).

Of the dominions which medieval emperors strove to bind together in the Holy Roman Empire, some, like West Frankland and parts of Italy, soon dropped away,

The Netherlands and Switzerland were long parts of the Holy Roman Empire

others, like Provence and Dauphiné, were presently acquired by France, while others, like the Swiss country and the Netherland provinces, tended to drift off, until after a while they had only nominal connection with the empire, and were in course of time practically independent jurisdictions. In the seventeenth century Switzerland and the Dutch Netherlands were formally recognized as independent states.

The Low Countries

The Netherlands or Low Countries had their name long ago because the area designated thus lies low and sandy—along the shore of the North Sea. Some of it, indeed, is below the level of the neighboring waters, and parts of it have long been protected by dikes. Much of it was long menaced with destruction by the sea, and a great inundation of the thirteenth century did flood a considerable part, thus producing the *Zuyder Zee* (south sea). This low-lying country has for ages been the highway between the lands of the Germans and the lands of the Gauls and the French. So, it has been on one of the principal highways of European commerce. Here from times remote wares have been brought to be manufactured, and here in the later Middle Ages was one of the two most important industrial districts in Europe. This country faces also one of the main routes upon which Europe's ships go by, and some of its seaports long ago were among the most flourishing in Europe. Often also the Netherlands have been a battle-ground or a line of march for contending armies. Thus, of themselves, they have often been very important, at the same time that they have been of large concern to all their great neighbors near by.

Important from their position

The Netherlands in earlier times

The Netherland countries were part of Roman Gaul, and were afterward included in Charlemagne's empire. When this empire was disrupted, the western portion, Flanders, went to the West Franks and was later on a feudal dependency of the kings of the French. The eastern parts were included in the short-lived middle kingdom

Flanders a great industrial district

of Lotharingia; and afterward, in the Holy Roman Empire, they formed the districts of Frisia and Lower Lorraine. In parts of this country during the early Middle Ages, especially in Flanders, great industrial centers arose. Bruges, Ypres, Ghent, Mechlin, Lille, Louvain, became powerful and wealthy through the work of their artisans and weavers; and Flanders and Brabant, using the wool of England and of Spain, were the chief centers of weaving and the cloth trade in Europe. These cities and many others waged constant struggle against feudal lords and against the king of France. The burghers purchased or won for themselves charters and privileges, and to a great extent governed themselves. Meanwhile, the older large jurisdictions had broken up, and many small ones—duchies, counties, lordships—had appeared.

The dukes of Burgundy acquire Netherland districts

It was the ambition and desire of the kings of France to attach some of this country to their kingdom. It was, accordingly, with the approval of Charles V, the Wise, of France that his brother, the duke of Burgundy, married Margaret, the daughter of Louis, count of Flanders, and lord of other districts near by. Hence, in 1384, Flanders was joined with Burgundy under one ruler. From such accession of strength Burgundy was soon one of the important states of western Europe, and the dukes of Burgundy began to conceive of a strong kingdom for themselves. Gradually the dukes drifted away from connection with France. Outside of France they held besides the part of Flanders that was a feudal dependency of France a portion of Flanders that was a fief of the empire, as was another of their possessions, Franche-Comté, or the county of Burgundy. During the next generation, as the result of marriage alliances which they arranged, they gradually brought under their dominion other Netherland districts—Holland, Zealand, Hainault, and Brabant. Thus the more important Low Countries were presently united under one ruler.

25. HISTORY OF THE NETHERLANDS: REVOLT AND RETURN OF SOME OF THE PROVINCES TO ALLEGIANCE TO SPAIN

The Burgundian dominions divided

The Burgundian lords were not destined to consolidate a kingdom. With the death of Charles the Bold (1477) their ambitions were ended, and their dominions were then divided. Part of them, the Duchy of Burgundy, which had once been so closely connected with the French lands, and had continued to be a fief held of France, was incorporated now in the Kingdom of France (1479). The other dominions, Franche-Comté and the Netherlands, fiefs of the empire, were kept by Charles's daughter, Mary, who had immediately married Maximilian, son of the emperor, of the House of Hapsburg, and received his protection (1477). Thenceforth the Netherlands were possessed by the Hapsburg family. They descended to Philip I, king of Spain, son of Maximilian, and to his son, Charles I of Spain, grandson of Maximilian, and himself later on emperor of the Holy Roman Empire as Charles V. Thus the Netherlands had become possessions of the Spanish Hapsburgs, and so, later on, they were held by Philip II, king of Spain. Charles added various provinces to this domain. His Netherlands now embraced the duchies of Brabant, Gelderland, Limburg, and Luxemburg; the lordships of West Friesland, Mechlin, Utrecht, Overyssel, and Groningen; the counties of Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Zutphen; and the margraviates of Antwerp and Namur—seventeen provinces in all.

The Netherlands a Hapsburg possession

Local differences

These various domains were bound together solely by the personal tie of the one lord who ruled them. Each district had its own institutions and customs. Furthermore, there were differences larger still. In the north the people were Dutch, closely related to the Germans, and there were many Germans in the south; in the west there were Walloons, closely allied with the French; while Flemings, related to the Dutch and the Germans, lay in between. Flanders and the districts adjacent were still a great industrial community, though their prosperity was

waning and their trade was now in decline. The Dutch people were given to fishing and commerce. In the industrial districts there was much aristocracy and wealth. Among the Dutch, life was simple, democratic, and rude.

Consolidation and closer union sought by Charles V

The dukes of Burgundy, in their efforts to consolidate their dominions, strove to erect over the Netherland possessions an effective central government, and establish greater uniformity in the obligations and regulations affecting them all. These attempts had been resisted by the various cities, jurisdictions, and corporations, which clung to the rights and privileges they had won in the past. This policy of consolidation was taken up again later on by Charles V. He summoned states general consisting of representatives of each province—clergy, nobles, and members from the towns. He established a central court of justice to which all the provincial courts were made subject. He placed general administration in three great central councils—the privy council to supervise justice and the enforcement of law, a council of finance over the provincial chambers of finance, and a council of state to supervise the other councils and manage foreign relations. In each province executive and administrative authority, under the central organs of government, was put in the hands of a stadholder (place-holder or viceroy) appointed by Charles himself; and he appointed all the other principal officials. Like Charles II of England a century later, he constantly strove to abridge the privileges and charters of the municipal corporations; and when Ghent, the place of his birth, refused to pay a tax voted by the states general (1540), she was severely punished and her rights declared forfeit. Charles was frequently compelled to be away in other parts of his extensive dominions, but during his absence the Netherlands were ruled for him by a regent: first his aunt, Margaret of Savoy (1506–1530), then his sister, Mary (1530–1555).

Three central councils

Strong rule

The emperor's policy was generally successful. His

The Netherlands under Charles V

encroachments were constantly resisted, and the cities objected much to the heavy taxes imposed upon them. Yet an immense revenue was gathered; the provinces were drawn closer together; and a general government over them all was made more effective than ever before. Charles was a Fleming by birth; he loved the country; and he was personally popular at all times. His great empire, of which the Netherlands were part, gave larger opportunities to such a commercial and industrial community.

Prosperity of Antwerp

Wealth increased, and prosperity was great. Antwerp became what Bruges once had been, the commercial metropolis of northern Europe. Moreover, Charles had added to the extent of the Netherlands by annexing West Friesland, Groningen, Gelderland, and Zutphen. By the Treaty of Madrid (1526) France renounced feudal suzerainty over French Flanders and the neighboring Artois and Tournay, they now becoming fiefs of the empire; and this arrangement was confirmed by the Treaty of Cambray three years later.

The Netherlands under Philip II

What Charles had succeeded in doing was not maintained long after his time. In 1555 he invested his son Philip with the government of the Netherlands, and next year Philip became king of Spain. From the first he was unpopular in the Netherlands. A Spaniard by birth, and in all respects Spanish, he hesitated not to display his contempt and dislike for the Netherland people; and after a brief space he left the country never to return. Accordingly, while the old discontent continued and was soon aggravated by Philip's own measures, the discontent was no longer counterbalanced by the personal popularity of the sovereign, that had counted for so much with Charles.

Government concentrated in a small council

The government, under Philip's regent, his half-sister, Margaret, duchess of Parma, was vested in the three councils, especially in the council of state. Actually, however, at the king's direction, all the more important questions of government and policy were handled by an

interior secret council, the *consulta*, composed of the presidents of the three principal councils. This body was not unlike the small, powerful council suggested in 1555 by Philip for the decision of state affairs in England. It is interesting to the student of government as an early example of what, a little later, writers like Raleigh and Bacon called "cabinet council." The unpopularity of Philip and displeasure with his rule were increased by the presence in the Netherlands of Spanish troops whose extortion and plundering caused widespread dislike.

Protestantism in the Netherlands

Political discontent, the predominant feeling at first, was in many parts of the Netherlands aggravated by religious feeling. In Charles's time the Reformation had been spreading from the German countries into the Netherlands adjacent. Charles, unable to crush heresy in the empire, had striven by all means to stamp it out in his Netherland dominions; and a severe persecution had aroused strong feeling in his time. Charles attempted to extirpate Protestantism through the appointment of an inquisitor-general, and in 1550 his placard (edict) threatened with death by burning or burying alive all heretics or those convicted of dealing with heretics or heretical things.

Philip, like Charles, wishes to destroy heresy in the Netherlands

Philip's principal ambition was to destroy heresy wherever it existed. At Ghent in 1559 the states general protested, but Philip is said to have declared that he would rather not reign at all than rule over heretic subjects. Meanwhile, an ecclesiastical scheme offended Catholics as well as Protestants. What had been accomplished in consolidating the secular government Philip tried to effect in respect of the church. He proposed to increase the number of bishoprics from three—a number admittedly too small for so populous a country—to fifteen; these bishoprics were to be under three archbishoprics; the archbishop of Mechlin was to be primate. Under these officials the ecclesiastics of the country were to be thoroughly organ-

ized. They were to be everywhere assisted by the inquisition so that heresy might be destroyed. To Protestants this appeared only as a scheme for worse persecution and for the utter destruction of their faith. To many Catholics it seemed improper interference with the established order of things and with privileges they had long possessed. The measure was modified, but strong opposition was aroused, and a deputation was sent to Spain to plead with Philip himself. By the Edict of Segovia (1565) the king ordained that his plan should be carried out, and that the measures against heresy should be thoroughly enforced. Large bodies of people of various conditions and dissimilar interests now combined in opposition. The tendency toward union, so much strengthened by the recent measures to consolidate the provinces and compel them to submit to one central government, was strengthened much further by sentiment against the harsh rule of a distant Spanish king.

Discontent with proposed ecclesiastical reform

The *Gueux*

One of Philip's ministers in the Netherlands declared the opposition to be merely a rabble of beggars (*gueux*). The more rabid opponents of the king now assumed the title of "Beggars" (1566). In violent manner they demanded reforms, and proceeded to raise a military force. Suddenly the baser and more furious Protestants, incited by fanatics, burst forth against the Catholic Church. In Flanders the images, shrines, and beautiful adornment which many devout generations had contributed to the church buildings were destroyed by the iconoclasts (1566). It was at this time that the wondrous treasures of Antwerp cathedral were largely ruined. Such violence was followed at once by revulsion of feeling. Catholics looked askance at Protestants, and many of the better and more conservative people drew back. Next year the confederates' army was completely defeated.

Outbreak of the iconoclasts

Philip determined on the sternest measures. In 1567 he dispatched one of his most capable lieutenants, the duke

Alva and the Council of Blood

of Alva, a strict ruler, able and of much administrative experience in the Italian and the German countries, but a bigot and one who relied upon sternness alone. The Netherland towns were now garrisoned by Spanish soldiers; the principal nobles and leaders were seized; and Alva instituted a council of twelve that soon was known as the Council of Blood. Many people were executed; greater numbers fled from the country. In 1568 the rebels succeeded in destroying a small Spanish army at Heiligerlee, whereupon Alva took vengeance by putting to death Count Hoorn and Count Egmont, two of the more moderate noblemen, who had throughout remained loyal to the king. The execution made profound impression, and aroused widespread horror and pity. The episode was afterward lastingly commemorated in Goethe's tragedy of *Egmont.*

William, prince of Orange

The movement of the rebels now came under guidance of one of the ablest men of the time. William of Nassau—a German duchy near by—had in 1544 succeeded to large possessions in Holland and in Brabant, thus becoming a Dutch magnate, while at the same time he inherited the principality of Orange, in southern France, and was called thereafter prince of Orange. He had been appointed stadholder of Holland and other Dutch provinces by Charles V, and had been a member of the council of state under Philip. In 1561, marrying again, he had taken the daughter of Maurice of Saxony, principal Protestant leader among the Germans. He was cautious, circumspect, able, not taciturn, but so prudent and careful that he afterward came to be known as William the Silent. He had opposed, though moderately and without any violence, the policy of Philip. When matters reached extremity he had retired; for he knew that Philip intended to remove the greater nobles in order to reduce the Netherlands more completely to subjection. The rule of Alva drove him further into opposition, and it was partly through his

Called William the Silent

efforts that the army had been raised that won the victory of Heiligerlee. In 1568 he himself led an expedition into the Netherlands, but he accomplished nothing, and he had to withdraw at once.

Alva recalled

Alva now put his sternest measures into effect. A vast amount of property was confiscated, and heavy taxes, on property and on sales, were imposed. General opposition arose to these measures, and such was the confusion and the distress that presently Alva was recalled.

The "Beggars of the Sea" seize Brill

The movement of the rebels, at one time, apparently, at the point of being crushed, now became larger, and was presently entangled in the great political and religious struggles then disturbing all western Europe. In 1572 an expedition of "Beggars of the Sea," Dutch freebooters and marauders, from England, seized Brill, a seaport at the mouth of the Meuse. All those who hated the Spaniard were again encouraged to resist. One place after another rose in revolt: Flushing, at the mouth of the Scheldt, Enkhuizen, a great Spanish arsenal, then most of the Dutch cities and towns. They declared that they would follow the prince of Orange.

Assistance from French Protestants

The French Huguenots began to assist their fellow Protestants of the Netherlands. Dutch armies strove to drive the Spaniards out, and Mons in the south was taken (1572). At this moment, however, occurred the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and from France no further succor could be expected. Mons was recaptured by the Spaniards; they swept up into the northern provinces, sacked Zutphen, and captured Haarlem after a long and desperate defense. On land they easily established their supremacy, but off Enkhuizen their fleet was destroyed, and the rebels kept command of the sea. Ultimately this was to prove the decisive factor.

The Dutch rebels close the Scheldt

Requesens, a new governor-general, would have tried milder measures, but the policy of Philip and Alva's terrible measures had made many of the Dutch irreconcilable, and the struggle went on. In 1574 Middleburg and

the island of Walcheren commanding the other mouth of the Scheldt were taken by the Dutch. In that year they suffered a terrible defeat at Mooker Heyde, in which some of their principal leaders were slain. Meanwhile, the important city of Leyden, situated at a point of great strategic importance, held out through a renowned and terrible siege (1573–4). When it had been almost reduced by starvation, dikes were cut, the Dutch ships slowly sailed across fifteen miles of farm land submerged, and the city was saved. This event, the most important success won by the rebels during the war, seemed afterward to the Dutch the grandest episode in the time of their struggle for independence.

The siege of Leyden

The war dragged on long without any decision. Philip would not make sufficient concessions for his representatives to bring about peace. In Holland and in Zealand, where Protestants had entire ascendancy, and where hostility was strongest to Catholicism and to Spain, William of Orange got complete authority, and these provinces renounced allegiance to the king. The Spanish commanders, after temporary success, were unable to pay their troops. In 1576 mutiny broke out. The Spanish armies abandoned some of their conquests, and began to plunder the districts hitherto most loyal to Philip. They seized the wealthy city of Antwerp, and in the destruction and pillage that followed this great metropolis was more thoroughly ruined than when Spaniards and Germans sacked Rome half a century before. In the universal horror and indignation that followed, the southern, Catholic provinces joined with the northern, Protestant districts. By the Pacification of Ghent (1576) they agreed to unite in driving the Spaniards from the Netherlands completely.

Spanish soldiers sack Antwerp, 1576

The Catholic Netherlands join the revolt

This larger union was only short-lived. A new viceroy, Don Juan of Austria, was allowed to make large concessions. By the Perpetual Edict (1577) promise was given

Concessions by Spain

that all Spanish soldiers should be sent from the country, and Don Juan began the work of winning back the southern districts to their allegiance. Differences between the people of the northern and the southern provinces were very large. Union had been brought about only through excessive fear and dislike of the Spaniard. As these were lessened, the original cleavage asserted itself again. Especially was religious difference acute. The north was mostly Protestant now. The south was generally Catholic. In the past the south had always been the wealthier and more prosperous part of the Netherland country. The north was now steadily taking the lead in the movement against Spain. In the midst of much machination and intrigue Alessandro Farnese, the able general who commanded Philip's army, won a great victory at Gembloux (1578). After the death of Don Juan that year, Farnese skilfully carried on the work of winning back the Catholic country. The result of his efforts was that in 1579 some of the Walloon and Flemish districts formed the Union of Arras. With this league Farnese came to terms, and in the end these southern districts were brought back permanently into allegiance to Spain.

The confederates divided by differences

The Catholic provinces return to allegiance to Spain

The Union of Utrecht, 1579

This split was followed at once by the Union of Utrecht (1579), in which most of the northern provinces together with the great cities of Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, and Antwerp, united to protect themselves against Spain. Allegiance to the king of Spain was not yet thrown off—as it had been by Holland and Zealand previously—but the members combined to defend themselves. The confederacy was to be ruled by a general assembly and by an executive council responsible to the assembly. There were to be a common currency and a common system of taxation. Each province was to retain management of its own internal affairs. Liberty of conscience was allowed.

Hostilities were resumed, and Parma had considerable success in the central districts and in the south. In 1580

Philip II declared the prince of Orange a traitor. In his ban or decree he offered a great reward to any one who would deliver the prince to him, dead or alive. William answered with his celebrated *Apologia*, in which he declared that he was no rebel: Philip had been a tyrant in the Netherlands, and the people were justly free from obligation to obey him. That same year the Dutch confederation offered sovereignty over the Netherlands to a French prince, the duke of Anjou, and next year they declared complete independence of Spain (1581).

The members of the union declare independence, 1581

Three years later William fell by the hand of the assassin, Balthazar Gerard. The youthful but very able Maurice of Nassau, his second son, now became leader. There was inevitable confusion for a while, however, and in this period Farnese continued his success. He offered liberal terms, and he displayed the highest ability in the field. Ghent, Bruges, Mechlin, and other places were won, and finally Antwerp surrendered after a prolonged and memorable siege (1585). The Dutch were brought near to despair. The duke of Anjou abandoned them, and Elizabeth of England refused to accept sovereignty over their country. She did dispatch an expedition to assist them, however, and received as "cautionary" towns, or pledges, Flushing and Brill.

Assassination of William the Silent, 1584

The Dutch and the English acted increasingly together, and mariners of both nations plundered the shipping of Spain. Accordingly, Philip resolved to dispatch a great naval expedition to conquer England, win complete command of the seas, and so pave the way for a thorough reduction of the revolted Dutch country. In 1588 the mighty Spanish Armada set sail. Meanwhile, Parma assembled a Spanish army at Gravelines, between Dunkirk and Calais, to cross to England when the Channel was cleared. This was the decisive moment of the struggle, and one of the most critical in the history of Europe. The crisis soon passed. It was afterward evident that

The English and the Dutch keep control of the sea

the Spanish fleet had no chance against the English, with its swifter ships, its heavier and more numerous cannon, and its far greater store of ammunition. The Armada was terribly damaged and driven off in disastrous flight northward around the British Isles. Parma was unable to reach England. The English and the Dutch had assured control of the sea, and this in the end made possible the maintenance of Dutch independence.

The Spaniards grow weaker on land

On land also the operations of the Spaniards were less successful than they had been. Philip II was intervening more and more in the French religious wars, and Spanish armies, that might have continued the reduction of the Netherlands, were diverted to march into France. Meanwhile, Maurice of Nassau introduced admirable military reforms, built up a strong Dutch army, and then led this army with high ability and skill. One place after another was reduced, and Spanish fortune steadily waned. Meanwhile, the Dutch dispatched naval expeditions to seize Spanish ships and harass Spanish trade. In 1596 a Dutch and English expedition destroyed a Spanish fleet and sacked the seaport Cadiz. Henry IV of France and Elizabeth of England had agreed to fight together against Spain. This league was joined in 1596 by the Dutch. Two years later France made with Spain the separate Treaty of Vervins (1598). Philip would not recognize the independence of the Dutch, and they would have none of the treaty. Accordingly a desultory struggle dragged on for some time. At last, in 1609 a truce was made for twelve years. This was virtually the establishment of Dutch independence. Independence was not formally recognized in Europe, however, until a generation later, when it was acknowledged by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648).

France, England, and the Dutch against Spain

Independence: declared, 1581; established, 1609; acknowledged, 1648

The independent United Provinces of the Netherlands were seven in number: Friesland, Gelderland, Holland, Utrecht, and Zealand, which had helped to form the Union

Government of the United Provinces

of Utrecht in 1579, together with Groningen and Overyssel which acceded somewhat later. They were joined in a loose federation. With respect to government each province was a federation of municipal councils. The central government consisted of the states general—a legislative assembly representing the provinces, and a central executive, the council; but the authority of this central government was ill-defined and constantly disputed by the several provincial governments. In the provinces political power was held by a very narrow electorate. Nobles envied burghers, and the great mass of the unenfranchised envied those who held power. Holland, by far the largest of the members, had predominant influence in the states general, and this often made coöperation between central and provincial governments more difficult still.

Prosperity and power

With this loose government the Dutch would have difficulty in maintaining themselves in the midst of stronger neighbors. On the other hand, their country had one of the best positions in Europe. The old prosperity and wealth of the Netherlands had passed definitely to the portion now independent. The Dutch remained in control of the mouths of the Scheldt and the Rhine, and, in the course of their long struggle, based on the sea, they had made themselves the principal naval and commercial power in Europe. Despite the ravage and exhaustion from so long-protracted a contest, they had emerged richer and more important than when the struggle began.

The Dutch Netherlands a great power

During the first half of the seventeenth century their power and prosperity increased. Their seaports now became what the English ports afterward were, the center of the shipping of the world. Their naval strength was steadily increased. When hostilities were resumed with the Spaniards later on (1619) they easily defeated the Spanish fleet, and were for some time undisputed masters of the seas all about. During the course of their contests with Spain they seized the wealthy Spice Islands off

southeastern Asia, which the Spaniards had won when they annexed Portugal and her possessions. Later on (1640), the Portuguese established their independence again, but the colonies they had lost remained to the Dutch, who developed them and drew from them enormous revenue and wealth. They obtained almost a monopoly of the fisheries of the North Sea, and the herring alone yielded them abounding revenue. In 1634 an Englishman estimated that the catch of herring, cod, and other fish in the waters near his country brought the Dutch from four million to six million pounds sterling a year. It may be noted that three years later Angelo Correr, the Venetian ambassador to England, estimated that the annual revenue of the English government was only eight hundred thousand pounds. Dutch commerce and shipping were enormously increased. The Dutch obtained a great part of all the carrying trade of northern and western Europe. In their ships were transported the wares of France and of Spain and of England to various countries, as well as the goods which the Dutch themselves imported and exported. Their great seaports were the principal commercial emporiums of Europe, and these cities became industrial centers also. The United Netherlands, small as were their area and population, became for a while one of the great European states.

Revenue from their fisheries

Carrying trade

Adverse factors

This power and this high position were beyond the real strength of the Dutch, who had obtained them only while Spain was declining, and before France and England had composed their own internal troubles. During the second half of the seventeenth century the Dutch struggled with great success against odds and adverse conditions, but their strength was largely exhausted. Excellent as was their geographical and strategic position, they were unfortunate in that this position was inferior to that of their rising rival England, and that they lay close to the mighty Kingdom of France. By sea they were compelled to fight with

the English a series of costly naval wars, in which advantage remained with England, while almost at the same time they were forced to battle against overwhelming odds in wars on the land to defend themselves from the French.

Rivalry with the English

"The English," said an observer in the early part of the seventeenth century, "are by nature almost equally averse both to the Spaniards and the French, whilst neighborhood and commerce furnish them with frequent cause for misunderstandings with the Dutch." In the latter part of the sixteenth century common fear of the Spaniards caused the English and the Dutch to act together and give mutual assistance. In the latter part of the century following, common dread of the menacing power of France caused them to act in union to stay her advance. During the interval between, however, rivalry in commerce and colonial enterprise brought English and Dutch into bitter antagonism, and involved them both in a series of exhausting wars.

The Anglo-Dutch Wars

For some years after the establishment of the independence of the Netherlands, the Dutch navy was far superior to the navy of England. During this time, in disputes between the two, the Dutch had their way. This did not last, however. Charles I of England (1625–1649) steadily added warships to his fleet, and the navy of England was strengthened still further in the period of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate that followed (1649–1659). The English were seeking to found colonies in competition with the Dutch. They were determined to have their share of the fisheries in the waters near by. They were resolved to expand their own commerce. In 1651 the English parliament passed a law forbidding the import of goods from America, Africa, or Asia into England save in English ships, and ordaining that goods from European countries might be brought into England only in English ships or else ships of the country from which the goods came. This so-called Navigation Act, a direct blow at

Dutch carrying trade, was not rigorously enforced at first but was repeated and made more rigorous later on. To colonial rivalry and disputes about the North Sea fisheries, political troubles were added. The English commonwealth government demanded that England and the Netherlands be united as two republics under the headship of England, and that the Dutch expel all English royalists from their country. All this the Dutch refused. In the long period of their prosperity they had allowed their naval strength to decline, and in the First Dutch War (1652–4) they were worsted in several encounters.

General results adverse to the Dutch

After 1660, however, the English navy deteriorated, while the Dutch was greatly improved. Hence, in the Second Dutch War (1665–7) the Dutch defeated the English in desperate engagements and for a time were masters of the Channel and of the mouth of the Thames. In the Third Dutch War (1672–4) the Dutch with heroic courage managed to hold their own against the navies of France and of England, even while the French were masters of much of their country. Commercial rivalry between English and Dutch now yielded to the suspicion and dread that were growing among both these peoples with respect to the French; and the contest between them came to an end. The general result of the struggle was adverse to the Dutch. The English maintained their measures against the Dutch carrying trade, and because of the superiority of their own geographical position gradually took much of the European carrying trade for themselves; while more and more they won the fisheries which both had desired.

Opposition to France

The decline of the United Netherlands, in competition with a rival of superior resources, was hastened because they were compelled to carry on wars more exhausting on land. In the days of French rivalry with Spain, France had helped the Dutch to win independence. During the period of Louis XIV, however, the French govern-

ment, having extended its frontiers by victorious wars with Spain and the empire, resolved to take Spain's remaining possessions to the east of France—the Spanish Netherlands, Luxemburg, Franche-Comté. Such conquests would leave the Dutch in immediate proximity with France; and the Dutch, fearing for their safety, resolved to maintain the barrier between their provinces and France by keeping the Spanish Netherlands under dominion of Spain.

Stubborn struggles with France

In the War of Devolution (1667–8) Louis XIV was checked in full career of his conquest of the Spanish Netherlands by the Triple League of Holland, England, and Sweden, formed under the lead of the Dutch (1668). Louis yielded, and by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668) gave up most of his gains; but he now planned to assure conquest of the Spanish Netherlands by conquering the Dutch Netherlands also. The Triple Alliance broke to pieces as Louis bought the withdrawal of Sweden, and by secret treaty, won England to give him assistance. In 1672 the Dutch were suddenly attacked by the combined navies of England and France, while a powerful French army traversed the Netherlands and was at the point of taking Amsterdam itself. But the Dutch cut the dikes again, and their admiral, De Ruyter, defeated the allies in a desperate naval engagement. England soon withdrew from the struggle, and the Dutch were assisted by a coalition of German states. After a destructive contest the war was ended by the Treaty of Nymwegen (1678), by which the Dutch Netherlands and the Spanish Netherlands were both of them kept from the French.

England joins France for a moment

England and Holland against France

In 1689 William of Orange, virtual ruler of the Netherlands, became king of England. Then the resources of England and of Holland were united in checking the ambitions of France. In a great European war (1689–97) the efforts of Louis XIV were frustrated, and in the greater

struggle of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14), the possibility of French domination in Europe was ended for a long time. The Netherlands, which had borne heavy burdens in these wars, were now safe; but the Dutch, weakened by efforts too long and too great, were thoroughly exhausted. Moreover, they had declined while their rivals and neighbors were increasing in strength. Accordingly, during the eighteenth century the Dutch Netherlands sank back into the position of a second- or a third-rate power.

The United Netherlands in the eighteenth century

During the eighteenth century the Netherlands remained prosperous, and their commerce, their industry, and their colonial dominion continued important. In the great contests of the eighteenth century, however, they, like Venice, took as little part as they could. During the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–8) the Dutch Netherlands were invaded by the French who took many important towns, but at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) the French withdrew. During the American Revolutionary War, the Dutch, who had been carrying on a lucrative trade with the revolted colonists, were presently involved in the struggle with Great Britain, and their shipping endured great losses. For the most part, however, the Dutch stood aloof, beholding their stronger neighbors, until after 1789 they, along with all peoples near by, were caught in the vortex of the French Revolutionary wars.

Government and constitution

Government was changed but little, save that in the midst of a great many trying circumstances the union of the provinces grew somewhat stronger. The loose confederation formed in 1579 lasted with success for more than two hundred years. Each of the seven provinces had its own stadholder and its own provincial estates. In the provinces political power came almost entirely into the hands of the burgher aristocracy of the towns, for the Reformation had destroyed the political power of the

clergy and other causes had taken from the nobles most of their power. Each province continued to be, in effect, a federation of the town councils, delegates from which composed the provincial estates. The central government consisted of the states general of the United Provinces, made up of delegates representing the provincial estates. The states general appointed the commander-in-chief of the army and the commander-in-chief of the navy. The executive power was vested in a smaller body, the council of state. Actually, however, it tended to be in the hands of one stadholder whom the principal provinces united in choosing. In origin the stadholder (*stadhouder*, place holder) had been viceroy of the Spanish rulers in one or the other of the Netherland provinces. After the Dutch Netherlands had renounced allegiance and taken sovereignty to themselves, six of the seven provinces chose William the Silent—and afterward for some time his descendants—for their common stadholder, he having from the provinces with respect to their domestic affairs, from the states general in respect of commanding the army and the navy, and managing foreign affairs and matters of common concern, a delegated executive and administrative power.

The states general

Internal politics of the country had to do largely with contests between the republicans and the Orange faction. The republican party had arisen during the struggle with Spain. In after times it strove to uphold the rights of the separate provinces. The adherents of the House of Orange hoped to achieve greater unity and strength for the Netherlands by making the stadholder's office hereditary in the House of Orange, or even investing it with royal powers. Under William the Silent, prince of Orange, the foundations of Dutch independence were laid; and independence was established partly as a result of the able leadership of Maurice, his son. Then for a while the destinies of Holland were guided largely by Jan van Olden-

Republicans and supporters of the House of Orange

Barneveld, the leader of the republican party. In 1618 he was put to death as a result of the bigotry of Dutch Calvinists and the hostility of the Orange party. Thereafter, for a generation, the Netherlands were ruled by stadholders of the House of Orange, and the stadholderate was tending to become hereditary in their house. In 1653, however, Jan de Wit became grand pensionary—a principal officer—of Holland, and thus president of the states general; for some time again the republicans were in the ascendant. In 1672, in the midst of the terror caused by the French invasion, De Wit and his brother were murdered by a mob. William of Orange now became stadholder, and later on king of England. For some years (1689–1702) England and Holland were united to the extent that they had the same ruler. In 1747 William IV of Orange was made stadholder, and the office declared hereditary in his family.

Stadholders of the House of Orange

Meanwhile, the western and southern Netherlands, which had abandoned the effort to win independence from Spain, had gone their way in obscurity and declension. As the Spanish Netherlands they continued under the dominion of Spain (1579–1713). For them there was none of the prosperity that came to their neighbors north. Their old greatness and wealth were ruined during the struggle with Spain, and when the contest between the Dutch and the Spaniards was ended the losses fell largely on themselves. Their old industry had passed to other places. The Dutch held the seaport of Flushing, and thus controlled the mouth of the Scheldt down which the commerce of Antwerp had come to the sea. For their own advantage the Dutch closed this river now, and by the Peace of Westphalia (1648) the closing of the Scheldt to navigation was confirmed. Long before, however, the commerce of Antwerp had vanished, and Amsterdam had what Antwerp once held.

The Spanish Netherlands

The Scheldt closed by the Dutch

During the remainder of the seventeenth century, under

the weakening administration of the Spaniards, the prosperity of the Spanish Netherlands continued to decay. Because of their admirable position, however, these Netherlands would have been a splendid acquisition for some great power, and under strong rule they might have been made important again. Hence they were persistently sought by France, and such acquisition being as persistently resisted by the Dutch, and afterward by the English, this country became the battleground of armies in successive wars. In the greatest of these, the War of the Spanish Succession, the Spanish Netherlands after having been occupied by the French, were conquered by the Dutch and the English, and by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) taken from Spain and given to the emperor, who was holder of the Austrian dominions.

The Spanish Netherlands desired by France

Thereafter (1714–94) they were ruled by the emperor as the Austrian Netherlands, and were among the prized possessions of the Hapsburg house. In the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–8) the French again occupied these provinces, as they had earlier under Louis XIV; but when the war was ended the country was returned to Austria once more. In 1787, when the Emperor Joseph II was making reforms throughout his dominions, the changes suddenly put into effect in the Austrian Netherlands—changes that abrogated many ancient local rights, caused great discontent, and next year a revolt broke out. The prospect of French assistance to the rebels and fear that France was reviving her old aspirations to obtain this country for herself, brought on a political crisis that then seemed the most important thing in the politics of western Europe. This crisis has long since been nearly forgotten, however, from the mightier events of the French Revolution that followed so quickly after. In 1790, the revolted provinces declared themselves independent. A little later they were conquered by revolutionary France (1792–4).

The Austrian Netherlands

The Belgian crisis, 1787–90

The country of the Swiss

Farther to the south, in their mountains, amidst larger countries and greater nations, the Swiss had long before achieved independence, then risen to renown, and held their own as a small jurisdiction. Their Alpine land had once been part of the Roman Empire, and, most of it, a part of the Roman province of Gaul. In later days the country was traversed by conquering Germans going southward and westward, some of whom stayed to possess the country. These districts were part of the empire of Charlemagne and of the Holy Roman Empire reëstablished by his later successors. The lands and the mountains of this country were held by various feudal lords. Around the Lake of Lucerne the country owed allegiance to the dukes of Suabia. In 1268, on the extinction of this ducal line, numerous small jurisdictions, formerly held of the dukes, became fiefs held of the emperor himself.

Certain Swiss cantons resist the Hapsburg counts

During the period of the Interregnum in the empire (1254–73), the greater local magnates in the country about the Lake of Lucerne tried to increase their dominions by acquiring the lands of the smaller and weaker. So the House of Hapsburg first rose to greatness. Among the possessions that the Hapsburgs strove to acquire were the forest villages or cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, whose inhabitants were determined to acknowledge allegiance to the emperor alone. In 1291 these mountaineers made a defensive league. In 1315 Leopold of Hapsburg, ruler of Austria now, resolved to bring them into subjection, but they defeated his force at the small but disastrous Battle of Morgarten. The emperor now confirmed the edict of a former emperor, specifically declaring the dependence of the cantons on the emperor alone, and three years later the Hapsburgs withdrew their claims.

From this nucleus the confederation was steadily enlarged. Various cities and the districts adjacent joined the original members: Luzern (1330), Zürich (1351),

26. GROWTH OF THE SWISS CONFEDERATION

The Swiss cantons tenants-in-chief of the emperor

Glarus (1352), Bern (1353), while Zug was conquered by the confederates (1352). There were now eight cantons joined together by various ties and alliances in a loose confederation, some of them continuing to owe feudal allegiance to the Hapsburg lords. After a time one of the Hapsburg rulers, Leopold II, endeavored once more to subdue the Swiss, but they at the Battle of Sempach (1386) and the Battle of Näfels (1388) defeated their opponents completely. In 1389 the Hapsburgs renounced all their remaining feudal claims, and the confederation now consisted of eight cantons, subject to no lord but the emperor himself, and therefore virtually independent.

The Swiss become completely independent

A century later they came into conflict with Charles the Bold of Burgundy who was striving to construct a kingdom out of various territories in the valley of the Rhine, but they defeated Charles and destroyed his power at the battles of Granson and Morat or Murten (1476). At the end of the fifteenth century, in a struggle with the Hapsburg emperor, Maximilian, the Swiss defeated the armies that he sent against them, and by the Peace of Basel, which he was forced to make with them (1499), their independence of the empire was virtually established. Thereafter the imperial authorities made no attempt to control them in any way whatsoever. The independence of the cantons was formally acknowledged in the Peace of Westphalia (1648).

The Swiss country exports fighting men

Meanwhile, the Swiss had become renowned as the best soldiers in western Europe, and from fighting to maintain their independence many of them turned to war as a profitable trade. Some served the king of France, and many of them fought for pay in the numerous Italian wars. Armed with very long pikes, marshalled in dense infantry masses, they fought with stubborn tenacity and steady courage, and could seldom be broken or defeated. More successful than the Scottish spearmen who had once been overthrown by the English, steadier and more tenacious

than the German foot soldiers of their own time, the Swiss pikemen revived the best traditions of the old Greek hoplites and of the Macedonian heavy-armed phalanx. Their services were eagerly sought, and their fighting often decided the course of events in other countries. For their services these mercenaries received large pay, and they brought back plentiful store of money to their country. For some generations war was the most productive industry of Switzerland, and the Swiss, coming from their bare and mountainous country, won treasure by fighting for others—just as the Flemings gained through weaving and the Venetians through shipping and trade. In course of time, however, Swiss mercenaries appeared in opposing armies, and killed each other. Then there were occasions when they refused to fight against each other. Presently the disgrace and ruin of such fratricidal conflict were keenly felt by their better people. In 1515 at Marignano near Milan a powerful Swiss army attacked the forces which Francis I, king of France, had led into Italy for the conquest of the Duchy of Milan. In a desperate and confused battle they were defeated and so withdrew. After that time, in the midst of the troubles that attended the Reformation in Switzerland, and confronted by more powerful armies of the nations about them, they no longer took the prominent part which they had been able to take for some time.

The best mercenary soldiers in Europe

Marignano

Under the leadership of Zwingli the Reformation began about the same time in portions of Switzerland that it began under Luther in the empire. In Switzerland, as in so many other countries, part of the population joined in revolt against the old church, while many clung to the Catholic faith. Here, as elsewhere during this era of religious troubles, there was civil war, and attempt on the part of some to constrain the others to take what they wished for themselves. The religious wars, however, while bitter, were not prolonged; and after a short period

The Reformation in Switzerland

Various elements live together in peace

Protestants and Catholics in Switzerland settled down to live together in peace. Thereafter, the people in the Swiss confederation—most of them Germans but some of them Frenchmen, and some Italians, Protestants some of them and others Catholics—afforded the principal example in the world of peoples of different races and religions living together in voluntary union, and also in amity and concord.

Constitution of the Swiss confederation

The constitution of the Swiss Confederation was mostly implied, understood, and derived from the various compacts of association and alliance made between the various groups of confederates from time to time: the "Everlasting Compact" (1291)—the basis of the confederation, the *Pfaffenbrief* (priest's ordinance) (1370), the Ordinance of Sempach (1393), and the Compact of Stanz (1481). The confederation contained first the three original members: Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden (1291). Because of old prominence and continued importance the men of Schwyz extended their name to the people and the country of all the confederation, so that the country came to be known as Switzerland (*Schwyzerland*) and the inhabitants Swiss, just as the United Provinces of the Netherland were often spoken of as Holland, because the Dutch province of that name was so prominent. But while Holland was almost as strong and as great as all of the other Dutch Netherlands together, Schwyz was much less than some of the later members of the Swiss Confederation. To the three original cantons others had been added, mostly by alliance with the original group, and not by specific alliance with each other: Luzern (1330), Zürich (1351), Glarus (1352), Bern (1353), Freiburg (1481), Solothurn (1481), Basel (1501), Schaffhausen (1501), Appenzell (1513). In addition, there were communities allied with certain of the confederates, such as Geneva which was allied with Freiburg (1518) and with Bern (1526). There were also allied or associated districts (*zugewandte*

Schwyzerland

Various members

orte), like St. Gall, confederates (*confoederati*), "protected districts," and subject lands held by some member of the confederation or else by several members in common. Some of the cantons were practically democracies; others, like the wealthy city of Bern, were ruled by a small aristocracy which monopolized political rights. Within each canton or district, government varied in accordance with old custom and the accretion of time. The general government resided in an assembly or diet, which consisted of two delegates from each member and one delegate from each associated member. In this diet the subject lands, protected districts, and "confederates" had no representation. Over the members of the confederacy this assembly had no more power than had the German diet over the states of the Holy Roman Empire. The delegates were strictly limited by instructions from the states they represented, and the decisions of the majority were not binding upon any members that dissented.

Government weak

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Swiss lived obscure in their country, remote in their mountains, unmindful of what went on in the greater countries about them, taking no part in the wars and ambitions of neighboring states. They were bound together less by their loose constitution than by common sentiment and tradition; and less protected by strength of their own than by the Alps that towered all about them.

A country small and secluded

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CHAPTER XVI

THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

"Mr. Van Beuninghen arrived here yesterday . . . the discourse that he held this day to My Lord of Halifax & myself was. 1. to persuade of the dreadfull power of France. 2. of the view it hath of an Universal Monarchy. 3. that there must be a gen[ll] uniting of Counsells & Forces. 4. his Ma[ty] must be in y[e]. head of that Union. . . .

LIONEL JENKINS, Secretary of State, to the Earl of Conway, October 9, 1681: S. P. Dom. Entry Book, LXII, 335, 336.

En el nombre de la Santissima Trinidad, Padre, Hijo, y Espiritu santo. . . . Yo Don Carlos . . . Rey de Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, de las dos Sicilias . . . de las Indias Orientales y Occidentales, Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano. . . Conde de Absburg, de Flandes, de Tirol, y de Barcelona . . . declaro ser mi sucessor . . . el Duque de Anjou, hijo segundo del Delfin . . . á la sucesion de todos mis Reynos y Dominios sin excepcion de ninguna parte de ellos. . . .

Testament de Charles II (Paris 1700), pp. 3, 4, 15, 16.

Malbrough s'en va-t-en guerre
Mironton, mironton, mirontaine
Malbrough s'en va-t-en guerre
Ne sait quand reviendra
Ne sait quand reviendra
Ne sait quand reviendra

Song written after the Battle of Malplaquet (1709). [The air afterward used for the song, "We won't go home till morning."]

The beginning of the eighteenth century

THE latter years of the seventeenth century and the earlier years of the eighteenth were marked by a general European settlement that involved such interests and brought such large changes as to make an epoch in modern history. The War of the Spanish Succession marks off an earlier from a later period in the affairs of western Europe.

Four epochs in the political history of modern Europe

In the past four hundred years, as in earlier times, the story of Europe's people is filled with a long succession of wars, of battles, of sieges, of diplomatic contest and intrigue, with many a struggle and many a treaty, and much rearranging of things. Four epochs, however, have been of striking preëminence in good and in evil. On four occasions terrible wars plagued a great part of Europe's people, and at the end of each of them a settlement followed that altered the face of Europe. In the earlier part of the seventeenth century, the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) ruined Germany, held Austria in check, contributed something to the decline of Spain, and assisted the rise of France. It was the greatest and most desperate of the struggles between Protestants and Catholics; and its earlier events determined that they should divide western Europe between them. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14), which scourged all western Europe for a decade, ended the overweening greatness of France, divided the possessions of Spain, added to the Austrian Hapsburg dominions, and left Great Britain foremost in Europe. At the end of the eighteenth century and during long years at the beginning of the nineteenth, the wars of the French Revolution and those that followed in Napoleon's time (1793–1815) threw all Europe into tumult and confusion, and largely altered the arrangement of things. In our own time, a vaster and more terrible struggle grew out of the Industrial Revolution, the rivalry of nations, and the German stroke for world dominion. There were four years of a conflict so terrible that modern civilization was nearly stricken to the heart, so vast that most of Europe and much of the world were finally drawn into the vortex. The end brought fearful woe and exhaustion, destruction of Germany's military power, destruction of Austria, and ruin of Russia.

The Thirty Years' War

The War of the Spanish Succession

The Napoleonic Wars

The Great War of 1914

As the conflict of the Thirty Years' War bears resem-

Two were struggles between the new and the old

blance to the wars that grew out of the French Revolution, so in many ways was the War of the Spanish Succession like the Great War of 1914. The conflict of the sixteenth century grew out of the revolution that followed acceptance of new ideas and the attempt to break away from Rome. Mixed with political schemings and with many a baser thing, it was yet in essence a struggle between the new and the old, between Protestantism and Catholicism so long established. Likewise the wars that began in 1793, whatever they came to embrace and whatever they meant in the end, always were in some sort a struggle between the new and the old—conservatism, vested privilege and right against desire to alter, overthrow, and reconstruct. In both these conflicts the principle and issues at stake were large and of enduring importance.

Two were great contests for power and dominion

Of less permanent interest, perhaps, were the War of the Spanish Succession and the War of 1914–18. Important as they were in the days of the people who saw them, neither the causes that brought them about nor the issues by them decided were such as underlie the larger changes that alter the destiny of man. Both of them arose from an existing political situation; each settled the principal issue of the time. In the seventeenth century western Europe beheld the ever-growing power of France, and the events of 1700 made it seem that France might later be able to master all Europe. It was against such menace that Europe combined until the power of France was abated. So, in the years after 1900 the greatness and ambition of the German Empire increased until all other nations feared or suspected. Against what seemed German attempt at "world dominion" a combination was formed, and in the end German power was laid in the dust. The allies fought until decision because from 1914 to 1917 it seemed that Germany was erecting the strongest empire constructed since the days of the Romans—a danger to all of its neighbors, an empire impregnable against any

27. TO ILLUSTRATE THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION, 1701–14

attack. In 1701 it seemed that to the power of the monarchy of France would be added all the empire of Spain.

The zenith of the power of France

In 1700 France, though already declining, appeared at the summit of her greatness. Little more than a century before she had been impotent and helpless, torn by the wars of religion and by faction and internal disorder. All this had completely passed. Unity and vigor had been restored by Henry IV. There were years of peace, there were excellent administration and wise reforms. The vigor and intelligence of the French, the richness of their country, the fertility of its soil, have ever in favorable times brought power and prosperity to France. The work begun by Henry IV was continued by Richelieu and Mazarin and afterward by Henry's grandson, Louis XIV. Under these men was developed the ablest constructive work done during that age in Europe. No pains were spared to increase the agriculture, the manufactures, the commerce of France, and enhance her prosperity and wealth. Fortresses were constructed and the country made strong. The army was immensely developed, and

A strong government

to a less extent so was the navy. All this the government could do, because central government and administration were constantly strengthened, until nearly all power was in the hands of the king and his chosen officials. In the end great defects would come from this system, but an able king, had he time enough, might develop the strength of France to the utmost. Louis XIV had begun to reign in 1643. In 1661 he began to rule, and he had now governed France forty years. His ability was not of the highest order, but he was a man of immense vitality, industry, and endurance, strong, capable, bold, and unswerving in ambition to advance the interests of his kingdom.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century the results of all this were apparent. For two generations France had fought successful wars. She had beaten her opponents,

and greatly added to her possessions. Her two rivals, Austria and Spain, had been thoroughly humbled, and alone neither of them could venture to stand against her now. The neighboring German and Italian states were allies or subservient vassals. The English government, though lately her principal opponent, had sometimes assisted her schemes and sometimes accepted money for not opposing them. Her army was by far the most powerful and effective in the world. Her generals had long been the ablest and most renowned. Her military teachers and engineers were the masters of military science. Her diplomatic agents were feared and admired in every one of the courts of Europe. Upon all this or beside it a resplendent civilization had grown.

Great beyond all her rivals

There was a great deal very admirable about all this. On the other hand, disquieting things had happened, and there was good reason why France's rivals and neighbors should regard her with increasing suspicion. It had been the proper policy of French rulers to make France prosperous and secure by rendering her strong and great, but they had gone beyond this and striven to take advantage of their neighbors and seize possessions whenever they could. With admirable skill they played off their rivals one against the other, while they carried out their plans as they pleased. Richelieu and Mazarin assisted Swedes and Germans in order that France might take lands from the empire. Under Louis XIV England was induced to assist France first against Spain and later on against the Dutch. Everywhere were strong and able emissaries and ambassadors of France, insisting on precedence for themselves and working always with money or with threats for the advancement and glory of their country.

Suspicion and dread of France

French power and pride

The largeness of French ambition, however, and the very greatness of French success had gradually raised up successful opposition. The earlier and the principal

Increasing and successful opposition

triumphs had been gained against a Europe divided. But after 1672 English national feeling grew stronger and stronger against France, and after the Revolution of 1688 in England, William, stadholder of Holland and king of England and of Scotland, headed a very strong combination against France. In the war that followed, France was virtually defeated, though not badly defeated. Later on it would be evident that French government and administration were no longer as good as they had been, and that the long course of war and ambition had left the monarchy nearly exhausted. Yet, no vital hurt had been done, and France had stood against all of her foes combined. A period of peace and complete recovery might perhaps be expected. At this moment a combination of circumstances threatened to add to French power the far-flung possessions of Spain.

The declension of Spain

The seventeenth century had witnessed the decline of Spain. In 1600 she had still been not far from the summit of her power, and most contemporaries could scarcely suspect then the deep-seated forces that were slowly sapping her strength. By 1700 the Spanish Empire was a helpless prize to be fought for by alien rivals. Spain still held nearly all her possessions; but because of internal decay she held with relaxing grasp, and in the presence of rivals whose strength increased as her own strength waned and diminished. Actually she had lost only the Dutch Netherlands, some border possessions to France, Portugal independent again, and certain West Indian islands. Spain still held the southern Netherlands and all her Italian possessions. Her mighty colonial dominions had scarcely been touched.

Relative loss of strength

But in the course of a hundred years her virtue and vigor had weakened. A century and a half before the Netherlands had been her richest possession; France was then torn by religious strife; Elizabeth was insecure on the throne of England. Now Holland was independent, wealthy, and strong; England secure, powerful, aggressive;

and France, what Spain had formerly been, the mightiest power in the world.

Economic decay

Far more ominous were the actual decline and decay. Evident now it was that in the days of her primacy Spain had undertaken tasks far beyond her strength and was now in grievous exhaustion. The country itself had never been rich, like France or like England. After the expulsion of Moors and Jews, agriculture withered and manufactures dwindled away. Population declined and large districts were all but deserted. The principal cities diminished and during the seventeenth century Madrid lost half its inhabitants. Commerce languished although Spaniards possessed a colonial empire in which they tried to keep a monopoly of trade for themselves. Much of the trade with New Spain and Peru, however, was actually in the hands of the Dutch and the English, who, along with the French, supplied Spain herself with manufactured articles and some of the raw products she required. The result was a constant balance of trade against Spain that drained away such wealth as she had.

The money of Spain enriched others

In Mexico and in Peru Spain had the richest mines of silver and of gold in the world. But the cargoes of the treasure fleets were now usually appropriated or pawned long before they arrived; and the bullion paid out enriched not Spain but England and Holland. Accordingly, the revenues were never sufficient for the services of state, and all departments fell into decay. The navy became negligible. The army, once renowned as invincible, was in 1699 a half-starved rabble of dispirited men. No longer could Spain resist foreign aggression. In the recent European wars her possessions had been defended by the enemies of France. The palsy that affected every branch of administration was especially marked at the center. Under the weaker sovereigns who governed Spain in the second half of the seventeenth century, the power of the king and his councils had waned, and much authority had been

Weakness and confusion

usurped by church, inquisition, and grandees. Corruption was rife; all offices were sold; little work of government was done; everywhere confusion and torpor.

Charles II of Spain

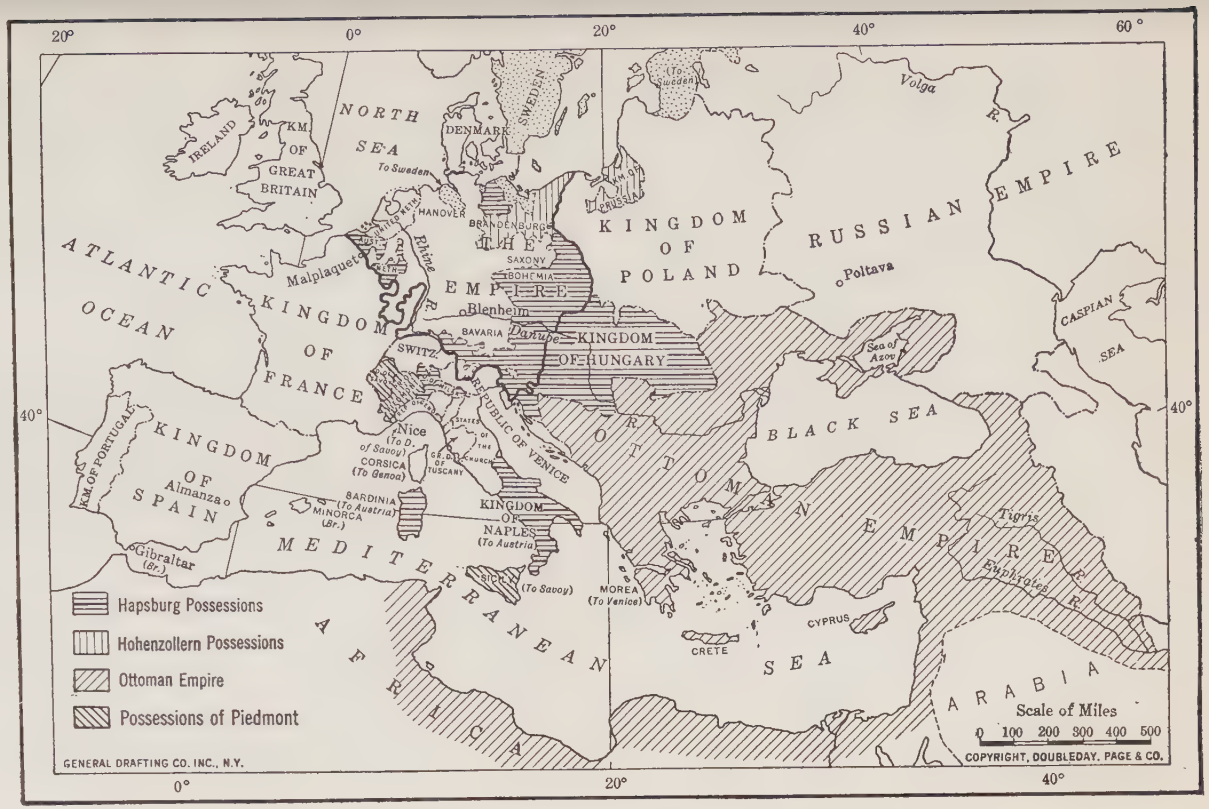
Spanish decrepitude was typified best in the king whose reign was now closing. In 1665 Charles II had ascended the throne. He was then a weakly child four years old. He reigned for thirty-five years, but there were few who at any time seeing him believed he could live much longer. This last of the Spanish Hapsburgs was a degenerate in body and mind. Weak, superstitious, melancholy, incapable, he was, so contemporaries thought, afflicted with almost every disease that can come to a man. It was evident enough, as the years went by, that he would leave no heir of his own. Then there would be several claimants.

The Spanish succession

Best in point of law was the claim of Joseph Ferdinand, electoral prince of Bavaria, derived through his grandmother Margaret, second daughter of Philip II. But two much more powerful claimants also maintained their pretension. Two daughters of Philip III had been married, the elder one to Louis XIII of France, the younger to the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Ferdinand III.

Philip II, Philip III, Philip IV, Charles II

From these marriages the Bourbon house of France and the Hapsburg house of Austria derived a claim to the Spanish dominions. The Emperor Leopold, who presently transferred his claim to his second son, the Archduke Charles, derived that claim from his mother, Maria Anna, daughter of Philip III of Spain, who had done no act to invalidate her possible succession to the Spanish crown. The son of Louis XIV derived his right not only from his grandmother, Anna, eldest daughter of Philip III, but also from his mother, Maria Theresa, daughter of Philip IV, hence elder sister of Charles II of Spain, but both these princesses on marrying had renounced all such rights. In order of legal validity the claims ranked Bavaria, Austria, and France; but in so far as the strength of the contestants lay, the order was exactly reversed.



28. EUROPE IN 1714

A concern to all Europe

It had long been evident that the issues involved were too great for settlement merely by hereditary right. The result might alter or upset all of the affairs of Europe. Such ambition was aroused both in Austria and in France that acquiring the Spanish dominions became the principal object of their statecraft. Each one was willing to go any length for the prize, and equally far against the other. Nor was this all; every state in western and central Europe was also an interested party. If the Empire of Spain were in any way joined with the Austrian Hapsburg dominions, then there might be once again the power that Charles V had wielded and all his neighbors had dreaded. Rather than allow this to be, France would certainly fight. But still worse, in the eyes of outsiders, would it be if France got control of the possessions of Spain. The body of that empire was very decrepit, but under able leadership by France new life might well be infused. France had been able to oppress or defy all her neighbors. With such added strength her power would become incomparably the greatest in the world.

Compromise attempted

Compromise seemed the wisest solution, and three times was a compromise tried. In 1668, by a secret treaty between France and the emperor, it had been arranged that in the event of the death without heirs of Charles II, the emperor should have Spain, Milan, and the Spanish colonies, France should have Franche-Comté, the Spanish Netherlands, Navarre, Catalonia, Sicily, and Naples. Now recently, in 1698 and again in 1700, two so-called partition treaties had been arranged, largely by negotiation between William III of England and Louis XIV, with the approval, therefore, of England, Holland, and France.

Proposed division of the Spanish dominions

By the First Partition Treaty it was agreed that if Charles II died without issue the dauphin of France should have part of the Spanish possessions in Italy, that is, the Two Sicilies, and also certain smaller portions along the northwest Italian coast, together with the Spanish

frontier province of Guipuzcoa. The Archduke Charles was to have the north Italian province of the Milanese. All the remaining Spanish possessions should go to the Bavarian electoral prince. But this arrangement, in which France had displayed much moderation, was brought to nothing next year by the sudden death of the Bavarian prince. Louis XIV now made overtures afresh, the result of which was the Second Treaty of Partition, made in 1700 by those parties who had made the first. It was now agreed that the archduke should receive the Spanish dominions, excepting what the first treaty had allotted the French claimant, on condition that the empire and the crown of Spain should never be united. The dauphin was to receive not merely Guipuzcoa, the Two Sicilies, and the Ligurian coast towns, but also the Duchy of Lorraine, which France had long been striving to take completely from the empire. As compensation, Milan would be given to the duke of Lorraine.

The partition treaties

These elaborate and difficult negotiations, well meant as doubtless they were, neglected one of the principal factors in the problem. The partition treaties were actually attempts by foreign powers to dispose of, indeed to divide, the possessions of Spain. The Spanish people had little left but their pride, but they were the proudest people in Europe. The very news of the treaties—for secret though they were the secret was soon made known—caused a transport of fury and an agony of despair at the Spanish court. What the rulers and the people of Spain most desired was to keep their dominions undivided. No scheme of partition was acceptable to them. It was evident soon that the Spanish authorities wished all of the inheritance to be given intact to one of the claimants, preferably to the one most capable of holding it together.

The Spaniards want no partition

All to the strongest

Accordingly, the Spanish court became the scene of a network of intrigue, in which every device was used to win the bequest for France or for the empire. Flattery, in-

All the inheritance to a French prince

timidation, persuasion, bribes—all were employed, while agents played upon the fears and the superstition of the dying king. There were secret debates in the council of state and in the council of Castile, and the advice of the pope was sought. At length, in October, 1700, the last will and testament of Charles was signed. One month more and he died. Then came one of the dramatic moments in the history of Europe. At court in presence of a breathless and expectant throng the announcement was made: all the dominions of Spain had been left to the duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin of France.

Louis allows his grandson to accept

Here was a turning-point in the history of European affairs. Only seven months before Louis XIV had agreed to a treaty by which his son would receive a small part of the Spanish possessions. Now fate had offered them all to his family. A path of glittering splendor seemed to open itself to his vision. For a moment he paused, but his wavering was not for long. He had to remember that the emperor had not yet accepted the Second Partition Treaty, so that it might not be carried out; furthermore, that the will of Charles II bequeathed all the Spanish territories to the archduke, if they were not accepted for the French prince. At a session of the French cabinet decision was announced: Louis assented for his grandson. The arrangement was received with satisfaction by Frenchmen and with joy by the people of Spain.

Vast consequences hoped for or feared

Elsewhere consternation reigned. French armies at once occupied the fortresses of the Spanish Netherlands thus taking a position very dangerous to Holland and England. It seemed that the power of France was immensely increased, that now none of her opponents could resist her. Nor, perhaps, would economic results be less. Colonial resources were little developed under the lethargic rule of Spain. Under vigorous French administration they might yield incalculable riches. As things long had been, much Spanish colonial trade had come into the hands

of Dutch or of English merchants. In the new system, doubtless, an effective monopoly would be upheld, and the huge trade in the Spanish Main kept for Spaniards or even Frenchmen alone.

1700–1 and 1916–17

So, at the end of 1700 Europe was affrighted by something like that which appalled it in 1917: the apparent creation of an empire unassailably strong and terrible to all of its rivals. In 1917 the Germans with their allies had overrun eastern France and western Russia, they had the mastery of the Balkan peninsula and of the Asiatic dominions of Turkey beyond. All this they held with lines that appeared impregnable then. There seemed a chance for ages to come of an empire ruled from Berlin, extending from Ostend to Fiume and Athens and from Riga to Odessa and Bagdad. Unassailable by sea power, self-sufficing, with new millions of soldiers to be trained for the German army, here, men feared, was an empire that could later conquer the world. So, two centuries before, it seemed that the France which had so long plundered the empire and threatened the Dutch, which had insulted princes and the pope, and dictated its will so often, would now virtually add to itself Spain, the southern Netherlands, Italy, half of North America, most of South America, and numerous islands of the sea.

The opponents of France irresolute and divided

Yet, at first it seemed that France was not to be hindered. The councils of her opponents were divided, and none dared resist her alone. The resources of the emperor were scanty and had been largely expended against the Turks. He had not the money to hire and equip a large army to fight against France. Leopold did collect certain forces which under their able commander, Eugene of Savoy, inflicted defeats on French armies in Lombardy (1701). He tried also to arouse Europe to assist him. Holland was eager to act but dared not by herself make a move. All looked to England to take the lead, and England's Dutch king, William, was eager to do it. But an

English ruler now could do nothing without parliament's support, and the existing parliament was not inclined to fight France about Spain. Slowly opposition rose, but in course of time it might have diminished. Had the French government been very moderate and careful, the situation might have been undisturbed.

The Grand Alliance of 1701

French prudence and moderation were not sufficient. An agreement was made that would virtually monopolize Spanish colonial commerce for Frenchmen and Spaniards. In England the powerful commercial classes now urged their government to action. Then the masses of the English people were roused by another event. After the English Revolution of 1688 James II, king of England, fled to France. Louis XIV had tried to restore him, but failing he had by the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) acknowledged William as lawful king. James died in September, 1701. At his deathbed Louis generously but most unwisely declared formally that he would acknowledge James's son as king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. A storm of indignation was suddenly aroused in England. William dissolved parliament, and a new house of commons was returned eager for war against France. The result presently was that England, Holland, and the emperor joined in what was expanded into the second Grand Alliance (1701). Europe now rang with preparations for the conflict. In the midst of them William died. No one had done so much in staying French power when that power seemed not to be resisted. No one had done so much in uniting the nations to resist. Now he died just before the fulfilment; but he left his work so advanced that successors easily carried it on.

Resources of the alliance

In the War of the Spanish Succession that began now the opponents were about equally matched. Against France were leagued England, the United Provinces, Austria, and to them had been added most of the states of the empire and, presently, there was added the important north

Italian country, Savoy. In wealth and in population these states were superior to France and her allies—Bavaria, Spain, and at first Savoy. Since the naval power of France had been allowed to decline while she gave most of her attention to affairs on land, the navies of England and of Holland had at all times command of the seas. Events also were to prove that the alliance had in the English commander, Marlborough, a high military genius, a general of the very first order. On the other hand, France had advantages that made her seem superior at first, and in the end did save her. She was the largest of the well-organized nations then, and by far the best organized for war. She could put into the field what was then the vast force of 400,000 soldiers, capably led, well equipped and well drilled. She was compact, while her enemies were scattered about her. They were on the outside, while she had the advantage of interior position and could thrust herself in between them, or from behind the magnificent screen of fortresses that held all her eastern frontier, she could dart forth and strike out singly at one or the other of her foes.

Resources of France

On the sea the war was decided almost as soon as begun, for the inferior French fleets scarcely dared leave their harbors for battle with the English and the Dutch. Only once during the war was there a struggle between battle fleets, an indecisive contest off Malaga (1704). This was all-important since not only did it cut off the French from the Spanish colonial possessions, and cut some of their easiest routes of communication with Italy and Spain, but it also held open the vital connection between the continental allies and England, best and main support of the alliance. Against this superior sea power the French carried on a war with privateers, attacking the merchant vessels of the allies and doing enormous damage to trade. Their own trade suffered less, however, because it was almost driven from the seas. Meanwhile,

The allies have control of the sea

The allies' communications

the hostile navies assisted and protected the land campaign against France and Spain. It was partly in consequence of this that the French were driven from Italy. It was altogether because of this that the allies were able to begin in Catalonia an advance that nearly conquered Spain for the archduke. It was in the course of these sea operations that the English captured Gibraltar (1704).

The armies take position

The war was won and lost on the land. On different sides the French armies moved out. The Spanish Netherlands had been taken without fighting. Forces were dispatched into Italy. Most of Spain readily accepted the French. Meanwhile, their major strength was concentrated on the eastern and northeastern frontier, against the empire and against the forces which the Dutch and the English were assembling and hiring. Here would be the deciding campaigns of the war. Here the French would strike against the Germans or against the Dutch and the English. Here would be the principal concentration for the decisive stroke against France.

Strong French eastern defenses

Marlborough, principal commander of the allied forces, was here confronted by difficulties much like those that troubled the allies on the western front in 1916. For the comparatively small and slow-moving forces of that day the numerous strong fortresses scattered up and down the frontier were as formidable an obstacle to the approach of armies in 1702 and 1703 as the continuous lines of entrenchment and barbed wire were to the soldiers of 1916 and 1917. To the slow process of reducing these fortresses one by one, opposed as he was by the French armies assembled to watch him, Marlborough addressed himself, striving thus to open his way for a march into France. Meanwhile, behind this protection, and with the advantage of delay thus accorded, the French made ready for a mortal stroke at their easiest and most vulnerable foe.

In 1703 a French army, moving out from Alsace and

acting in conjunction with Bavarian forces, captured strong places, gained one success after the other, and presently threatened Vienna. This peril was increased by their further operations in the following year. It now seemed very probable that the Austrian capital would fall and Austria be driven from the war. Then the ability and genius of Marlborough revealed him the first general of his age. Terribly hindered though he was by the Dutch civilian deputies who tried to direct the Dutch troops, and who favored a cautious war, Marlborough and Eugene planned a magnificent stroke in secret. In April and May, 1704, he suddenly marched up the Rhine, forcing one of the French armies to fall back for the protection of Alsace. After this feint, he rapidly drew aside his army, southeastward down the valley of the Neckar, for a stroke such as Napoleon afterward made. Before the French and the Bavarians realized what he was doing, an army of 70,000 allies was concentrated near Ulm on the Danube. A little later and this army was stationed between the French and Vienna in such position that Bavaria was open to attack. In August the campaign came to issue in the greatest battle of the age, fought near the villages of Höchstädt and Blenheim close to the Danube. Here the French, posted in a strong position, were completely outmaneuvered and outfought. Marlborough's artillery was handled with terrible effect. The English cavalry broke the French horsemen and put them to flight. The French infantry was separated into parts, and each part overpowered or routed.

The French threaten Vienna

Magnificent strategy of Marlborough

This Battle of Blenheim, as it has usually been known in English-speaking countries, was the decisive battle of the war and one of the most important in the history of Europe. If the French had triumphed, Vienna would certainly have fallen, and the emperor might then have been so thoroughly beaten that the whole German combination would have fallen to pieces or been driven to sue for peace.

Results of the Battle of Blenheim

In that event Holland might next have been overwhelmed or driven from the war, with England disheartened left alone. Or so at least it seemed then. Not since before the Battle of Rocroi (1643) had a French army been badly defeated. So long had been the course of victory and so great was the reputation of France, that all her enemies had long been under its silent but potent spell. This spell was now irretrievably broken and the allies were flushed with new spirit and success. The emperor was saved; Bavaria was overrun and subdued; and the allies made ready to carry the war against France.

Successive disasters for the French

Such was the beginning of a period of disasters for France. Louis assembled another powerful army, and the campaign was transferred to the Spanish Netherlands, where again the allies proceeded with the difficult task of taking the fortresses on the French frontier. Two more great battles were fought in the midst of all this, at Ramillies (1706) and at Oudenarde (1708), in the first of which the French were routed and in the second badly defeated. The allies now entered France and after a memorable siege captured the great fortress of Lille (1708). In Italy Eugene had destroyed a French army in a battle before Turin (1706) and the French were soon driven from that country completely.

The French successful in Spain

In only one theater of the war had the French any considerable success. In Spain the grandson of Louis had received the allegiance of most of the people as their king, Philip V; but in Catalonia, the southeastern province of Spain that had often desired to separate from the Spanish monarchy, the people supported the archduke. In 1705 the archduke with Dutch and English troops captured Barcelona. He was proclaimed Charles III, and, presently advancing, Madrid was taken and Philip fled back into France. Strong national feeling was now aroused among the Spaniards, however, and they rose to support Philip in a fierce guerilla war against the allies. The

cause of Charles speedily went from bad to worse and was ruined by the complete victory of the French at Almanza (1707). Save for Barcelona, Aragon and Catalonia were now reconquered.

Louis XIV sues for peace

Despite this success in Spain the French cause had nearly been ruined. The money and resources of the government were virtually used up, and the people seemed unable to bear the war longer. A winter of terrible cold was followed by hunger, disease, and discontent against Louis himself. So low were his fortunes brought that he asked for peace, greatly humbling himself. He would renounce the Spanish succession and also restore Strasburg to the empire. But Marlborough and the Dutch officials opposed these terms, for reasons that seemed good to them then, and the allies demanded that Louis assist, if necessary, with his own troops in expelling his grandson from Spain. Here they overreached themselves. Louis called on his people to save their country. Another army of 90,000 men, the last such army that France could raise, was assembled to defend the frontier. Under the command of Villars, the best French commander, and posted in a strong position, this army fought with a superior force of the allies the terrible Battle of Malplaquet (1709). It was the last of Marlborough's triumphs. He drove the French from the field, but they retired slowly and in good order, having inflicted much heavier losses than they endured. This was the turning-point of the war. France was saved at Malplaquet.

The French save themselves at Malplaquet

Marlborough's opportunity passes

Marlborough did continue with success, and his exploit in forcing Villars from the fortified lines of Bouchain in 1711 was one of the most brilliant of all his actions. Had time remained, he would almost certainly have captured Paris and conquered France. But the opportunity had passed for all this. The allies now fell apart and France was able to save herself.

As was the case with the Germans in the Great War,

The Grand Alliance breaks up

Louis had for some time been striving to detach some of the allies from the others, to make a separate peace. He had approached the Dutch in 1706 and 1709, but without result, since the allies stood well together and made exorbitant demands. Causes of division were, however, arising. Both sides were exhausted and wearied at the length of the war. In England the political parties held different opinions. The Whigs, who supported Marlborough, desired complete overthrow of France. The Tories not only had friendlier feelings for France, but believed that England had already achieved what would well satisfy all her interests. It began to be said that England was paying most of the cost of the war, and in continuing to fight so long she fought only for the interests of the others. Then the terrible losses at Malplaquet took the heart out of the war. Anne, queen of England, was tired of the Whig ministers who dictated to her. In 1710 the queen, taking advantage of a wave of popular feeling against the Whigs, dismissed the ministers and then dissolved parliament. In the election that followed the Tories won overwhelming victory. Marlborough and his friends were no longer in power. Few political overturns in the history of Europe have had larger consequence than this one. The principal minister now was Harley. He had long had the ear of the queen and for some years had taught her the doctrine that "nothing could be so fatal to her people as . . . a lingering war which must destroy the trade and exhaust the strength of her kingdom." The British government resolved to make peace.

England wearies of the war

The election of 1710

The greatness of Marlborough

First Marlborough was dismissed from command. This was the end of the career of the greatest general whom England has produced. He was by far the ablest general of his age, and he was also an administrator, diplomat, and statesman of very high order. Like Cæsar he was never defeated. He never, said an admirer, besieged a town that he did not take, never fought a battle that he

did not win. Like all great captains he took the tactics and instruments of war which his age provided, and used them better with respect to the problems which he confronted. His use of artillery was very effective. Where cavalry then relied on firing from the saddle he hurled forward his horsemen to overwhelm their opponents by shock and by mass. But it was his strategic movements, afterward studied by Napoleon and much like Napoleon's own, that revealed his genius. His successes came largely from brilliant combinations, long, sudden marches, quick divination of the factors in a large and complex problem, intuition of the enemy's weakest spot. His successes are the more memorable if the disadvantages that oppressed him be considered. His armies were made up of men of various nations. In this war England contributed the larger part of the sea power and most of the financial support, but merely a small portion of the forces under Marlborough's lead. Only because he was a marvellous manager of men was he able to suppress jealousies and dissensions, and hold the various parts together. He was constantly hindered and hampered and thwarted. If he had been freer his success would doubtless have been much greater. It should be remembered, to be sure, that when he took the field, Louis's best generals were dead, and that French organization and administration were not as good as they had been. None the less, he was the principal factor that turned the scale of this war against France.

His genius triumphs over difficulties

The British government had entered into secret negotiations alone with France, and it made a very favorable arrangement that was later to be embodied in a general treaty. As a pledge for the fulfilment of these stipulations Dunkirk was handed over to a British garrison, and the British forces were ordered to take no further part in the war. France, hard pressed, had a breathing space now. As her danger diminished she recovered strength, and Villars inflicted a crushing defeat on Eugene and the Dutch

The British withdraw from the war

The Dutch disposed to follow

at Denain (1712). The French were now able to insist on more favorable terms at the same time that the Dutch also became disposed to make peace. Moreover, owing to the death of his elder brother, the archduke had now become emperor, and the allies were less inclined to prolong a war so as to unite the Spanish dominions with the empire. For all these reasons Louis was able to arrange a much better peace than he had offered to make in 1709, or than had seemed possible in 1710. In November, 1711, the Dutch had already agreed that a peace congress should be held at Utrecht.

The treaties of peace

The settlement or the Peace of Utrecht was the result of separate treaties signed between France on the one hand and England, the States General, Prussia, Portugal, and Savoy respectively on the other (April 11, 1713), and also treaties between Spain and the opposing powers respectively (July 13, 1713), arranged after these powers had acknowledged Philip V as the king of Spain. The emperor refused to have part in this peace, but continuing the war he suffered a series of defeats and was presently forced to acquiesce in the Treaty of Rastadt and the Treaty of Baden (1714).

Settlement by France

France achieved ostensibly a great part of what she had set out to do, for Philip V was acknowledged king of Spain, though it was stipulated that the crowns of Spain and of France should never be held by one person, and that the French should have no exclusive privileges in Spanish trade. She agreed to destroy the fortifications of Dunkirk, long the haven of her privateers and always a threat to the English Channel trade. To her principal opponents she restored conquests and to England yielded her colonial possessions of Acadia (Nova Scotia), Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and St. Kitts.

The Spanish dominions divided

The most striking result of the war was that the Spanish dominions were divided. Spain now had a French king, but while she kept her vast colonial possessions she yielded

to Austria and Savoy her outlying domains in the Netherlands and Italy. To Great Britain she lost Gibraltar and Minorca, and yielded exclusive trade privileges (the *Asiento*) for thirty years.

Large gains by Great Britain

Great Britain added to her colonial dominions, receiving from France Nova Scotia, Hudson Bay, Newfoundland—the outworks of Canada, St. Kitts in the West Indies, and from Spain Gibraltar and Minorca—keys of the western Mediterranean, which made Britain now a great Mediterranean power. In Spanish colonial trade not only was she to be treated as the most favored nation, but in the *Asiento* she had for thirty years a monopoly of the lucrative trade of supplying to the Spanish colonies Negro slaves. This privilege, which had in 1701 been granted to a French company, was one of the richest prizes of the war. England now became the principal carrier of Negroes from Africa over the Atlantic. France acknowledged the Hanoverian succession which the English had established, and promised to give no further support to the Stuarts.

Gains made by the Austrian Hapsburgs

The emperor obtained from France certain places on the right bank of the Rhine, and of the Spanish inheritance received Italian possessions—Naples, Sardinia, Milan, and districts in Tuscany—besides the Spanish Netherlands, which were thenceforth the Austrian Netherlands.

Other arrangements

The United Provinces (Holland) were allowed to garrison certain strong "barrier fortresses" in the Austrian Netherlands for future protection against France. Savoy received Sicily and certain additions of territory on her frontier. Portugal got certain minor colonial acquisitions. The elector of Brandenburg was acknowledged king of Prussia, and received small territories near the Rhine.

The general results of this settlement were even greater. France had been checked. She did not for a long time again threaten all Europe. For the next generation her energies were devoted to recovering from the terrible ex-

The larger, general results

haustion produced by this struggle. Spain saw her empire divided; but relieved of possessions she had been unable to defend or support, she began to recover. Prussia appeared as a considerable power, and shortly became a great one. Holland never recovered from a task beyond her strength. In the seventeenth century she had contested successfully with Spain, with England, with France. After 1713 she had only minor position. Austria was enriched with new provinces. She was dominant in Italy now, and confronted France on the Flanders frontier. Great Britain was the principal gainer. On the sea her supremacy was not to be questioned. She was first in commerce, in trade, and in wealth. She had a flourishing colonial empire. Her prestige was higher than ever before. For the first time she was not only an important power, but the principal power in Europe.

Great Britain the principal power in Europe

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CHAPTER XVII

ENGLAND AND GREAT BRITAIN

That Levying Money for or to the Use of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament . . . is illegal.
That the raising or keeping a standing Army within the Kingdom in time of Peace, unless it be with the Consent of Parliament, is against Law.
That Election of Members of Parliament ought to be free.
The Bill of Rights (1689): 1 William and Mary c. 2.

The Two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* shall, upon the First Day of *May*, . . . in the Year One thousand seven hundred and seven, and for ever after, be United into One Kingdom by the Name of *Great Britain*. . . .
The Act of Union (1707): 5 Anne c. 8.

Ministers are the Kings in this Country.
GEORGE II. to LORD CHANCELLOR HARDWICKE, January 5, 1744–5: Additional MS. (British Museum) 35870, fo. 90.

One is forced to ask every morning what victory there is, for fear of missing one.
HORACE WALPOLE to SIR HORACE MANN, December 14, 1759; *Letters* (ed. Mrs. Toynbee), IV. 330.

The power of parliament increased by the Revolution of 1688

IN ENGLISH history the Stuart period after 1688 is a time of notable constructive legislation and reform. By the Toleration Act (1689) religious freedom was granted to Protestant dissenters, though political disabilities were not removed from them. Parliament, of which the supremacy was acknowledged by the Bill of Rights, was definitively established superior to the king by several notable measures. James had undertaken to overawe the various branches of government by a standing army dependent upon himself. Parliament now provided that the Mutiny Act, which enabled officers to punish dis-

obedient soldiers, should be valid for a short time only. In practice, parliament afterward renewed it each year. Parliament also provided that appropriations should only be made for a limited period, so that it would no longer be possible to support an army or any other branch of the government for any length of time without parliament's consent.

Parliament, revenue, and taxation

During the fifteenth century, substantially, the house of commons had got control of direct taxation; as a result of the struggle between parliament and king, control of all taxation direct and indirect was left to the commons by 1660. After the Revolution of 1688 the commons assumed control of the expenditure as well as the granting of public money. Until that time usually all the revenue was delivered to the king. In early times much of this had been revenue from his own estates, supplemented by fines from law courts, feudal payments and money from various sources. In course of time this revenue was supplemented by extraordinary parliamentary grants of direct taxes upon land or movable property, and still later by indirect taxes, such as customs duties, which the Tudors and other sovereigns had levied with or without parliament's sanction. From whatever source this revenue came, however, it was the king's, to be used as the king saw fit. He was responsible for paying the expenses of government; the management lay within his own discretion. After the supremacy of parliament had been so definitely established in 1688, parliament undertook the financial management itself, appropriating money directly for particular services; the king having a fixed, regular revenue for the expenses of his household—the civil list. When this system had once been established, parliament was no longer unwilling to appropriate money in sufficient amount as so often before it had been when it suspected poor management, or feared to make the king financially independent of itself. The credit of the government now

Parliament manages expenditure of the revenue

at once improved. The national debt of England is reckoned as beginning in 1692, for ever since then interest at least has been paid on whatever the government borrowed. In 1693 the National Bank of England was established.

The Hanoverian succession

Neither Mary nor William left an heir to the throne. In 1701, when it seemed probable also that the last Protestant Stuart, Anne, would have no children, parliament took measures to prevent succession reverting to the exiled Catholic Stuarts. The Act of Settlement arranged the succession in Sophia, electress of Hanover, granddaughter of James I. She died just before Anne herself, and the crown went to her son, George, elector of Hanover, who came to the throne as George I.

The British Isles

The most important constructive achievement of this period—accomplished in Anne's reign—was the Act of Union (1707) uniting Scotland with England. At the time it seemed to complete the process of uniting all the parts of the British Isles under one jurisdiction. To join together the various parts of the British Isles under one strong government with security and equal laws for all parts in common had been the principal ambition of every great statesman who had ruled in England. And it was a proper object of statecraft, just as it had been for the kings of France to build up the French monarchy in the Middle Ages, and as it was for the people of the United States to gain the middle of North America long after.

Tribalism and disunion had once prevailed

The process had been long and slow. In the earlier Middle Ages the British Isles had been divided among a large number of small tribal kingdoms or tribal domains. From this stage Ireland and the north part of Scotland did not emerge. In those places nationalism was not developed; tribalism prevailed. In England by 1066 the different parts had been loosely joined together under one king. After the Norman Conquest the Norman-French kings completed this process, and England was organized

29. COUNTIES OF ENGLAND, 18TH CENTURY

under the strongest central government to be found anywhere in western Europe. Less successfully in the meantime a similar result was accomplished in the lowlands or southern portion of Scotland.

Wales added to England

Under Edward I (1272–1307) the conquest of Wales, the western mountainous country inhabited by a remnant of the British Celts, was successfully begun. During the fifteenth century this work was completed. In the reign of Henry VIII Wales was divided into counties, put under the same administration as England, and made legally a part of England (1536). Edward also attempted the conquest of Scotland, but after some success he was checked. In the reign of his son, Edward II, the Scots totally defeated the English at Bannockburn (1314) and definitely made good their independence. Glorious as Scottish nationalism afterward seemed, this failure of England was probably a great disaster. England was long a danger to Scotland. Scotland was generally in times of danger a menace to England. The border country on both sides of the Tweed was repeatedly ravaged and plundered, and the prosperity and development of a large population north and south of the boundary were checked and retarded. The population of the north part of England remained scanty, and this district was long controlled little by the government of the king. After the Pilgrimage of Grace, the Council of the North was established (1539), to hold in check and govern more firmly this outlying area. A similar body, the Council of Wales, was established for a similar purpose in the western country (1542). Both these bodies acted in subordination to the king's privy council. Along with Star Chamber they were both abolished by the Long Parliament in 1641.

Scotland remains independent

Councils for the frontier districts

Scotland and England united

What England had failed to accomplish by force with respect to Scotland, she did by peaceable means in the end. After the accession of James I (1603) Scotland and England were two kingdoms under the same monarch They

continued to have their own parliaments and privy councils. In 1652, when Cromwell had conquered Scotland, the country was annexed to England as Wales had been a century before; but this was undone when the Puritan revolution collapsed. In 1707 following difficult negotiations between the two countries, an arrangement was accepted by which Scotland and England were united as Great Britain. For this country there was henceforth to be not merely one sovereign, but one parliament and one privy council. They were, however, to keep their separate legal systems, and while England had the established Anglican Church, Scotland was to retain her established Presbyterian system.

The Act of Union, 1707

The result was a great benefit to England, by removing a danger in her rear and a potential enemy who had often aided her foes. To the Scots it presently brought greater prosperity than their country ever had known before, since they were now admitted to share in the commercial oportunities which Englishmen enjoyed. The wild and mountainous highlands, peopled by the Gaelic Celts, long remained in primitive tribal state, only nominally attached to the rest of Scotland and England. After the rebellion of 1745 had been broken, the country was heavily garrisoned and good roads were constructed. This was the beginning of its real incorporation into Great Britain.

Results of the union

The highlands of Scotland

Such happy results were never achieved in Ireland. That island was possessed by the Goidelic Celts—kinsmen of the Gaels of the Scottish highlands, of the Brythonic Celts who still possessed Wales, and of the Cornishmen who were disappearing in southwestern England. Ireland continued a land of small tribal kingdoms and warring chieftains. Unable to unite, the Irish were unable to keep out invaders. Conquest by England was begun in the twelfth century. Only a small portion of the country, the "Irish Pale," about Dublin was really subdued. A

Ireland gradually conquered

The conquest completed

more thorough conquest was begun in the time of Elizabeth and largely completed in the years from James I to Oliver Cromwell. There were fierce resistance, great slaughter, and direful devastation and famine. In 1641 and again in 1689 the Irish rose in great revolts against the invaders. On each occasion they soon were utterly subdued, and most of the land of the island was confiscated and distributed among the victors.

Condition of the conquered Irish

Accordingly, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Ireland was held as a possession of the English crown. It was held as a conquered country, strictly subordinate to the British government. The great majority of the Celtic people remained Roman Catholics, and hence were kept subject to the religious disabilities that oppressed merely a small Catholic minority in England. They were, accordingly, debarred from political privileges, such as then existed, and from the holding of office; they were forbidden their Catholic worship, and compelled to pay tithes to support the established Protestant church in Ireland. Practically, agriculture was the only industry permitted. At this the Irish people toiled as a debased peasantry on lands of which their forefathers had been dispossessed, and for which they now paid high rent. The Irish problem would often return to trouble England in the future.

The Hanoverian kings

The German sovereigns of the House of Hanover reigned in England from 1714 during the remainder of the period under consideration, and a direct descendant is upon the throne of Great Britain at present. George I (1714–1727) was succeeded by his son, George II (1727–1760), who was followed by his grandson, George III (1760–1820). The first two Hanoverian kings were more German than English, and more interested in Hanover than in Great Britain. Repeatedly they visited Hanover and remained there as long as they could. During such absences the administrative and executive work of the realm was carried on by lords justices, whose members on each occasion consti-

tuted a collective regency. Neither George I nor George II was personally popular with the majority of the nation, and had the exiled Stuarts become Protestant they might probably have been restored. The son of James II, afterward known as the Old Pretender, invaded Scotland in 1715, but the attempt failed almost at once. A generation later, in 1745, his son, the Young Pretender, tried once more, and supported by the Scottish Highlanders advanced through England nearly to London. But England would not rise in his favor; retreating he was defeated at Culloden in Scotland; and the Stuart cause was finally ruined. Whatever were the other sentiments of the English people most of them would favor nothing that might endanger the Church of England, and the financiers and commercial magnates were determined to uphold the Hanoverian Succession.

The Stuart "pretenders"

During most of this period the system of government in Great Britain was undergoing a profound and interesting change. In this time a marked advance was made in the development of the cabinet system, by which parliament was later on to manage the government as well as merely to supervise and control it. In recent times the British cabinet system has been one in which government is controlled by representatives of the people in the elected legislature—the house of commons, and in which executive and administrative work are superintended by a group of principal ministers, known collectively as the cabinet, who form, in effect, a committee of the house of commons itself. The cabinet sits in parliament, manages parliament, and is yet controlled by parliament and responsible to it. This arrangement has gradually developed from something once very different.

The British cabinet system of government

Cabinet and parliament

In origin the cabinet was no committee of parliament, nor was it dependent on the house of commons. It was in the beginning the king's cabinet council, a small, secret council of the principal advisers of the king; and it grew

The cabinet originally a small group within the privy council

out of his privy council. Under the earlier Stuarts as under the Tudors in the century preceding, the king's council, presently known as the privy council, advised the sovereign and under him carried on the principal administrative and executive work. During this time it increased in numbers from 15 or 20 to 30 or 40, and by the middle of the eighteenth century it contained as many as 70 or 80. Experience soon showed that the larger numbers were too large for secrecy and effective handling of important matters.

The most confidential advisers of the king

Under James I and Charles I a select or cabinet council is mentioned, made up of members of the privy council, and it can presently be identified with Charles's Committee of Foreign Affairs, containing from six to nine members. The name is undoubtedly derived from the French *cabinet* (small room), from the meetings being held apart in some place or room at the convenience of the king. After the Restoration a similar body reappears, the Foreign Committee, cabinet, or cabal. Gradually this cabinet took away from the privy council all the important business which once it had done, leaving to it merely detail and routine. At this time the cabinet was entirely the king's council, and altogether subordinate to him.

The Hanoverian kings lose control of the cabinet

A new stage began after 1714. George I and also George II were entirely dependent upon the leaders of the Whig political party that had seated them on the throne. The consequence was that the great ministers who formed the king's cabinet in the course of these forty years took away almost all of the king's real power. The tendency toward this had begun with the Puritan revolution. It was now greatly accelerated because George I scarcely understood the English language. Neither he nor his son was much interested in the government of England. Hence, after 1717 the king ceased to go to the cabinet where previously the sovereign had always presided. Among the ministers of the cabinet there now emerged a first minister

or prime minister in the king's place. When George III came to the throne in 1760 he was determined to get back the royal authority which his predecessors had lost. He made the attempt with considerable skill, and for some time much success was achieved. The collapse of the royal policy in the war of the American Revolution brought failure, however, and in the troublous times that followed the sovereign became insane.

The prime minister

The cabinet, once dependent on the king but now in possession of most of his power, became during the same period dependent upon parliament, or more specifically upon the house of commons. This was but the logical outcome of the Revolution of 1688. After that time all money for the expenses of government was appropriated each year by the commons. Accordingly, no government could any longer be carried on without constant approval of parliament. In practice, cabinet ministers now sat in the two houses of parliament to lead the political party that had the majority there, persuade it to support the measures which they brought forward, or to carry out desires which the majority expressed through its voting. This part of the development was especially marked during the long leadership of Sir Robert Walpole (1721–42), who afterward seemed to have been the first of the prime ministers of England.

The cabinet becomes dependent on the house of commons

The parliament that had now so largely got control of the government of England was in some respects very different from what it came to be by the end of the nineteenth century. It was then, as now, composed of two parts or houses, the house of lords and the house of commons. The house of lords was the older and for a long time the more important part. It was composed of the so-called "peers" (equals), under the monarch the highest personages in the realm, who still maintained some exclusive privileges of class. The peers or lords were lords spiritual —the principal ecclesiastics, and lords temporal—the

Parliament

principal nobility. Down to the time of the dissolution of the monasteries (1536–40), the spiritual peers were the majority of the house of lords. This upper house continued to be the more influential and important in government perhaps as late as about 1700. But the house of commons consisted of representatives of what had in the Middle Ages been *communitates* (corporate bodies). These corporations were the counties —from each of which two members were returned or elected to parliament, and the parliamentary boroughs or towns—which sent one or generally two members each. The overwhelming majority of members in the commons came from the boroughs.

The commons

The suffrage

This system was only partly and indirectly representative of the people. There was then no idea whatever of manhood suffrage—not to speak of voting by women—and the franchise was not held by as many as one adult male out of ten, or about one out of fifty of the entire population. The idea was not representation of people, so much as of property or vested right or some corporate organization. Even this idea was only partly carried out, for while each of the counties had representation, by no means did all of the cities and towns. Those boroughs only sent members to the house of commons that were parliamentary boroughs—those which had once been invited by the king to do so. Thus, some tiny hamlets had two representatives while many considerable towns and cities had none. In the house of commons bribery and corruption were prevalent, and in effect a majority was usually under the control of the great nobles and landowners who were the principal members of the house of lords, and whose leaders composed or controlled the cabinet council.

Parliamentary boroughs

Origin of political parties

Government in parliament was now carried on upon the basis of political parties, something that has since become the foundation of parliamentary activity wherever parliamentary government exists. Political parties,

however, developed late in the history of parliamentary affairs. In England they are considered to have begun in the period which preceded the Puritan civil wars, with one party, the Cavaliers, supporting king and court, and another, the Roundheads, in opposition to the king. More definitely they were established during the struggle for the exclusion of James, brother of Charles II, from succession to the throne. In the heat of party strife the two factions were denominated by names of opprobrium which their opponents applied. Supporters of king and court were called Tories, a name apparently taken from Ireland and signifying bogtrotter or prowling thief; opponents of the king's policy were called Whiggamores or Whigs, an obscure name, apparently meaning a stealer of horses, and taken from Scotland. From the circumstances of this clear-cut division into two factions of supporters and opponents it resulted that in English-speaking countries the party system has been essentially a system of two parties. No one contributed so much to the early development of English political parties as the earl of Shaftesbury, who led the parliamentary opposition against Charles II and his brother.

Supporters and opponents of the king

Tories and Whigs

For a long time many of the best political thinkers abhorred the idea of party division and strife. Parties they regarded as factions and unwholesome divisions weakening the state. Unity and common support of the king, they declared, should be the good citizen's ideal. Nevertheless, the party system became more and more important, until a profound change in political methods had been wrought. In earlier times parliament, generally speaking, supported the king when it approved, opposed and thwarted him when it did not. In the eighteenth century, as ministers took away the power of the king, the majority party—sometimes the Whigs, sometimes the Tories—carried on the government through ministers of the cabinet, representing the majority party

Parties regarded as factions at first

"Government" and "opposition"

controlling those ministers yet being led and managed by them. The minority party constituted an opposition, opposing and criticizing, and looking forward to a general election when the voters might make them a majority and so give them control. Again it should be said that the voters then were only a small part of the population. At elections most of these voters were controlled by bribery or by fear of their landlords.

Local government

Local government continued to be to a great extent what had developed in England during the six hundred years preceding. Generally it was excellent and effective, and it continued with much activity and power, unlike what existed in the eighteenth century in France, where the central government gathered almost all power to itself. England was divided into counties or shires. The counties were divided into parishes; they also contained cities and boroughs or towns.

The parish

The parish was the smallest local division. Originally it had been an ecclesiastical unit, presided over by the parish priest, and containing the people of the parish church. It had gradually become a unit of civil organization also, though it was still the district in which lived the people of the congregation of the local church; and the petty matters attended to largely concerned management of church affairs. Roughly, parish government consisted of an assembly of the members of the congregation, with an executive council, the vestry. In earlier times the vestrymen had been elected by the congregation, but in course of time the tendency was for many of the vestries to take all power to themselves, becoming closed corporations; that is, choosing their own successors. Parish government now seems important largely because it was within the parishes that the mass of the English people then had such slight participation in government as they might have.

The borough or town

In the various towns there were many varieties of urban government, such government depend-

ing in each case upon the terms of the charter which the town had. Usually there was a town council, elected by a small number of the townsmen, with an executive officer, the mayor, also elected.

The county or shire

Most local government was carried on in the counties. The striking figure in each county was the sheriff, who had now lost, however, nearly all actual power. The lord lieutenant commanded the local militia. The active and important functionary was the justice of the peace. There were several justices in each county. Individual justices carried on nearly all of the administrative and judicial work in the districts where they lived. That is, a justice of the peace held his court in which he decided the small disputes and cases, which are always in any country the greatest part of court business. At the same time, he took charge of the vast amount of petty executive and administrative work that arises from day to day—especially seeing to enforcement of the laws. Two or more justices together held the courts of quarter sessions, four times each year. Criminal cases were tried by judges of the king's great central courts, King's Bench and Common Pleas, who from time to time visited the counties and there held courts, known as the assizes.

Quarter sessions and assizes

Foreign affairs

During the eighteenth century the foreign policy of Great Britain had to do with maintaining and advancing the high position she had attained in Europe, and with extending her commerce and colonial dominion. It was in this time that a larger British colonial empire was acquired by conquest.

Britain not a great military power

As in the past, Britain continued to be a naval power, and only secondarily a military power on land. Small armies of her soldiers frequently fought well, though usually at the beginning of a war she had only a few trained soldiers available, and it was often some time before she was able to create larger effective armies. In the War of the Spanish Succession only a few of the

soldiers under Marlborough were British, though Britain paid and maintained other bodies of troops which he commanded. The device of hiring mercenary soldiers from states that maintained standing military forces was frequently followed, especially from the small German states. It was done on a large scale in the Seven Years' War, and afterward also against the revolted colonies in the American Revolutionary War. This resulted from the fact that England was essentially non-military, her population being engrossed in agriculture, in commerce, and in industry which was ever growing and which was being transformed by the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. It was possible because the English were an island folk, protected by their naval power.

Hiring of foreign soldiers

Naval power

On the maintenance of this sea power much depended. The population of Great Britain then was not, as was the case a century later, too large to be supported by the food produced in the island, so that there was no danger of starvation resulting from blockade. But if England's navy were defeated, England might then be invaded, and it was only by sea power that the lines of communication were held open with her colonies and with her foreign markets, increasingly important. Maintenance of this sea power rested upon obtaining a sufficient quantity of "naval stores"—pitch, tar, hemp, ship timber, and tall tree-trunks for masts—the great sources of which were the Scandinavian and the east Baltic countries. In consequence, England's northern policy was uniformly to keep these markets open, protect, so far as she could, the various countries from aggression by each other or their neighbors, and especially to protect Sweden from Russia,

Naval stores

Great Britain a Mediterranean power

Her southern policy had to do mostly with the Mediterranean. England had now become one of the important Mediterranean powers. The approach to that sea she held in Portugal, which in 1703 had been bound to England in close commercial alliance by the Methuen Treaty.

The result practically was to make Portugal a state vassal to England. Indeed, Portugal effectually constituted for her a great naval base, and strategically could be the base for a flank attack on the countries to the east. This was well realized by Spain and by France, who on several occasions tried to force Portugal to abandon her alliance with England. The gateway of the Mediterranean England held at Gibraltar, which the Spaniards long set their hearts on obtaining again, but which the English held as an impregnable fortress against every attack. England had once possessed the other side of the Strait of Gibraltar at Tangier—part of the dowry that Portugal gave when Catharine of Bragança married Charles II (1662). This, however, was before England had established large interests in the Mediterranean; and because the place was expensive to maintain the English government abandoned it a few years later (1683). Just beyond the entrance, England held Minorca, off the coast of Spain. This was lost in 1756, recovered again, then ceded back to Spain in 1783. It was one of the earlier stages in that series of Britain's naval bases in the Mediterranean which long afterward was to stretch from Gibraltar by way of Malta to the Isthmus of Suez.

Gibraltar

Minorca

Britain's rivals of the early seventeenth century had now withdrawn. The Dutch were still a prosperous commercial people, but Holland had come to be a declining, second-class state. Spain was a second-class power now recovering a little. A great part of the trade of the Spanish colonial empire was in British hands. England held the *Asiento*, and derived large profits from it. The Treaty of Utrecht had also permitted her a certain limited trade in the Spanish Main, which right her merchants grossly infringed and enlarged, while they constantly engaged in smuggling, with the approbation of the Spanish colonial populations, but in defiance of Spanish laws. Resistance by Spanish officials and presently alleged

Relations with Spain

The War of Jenkins's Ear, 1739

mutilation of an English sea captain by Spanish coast guards, led to war between the two nations in 1739. The English, badly prepared, were roughly handled. The result of all this was that in the great crises of England's fate in the eighteenth century—the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution—Spain was usually to be found beside England's enemies and acting against her.

Relations with France

Most important were the relations with France. Actually in the period after 1714, following an interval of peace, began a long duel between France and Great Britain for primacy in Europe and colonial dominions. This struggle had terrible episodes during the eighteenth century, and was ended—for a century at least—only with the final defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1815. In this long wager of battle Great Britain was at last completely triumphant. In the course of it she was able to take for herself most of France's old colonial empire.

Rivalry after a lull

For a generation after Utrecht relations between the two countries were good. England was satisfied. France needed time to recover. Gradually the recovery was complete. France was strong and refreshed and ambitious again. Most people could no longer remember Malplaquet and Blenheim. During this time colonial rivalry had been increasing. Meanwhile, France began to seem again so powerful and so near as to be a danger to Britain. Accordingly, British policy came to be to check France when she could, and in all great wars to give her support to the rivals and enemies of France.

First part of the long duel between England and France

The principal contests arose partly from colonial and naval rivalry but were mostly connected with European wars. The contest between Britain and Spain, begun in 1739, speedily merged in a larger conflict. Next year Frederick of Prussia seized Silesia from Austria. The War of the Austrian Succession followed (1740–8), in which France and other powers, following Prussia, fell upon the Austrian possessions, while England at-

tempted to give Austria help. Other factors were that Spain and France had been acting together with respect to Italy and the western Mediterranean, and that France and England were more and more rivals for territory and commerce in North America and in Hindustan. In this war France was generally successful on land. Hanover was occupied, the Austrian Netherlands and much of Holland were overrun; and all that country where Marlborough had triumphed was conquered now by the French. On the other hand, England was presently victorious at sea and some of France's colonial possessions were taken. The war with France was ended by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), by which, generally speaking, conquests were mutually restored. Peace with Spain followed in the Treaty of Madrid (1750), by which Britain lost the *Asiento.*

England loses on land but triumphs at sea

The years following this peace were the prelude to a vaster and more desperate struggle. As early as 1754 fighting began in the outlying possessions of France and Great Britain in America. Meanwhile, Austria was planning to recover Silesia, yielded to Frederick the Great of Prussia by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. France, along with other countries, now joined Austria in an attempt to conquer Prussia completely. England accordingly joined Prussia. The terrible Seven Years' War followed (1756–63). In this struggle Prussia, several times nearly overpowered by the overwhelming forces of her foes, was saved partly by the supreme military skill of Frederick, partly by assistance from England. In the contest between Britain and France, the French at first had many successes. England was badly prepared and her forces not capably led.

The Seven Years' War: failure at first

There was complete change, however, with the accession to power of William Pitt, one of the greatest leaders England ever has had. In 1756 Pitt became leading minister in the cabinet and took supreme direction of

William Pitt, earl of Chatham, 1708–78

England's part in the war. "I am sure I can save this country," he said, "and nobody else can." In Germany he would conquer America. He would give Frederick adequate assistance in defeating France on the continent, while British sea power overwhelmed the French navy, and France's distant possessions were seized. A wonderful series of victories followed. Spain came to the assistance of France, but they were both overthrown, and Britain's triumph was all the greater. In the end Frederick, spent and exhausted though Prussia was, saved himself and held fast to Silesia, while Great Britain acquired the largest possessions that her empire had so far obtained. By the Peace of Paris (1763) France was practically driven from India, in which now the English were to have a free hand to build up an empire, while in North America she abandoned to England Canada and all the vast country behind the Appalachian Mountains to the Mississippi River.

The mighty triumph of Great Britain

Disruption of the British Empire

This was, perhaps, the highest triumph that Britain ever attained. She was now unrivalled at sea, very wealthy, powerful and haughty. She had completely humbled her greatest rival, and seen her own plans all crowned with success. The very greatness of her fortune, however, soon brought disaster. A quarter of the English-speaking people now lived in the Thirteen Colonies which England possessed across the Atlantic. Afterward it was evident that here was the best chance England ever would have to establish a greater part of herself outside her restricted borders. Disputes, based largely on commercial restrictions and distance, arose between the colonies and the mother country. In 1775 the colonists rebelled. Next year they proclaimed independence. To France this seemed an excellent opportunity to avenge the humiliations of a few years before. In 1778 she intervened to assist the Americans, and was followed by Spain the next year. A series of circumstances presently added Holland,

The Thirteen Colonies revolt

while the rest of Europe looked on, coldly hostile. "Every nation in Europe wishes to see Britain humbled," said a contemporary account, "having all in their turn been offended by her insolence." In 1780 Russia headed the Armed Neutrality, joined by most of the neutral states, to oppose British seizure of cargoes at sea. In this war France did get revenge. For a while her fleets, recently well restored, gained command of the sea; and this more than anything else brought victory for the revolted dominions. In 1783, by the Treaty of Versailles, Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States. At the same time she yielded certain possessions to France and to Spain.

France makes possible the independence of the thirteen American colonies

This disaster was, indeed, irreparable, but after a brief period of depression Britain recovered her power and prestige in Europe, and again held her own as before. In 1782, just before the close of the Revolutionary War, she had shattered the French naval power, and again won command of the sea. Shortly after peace had been made, she apprehended that France, with the acquiescence of Austria, was about to obtain the Austrian Netherlands. In 1785 the general European situation again seemed very threatening to some of her statesmen. The crisis passed, however. Then, a little later, the French Revolution began, in which so much of the old order and of power long established went down. In the confused and terrible period that followed, Britain saved herself and in the end was completely triumphant. Her institutions and power seemed more solidly established than those of any other nation in Europe.

Recovery after depression

Britain rides out the storm

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CHAPTER XVIII

COLONIAL EXPANSION

Entendiendo quan grandissimas tierras eran las que Christoval Colon descubria, fueron muchos á continuar el descubrimiento de todas; unos á su costa, otros á la del Rey, y todos pensando enriquecer, ganar fama y medrar con los Reyes.

FRANCISCO LOPEZ DE GOMARA, *Historia General de las Indias* (Saragossa, 1553), p. 50.

Dom Pedro por Graça de Deos Princepe de Portugal, & dos Algarves, daquem, dalem, Mar em Africa, senhor de Guiné, & da Conquista, Navegacão, Commercio de Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia & da India, &c. Faço saber a vos.

Proclamation of the KING OF PORTUGAL, November 27, 1674 broadside in Additional MS. (British Museum) 35099, fo. 156.

A General Inclination is prevailing among the Midling people, for keeping the present Conquests from France, they appear sanguine for taking the Havannas and keeping them also . . . conceiving that the whole Trade of France & Spain, & the whole Treasure of America will center in these Kingdoms.

Memorandum of the DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, March 29, 1762: Additional MS. 32999, fo. 448.

I do not know why I should not include America among the European powers, because she is of European origin. . . .

EDMUND BURKE, *Letters on a Regicide Peace* (1796), *Works* (ed. 1815), viii. 315.

The expansion of Europe

THE geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries brought the peoples of Europe not merely intellectual quickening and great expansion of knowledge, but to some of them enormous colonial acquisitions, increase in wealth and prestige, enlargement of influence and power. As the result of settlement following, America was taken and peopled by Europeans, and became in respect of race, language, and culture, an expansion of

Europe. The Portuguese won by exploration and conquest a colonial empire far greater and richer than any Greek city state ever acquired; and when part of this empire was taken by the Dutch later on they had colonial domains wealthier and wider than Venice had ruled at her greatest. The Spaniards, a little later than the Portuguese, obtained in the Americas and in the far east dominions more extensive than the Roman Empire ever had been. The French, later still, acquired an illimitable country, whose farther distances only a few Frenchmen ever explored. The English about the same time made the beginning of a colonial empire destined to be the greatest of all, and later on settled so many outlying countries that English-speaking people would dominate many parts of the earth. Circumstances and disadvantage of position prevented the German and the Italian people from taking part in this movement, and their entrance into colonial enterprise was destined to be deferred until a long time after. The Swedes, at the moment when their career in Europe was highest, did make an attempt, but what they took, along the Delaware River in North America, was soon seized by the Dutch, and nothing remained but the memory of something that had been.

Western Europeans obtain colonial empires

The earlier voyages of the Portuguese belong to the age of discovery rather than the period of colonization, but it was their memorable voyages of discovery that led to so much European colonization and conquest. During the first half of the fifteenth century the great company of mariners whom Prince Henry the Navigator assembled about him, pushed their discovery ever farther to the south. In 1485 Diego Cam nearly attained the southern extremity of the enormous African mass, though by that time it must have seemed that Africa stretched endlessly on to the southward, that there was no passage through to the east, and that India and other eastern lands could never be reached by this route. Next year, however,

The Portuguese seek an ocean route to the east

Dias finds the southern end of Africa

Bartholomeu Dias, starting on a voyage, presently went farther south than any before him, and by a storm driven on farther still, went beyond the extremity of the African coast. Sailing back north and east he reached the Indian Ocean. On his return in 1487 he passed the point which he called *Cabo Tormentoso* (Cape of Storms), but which his master, the king, renamed the Cape of Good Hope.

Da Gama reaches India by sea from Portugal

The way to vast enterprise and discoveries now lay open. In 1497 Vasco da Gama conducted an expedition around the Cape of Good Hope, and sailing far northward along the eastern side of Africa, beyond Madagascar and the Zambesi River and Mozambique to Malindi—where the present Kenya (British East Africa) is, he procured a pilot who could take his ships eastward over the ocean. Northeastward now for a great distance they went until in the spring of 1498 they reached Calicut on the western Indian coast. When Da Gama returned to Portugal he brought such precious cargoes of spices as Europeans long had sought and desired. What he brought repaid sixty-fold all that the expedition had cost.

The Mediterranean route to the orient had been cut by the Turks

Portugal's prize was one of the richest that ever came to a people. For three generations she had a monopoly of the most lucrative commerce and of the principal trade route in the world. For ages the great highway between Europe and Asia had lain across the Mediterranean Sea, thence eastward by various land routes or waters beyond. During the Middle Ages Italian cities—Genoa, Pisa, especially Venice—lying midway along this route, had been the great emporiums of commerce between western Europe and the orient. It was largely upon this trade that the civilization of northern Italy was founded, and the wealth taken from it had much to do with bringing the Renaissance. After the middle of the fifteenth century this route was largely closed by the Turks. In 1453 Constantinople, the key to the northern branch of the Mediterranean trade route, was taken by the Turks, and Trebizond, an

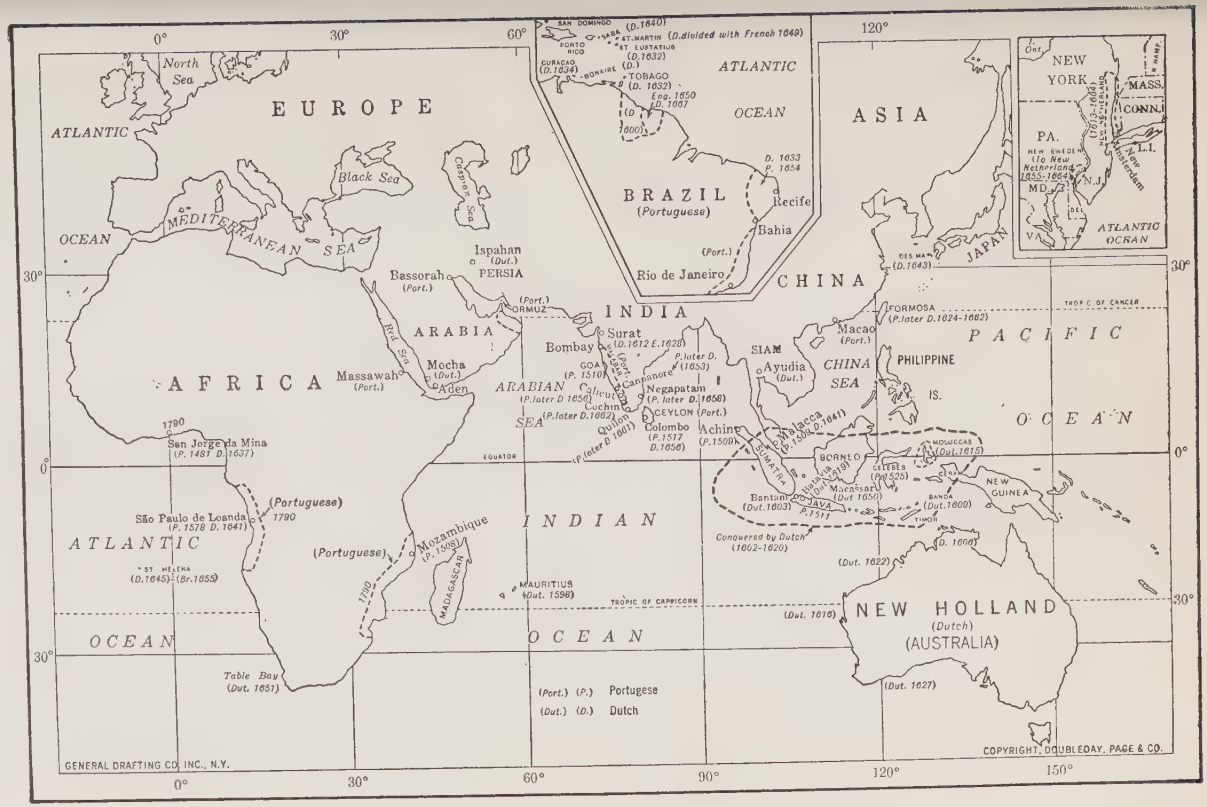
Ruin of Genoa and of Venice

important center on the Black Sea a little later (1461). Genoese commerce was then quickly ruined. For some time Venice fared better, for she used the southern route to Syria and Egypt; but in long and exhausting wars the Turks took the trading stations which Venice held in the Ægean, and presently extended their conquests to Syria (1516) and Egypt (1517). The Venetians kept only a remnant of their trade under burdensome and vexatious restrictions, and Venice entered upon her long, heroic decline. It was in the midst of this Turkish advance that the Portuguese were exploring the African coast; they reached India just a little before the Turks took Damascus and Cairo; and they, earlier than the Turks, were closing the India-Egypt trade to Venice. They now had a route free from the obstacles so ruinous to Genoa and Venice. This route was much longer in actual distance, yet, since transportation was so much easier by water than by land, the route which the Portuguese had opened was for western Europe shorter and easier than the route which the Italians had lost.

The Portuguese find a new route

The Portuguese colonial empire in Asia

As a result of the work that followed, Portugal gained a monopoly of the commerce between Europe and Asia; and Lisbon became the European emporium of the trade in spices. The work of Da Gama was carried far forward by the conqueror, Francisco d'Almeida, first viceroy in the east, who broke the sea power of the Arabs (1509), and by Affonso d'Albuquerque (1452–1515), the greatest of the Portuguese colonial leaders and second viceroy for the king in India. He conquered Goa (1510), on the west coast of India, north of Calicut, and south of where Bombay afterward rose to importance. Goa was long the capital of the Portuguese possessions in the east. Thence he subdued all of the Malabar coast—the southern shore of India on the western side. Ceylon, the great and rich island to the south of India, first entered by D'Almeida (1506), was presently acquired; Malacca, the great emporium of trade



30. COLONIAL EMPIRES OF THE PORTUGUESE AND THE DUTCH

in southeastern Asia, was occupied (1511), and Ormuz, an emporium on the Persian Gulf (1514). For Portugal other conquerors and explorers won the great group of islands off the southeastern Asian coast: Sumatra (1508), Java (1511), Celebes (1512), the Moluccas or "Spice Islands" (1512), Papua or New Guinea (1526), and presently Nanking and Macao on the Chinese coast, and certain stations in Japan.

Portuguese territories in Africa and in South America

By the middle of the sixteenth century the hitherto unimportant country of Portugal had a magnificent colonial domain, embracing not only Asiatic islands and cities, that gave it control of the spice trade, but large jurisdictions in Africa, from Guinea, acquired in the early years of the exploration, to Angola and the Cape, and Mozambique—known as Portuguese East Africa now—around on the east coast beyond; while as a result of the accidental discovery by Cabral of the Brazilian coast (1500), she had much of the western part of the South American continent also.

The great era quickly passed

For some time the splendor and wealth once in Genoa and Venice came to Lisbon, and Portugal was one of the important countries of Europe. She had developed a great trade in slaves and ivory and the tropical products of Africa; she had virtual monopoly of the commerce in spices and the wares of Persia, India, and China; her ships thronged the seas; and her people were filled with a spirit of hardihood, greatness, and ambition. This period was short. In any event, she would probably have been unable to defend such extensive possessions, and in the end she would doubtless have been far less able to exclude rivals from the oriental seas than Spain afterward was to keep the English and the French from American waters.

Portugal annexed to Spain

Actually, disaster came quickly. In 1580 Portugal was annexed to Spain. In 1594 Lisbon was closed to the enemies of Spain—the French, the English, and the Dutch. The Dutch had long been fighting to establish their independence from Spain. Their principal strength

was on the sea. They were already attacking the ships of Spain; now they attacked the ships of Portugal under the dominion of Spain. In the midst of their desperate struggle they were developing a huge carrying trade in western and northern Europe. So, when they were debarred from Lisbon they began to retaliate by seizing the Portuguese trade and the possessions of Portugal from which the wares came.

The Dutch at war with Spain

This was the beginning of the Dutch colonial empire. They seized Portuguese colonies in Africa, including Cape Colony (1651), various places in India, and especially the great islands off Asia—the Moluccas (1607), Java (1610), Sumatra (1649), Ceylon (1658), and Celebes (1660). Meanwhile, they had established their colony of New Netherland at the mouth of the Hudson River, on the North American coast (1614), and taken the vast extent of Brazil in South America (1624). Throughout the seventeenth century the Dutch remained masters of the trade between Europe and farther Asia, and it was only after a long time that their monopoly was broken in part by the French and the English. The best of their acquisitions—the great islands off the Asian coast—they kept; for when Portugal regained her independence (1640) she did not get back the oriental possessions which her great mariners and captains had won. Through an uprising of the Portuguese colonists in Brazil that wide country was restored to her (1654), save for a portion in the north, on the Caribbean—the district of Surinam or Dutch Guiana—which Holland retained. Portugal also kept Angola and Mozambique in Africa, parts of Guinea, and the small islands off the African coast. But the great sources of her wealth were gone, and Portugal remained in the insignificance and obscurity from which good fortune had raised her for a moment. Her best possessions were retained by the Dutch, who continued to draw great revenue from them, and the best of them remain to Holland

The Dutch colonial empire

Portugal regains Brazil

Some Dutch colonies lost to the English

to this day. Meanwhile, the Dutch had lost New Netherland to the English (1664). Later on Ceylon (1795) and Cape Colony (1806) were taken from them by the English in the midst of a great struggle with France.

Columbus finds new lands for Spain

Meanwhile, a much greater dominion had been won by the Spaniards. Shortly before Da Gama sailed to India, Columbus had boldly opened another route, exploring in the service of Castile. He, and the Spaniards who promoted his expedition, had hoped to reach India and China by sailing westward from Europe around the globe of the world. They knew not of another continent, and conceived that only the Atlantic extended between western Europe and eastern Asia. Columbus believed he had discovered India, but later explorations soon convinced men that a vast new land had been found. To one of the southern districts of the new continent the name America was presently given (1507), and in course of time this name was extended to all lands in the western hemisphere. In America nearly all the colonial empire of Spain was established. The pagan and newly discovered countries to the south and the east of Europe were considered to be Portugal's; those to the west the property of Spain. The Convention of Tordesillas between them (1494) established a dividing line: three hundred and seventy leagues to the west of the Cape Verde Islands. As a result of this arrangement Portugal gained Brazil, where South America juts far out to the eastward, but for a long time all the rest of the Americas, North and South, was deemed to be property of the crown of Castile.

Called America and mostly claimed by Spain

The Spaniards occupy the "Indies"

Columbus and his immediate successors took possession of the West India Islands: *Española* (little Spain) or Hispaniola afterward known by the names of the two parts—Hayti and Santo Domingo (1492), Cuba (1492), Puerto Rico (1493), Jamaica (1494), of all of which the actual colonization was for the most part begun some years later. Acquisitions were soon made on the mainland.

Columbus finds the southern main land mass

In 1498 Columbus had discovered the northern part of what was presently to be called South America. In 1499 Amerigo Vespucci accompanied a Spanish expedition which skirted the northern coast of the southern land mass, and two years later he was with a Portuguese expedition which sailed far down the eastern coast to the extreme southern limits of Brazil, thence far southeastward across the Atlantic to the South Georgia Island—as far south as the strait which Magellan afterward found. Later, in another expedition from Portugal, he again followed the Brazilian coast southward (1503), and in still another he accompanied a Spanish expedition which sought for some opening in the land through which ships might go westward. It was an account of these voyages contained in a letter to his friend, the Florentine Soderini, that attracted so much attention when it was printed (1507), and caused the suggestion that the new lands be named for the discoverer who had described them.

Exploration of the eastern coast south

Magellan sails to the ocean west of America

In 1519 the Portuguese mariner, Magellan, led an expedition for the king of Spain. He crossed to the Brazilian coast where Rio de Janeiro was afterward founded, and sailing thence to the south and southwest, to the Rio de la Plata (River Plate), and finding there no passage through the land, went on down nearly to the verge of the continent, found the strait that has since borne his name, and striking out boldly thence northwestward over the Pacific, continued on the first voyage about the circumference of the earth. The Pacific had already been seen by Spaniards far to the north; it was Magellan who gave it the name it has since continued to bear.

Balboa discovers the western ocean afterward called Mar Pacífico by Magellan

From the first there were numerous voyages of exploration in and out among the West Indies and in the Caribbean Sea. In 1502 a Spanish expedition explored the Darien (Panama) coast; and a decade later Balboa, one of the finest of the *conquistadores*, pushing up through the mountains and thickets just beyond, found that here

the land was not wide, and that a few leagues from the Atlantic, across a narrow but difficult isthmus, extended another ocean (1513). A few years later, the Spanish adventurers who followed Francisco Pizarro sailed southward along the west coast of this southern land of America, and conquered the extensive and flourishing Indian empire of Peru (1526–33). Further discoveries to the south were followed by conquests in Chile, and long fighting with the Araucanian Indians, commemorated in *La Araucana* of Ercilla. As a result of all this work—of some explorations by Portuguese and more by Spanish explorers—all the coasts of South America were visited; and saving Brazil, and the Guiana country in the far north, ultimately all of it was included in the colonial dominion of Spain.

Conquest of Peru and of Chile

Meanwhile, Spaniards had taken much of the continent north. This land mass had been first discovered by John and Sebastian Cabot, Venetians in the service of England (1497), though for a century the English did almost nothing to establish their claim. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, indeed, fishermen from northern Europe were frequenting the great banks off Newfoundland, as this country was called, but for a long time scarcely a rival ventured into the seas which Pope Alexander VI had given to the Spaniards. In 1497 and in the following year a Spanish expedition, with which went Vespucci, sailed along the coast of what was afterward called Central America, and on around the great gulf to the peninsula at its eastern end. By 1502 Spaniards had explored the Darien coast in the extreme south, and apparently also what was afterward called Florida, far to the north, beyond the islands and the gulf. In 1513 the aged and knightly Spaniard, Ponce de Leon, in quest of the fabled fountain of youth, reached on Easter Sunday (*Pascua Florida*) the land which he named Florida in honor thereof. In 1519 the greatest of the Spanish conquerors in America, Hernando Cortes (1485–1547), began

The northern continent found for the English

During the sixteenth century, only the Spaniards took it

his march into Mexico; and in the next three years he conquered the country of the Aztec confederacy for his master. In 1528 Cabeza de Vaca discovered one of the mouths of the Mississippi River. A little later an expedition under Fernando de Soto, after marching back and forth through the forests of what are now the southern states of the American Union, vainly seeking for rumored treasure, emerged at last at the mouth of the Mississippi (1539–42). About the same time another Spanish commander, Francisco de Coronado, seeking for the rumored Seven Cities, went from Mexico far into the prairies and mountains that lie to the north (1540), and one of his lieutenants reached the mighty chasm now called Grand Canyon of the Colorado. As a result of these and other explorations a new Mexico was added to the old Mexico which Cortes had conquered. About the same time, Cabrillo, sailing along the western coast of the continent, north from Old Mexico, explored the coast of a country which, from the fabled island described in a Spanish romance, came to be known as California (1542).

All southern North America taken by Spaniards

Vast as were the stretches thus explored and later on settled by Spaniards, there were to the north still larger unknown lands which they thought of as theirs. But before they had time to extend their effective dominion much farther northward, other Europeans—Frenchmen, English, and Dutch—had made settlements which they were able to hold, and the northern, the larger half of North America, remained lost to the Spaniards. Meanwhile, as a result of Magellan's expedition, islands in the far east had been won (1521), afterward called the Philippines, in honor of Philip II. After 1580, also, for a while, the Spaniards were masters of the rich Portuguese colonial possessions; but presently these dominions were seized from Spain and Portugal by the Dutch.

Northern North America not won by the Spaniards

The Philippine Islands

Acquisition of so much of the American continents by Spain is one of the great events in the history of European

Importance of Spanish expansion

peoples. Spaniards now went far and wide outside of Europe to a new, greater Spain; and Spanish language, culture, and the Roman Catholic religion of the Spaniards were established permanently over mighty stretches in the New World. Between these colonies and old Spain a large commerce arose. From the more important districts, such as Mexico and Peru, came stores of bullion, that changed prices and values all over Europe, and furnished part of the resources of the Spain that tried to dominate the Christian world. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Spain's colonial empire was the principal one in the world, and it was the largest and most lucrative one that any nation had ever possessed.

The council of the Indies

Under the king of Spain the government of these dominions was vested in the council of the Indies, sitting in Madrid. Subject to the approval of the king it nominated and removed officials—viceroys, governors, ecclesiastics—made or approved the laws relating to the colonies, appointed the *audiencias* (audiences) or highest courts in criminal cases, and itself heard appeals in civil cases from all the other colonial courts.

The Spanish viceroyalties in America

By 1574 the Spanish possessions in America were divided into two parts, of which one, New Spain, embraced the West Indian Islands, North America, and some districts in the northern part of the continent to the south. The other, Peru, comprised all of South America from the Isthmus of Darien or Panama to Tierra del Fuego at the southern extremity, excepting what is now Venezuela—which belonged to the northern jurisdiction, Surinam—which belong to the Dutch Netherlands, and Brazil—which the Portuguese held. These kingdoms or viceroyalties were governed by viceroys, the appointees and personal representatives of the king of Spain. The viceroyalties were divided into *audiencias* and smaller jurisdictions. Later on, in the eighteenth century, other viceroyalties and lesser divisions were established. Generally speak-

Spanish government in America

ing, the Spanish monarchy tried to give to its colonial subjects much the same government they would have had in Spain. Such differences as there were resulted mostly from the different circumstances in which the colonists were placed.

Life in the new Spain

After the age of the explorers and conquerors, the colonists settled down to find their fortune or make their living in the new world. Some of the bolder or more successful acquired great stretches of land or districts with mines of silver or gold. They had jurisdiction over the natives who lived on these estates much like that which Spanish grandees had on estates in Andalusia or Castile.

Towns

Other settlers gathered themselves together in towns, which they modelled after what existed in Spain, electing *cabildos* (town councils) consisting of *regidores* (aldermen), who chose their *alcaldes* (mayors) themselves. As in Spain, and also in England and elsewhere at the same time, these councils were often closed corporations—bodies whose members themselves chose successors for vacancies as they arose.

Self-government did not develop in the Spanish colonies

In the Spanish kingdoms of the Middle Ages the *cortes* or assembly of estates had been as flourishing as was the similar body, the parliament, in England; but this did not continue. In Spain, when the sovereigns could, they went the way of the kings of France, and made their state strong by taking all powers of government, to be exercised by themselves and by the officials and councils subordinate to them. It might be thought that freer institutions would have developed in the distant Spanish colonies, as afterward they did among the English settlers. There was, indeed, considerable tendency toward this. None the less, the Spanish colonial government was concentrated effectively and completely in the hands of the great officers appointed by the king. So, Spanish-Americans were debarred from much political activity. The government was a paternal despotism, administered by

Paternal despotism

viceroys and officials who were sometimes honest and efficient, incapable sometimes and corrupt. In general, the spirit of rule was enlightened and kindly.

Treatment of the native populations

Particular efforts were made by Spanish authorities to protect the Indians. There had been some atrocities and barbarities at first, which gained a mournful renown from passionate protests by the noble Las Casas. As the government extended its control more effectively and more thoroughly organized its system, the evil was almost entirely brought to an end. The Spanish government protected the Indians so well that they survived and increased in numbers, and continued to be the majority of the colonial population.

Spanish culture in the Spanish colonies

To Peru and to New Spain the colonists took their speech, their religion, Roman law, and the local customs and peculiarities of character that had long since developed in Spain. Religion had among them, as in the old country, a place of immense importance. Religious orders established branches in the New World. There were wealthy and flourishing monasteries and convents, and

Religion

stately cathedrals and churches. Particular care was taken to convert the Indians to Christianity. The inquisition also was set up, and heretics were condemned and burned as late as 1776. Universities arose at Lima and in Mexico City, and some of the teachers gained much distinction. The Spanish towns had their printing-presses, their schools, and their great church buildings long before such things could appear in colonies of England or of France.

France and England obtain colonial dominions

A century after the Spaniards and the Portuguese began to make colonial empires, the English and the French began to seek colonies and distant possessions. In course of time they won wide dominion. During the seventeenth century the French took great stretches of country in America and important trading stations in various parts of the world. During the eighteenth cen-

tury most of this first colonial empire of theirs was lost in wars with England. During the seventeenth century the English acquired large possessions, especially in America. Soon after they had beaten the French, the fairest part of their American dominions was lost through successful revolt.

Early French exploration in America

Early in the age of discovery the French, like the English, sent out exploring expeditions and attempted to acquire possessions. During the struggle between Francis I and Charles V, France, refusing to admit Spanish monopoly of the Americas, sent expeditions to explore the North American coast. Verrazano, an Italian corsair serving the French, led an expedition that sailed along the coast from what was afterward North Carolina to Newfoundland (1524), discovering the noble harbor where later the Dutch founded New Netherland and the English built up New York. A little later the renowned Jacques Cartier explored the wide gulf that was named St. Lawrence (1534), then the long river to the hill that was named Mount Royal, *Montréal* (1535), and even attempted, unsuccessfully, to colonize this country of Canada, as it was called (1541–2). Nothing came of these attempts at the time, and the principal result of the voyages was that France now established a claim to the northern part of North America which she was able later on to make good.

The founding of New France

At the beginning of the next century, when religious wars in France at last were ended, a great commercial and industrial expansion followed under Henry IV. Again attempts were made to acquire overseas possessions. In 1603 and the years following Samuel de Champlain explored the coasts of Canada and the coast farther south along the country that was to be known later as New England. In 1608 he founded Quebec at a strong point dominating the St. Lawrence River. This was the first permanent settlement of the French in America. Thereafter during the seventeenth century fur-traders,

The interior wilderness of North America explored

adventurers, Jesuit missionaries, and some of the boldest and ablest of all the explorers who came to the American wilderness, pushed up the valley of the St. Lawrence, then on by the shores of those inland seas that would one day be called the Great Lakes, then into the heart of the interior country, until they came to the great river which the natives called Mississippi (Father of Waters), then down its mighty course until Frenchmen came out at the gulf which Spaniards had coasted a century before.

The Mississippi valley taken for Louis XIV

The Jesuits had missions about Lake Michigan by 1669. Shortly after, Joliet, an explorer, and Father Marquette, a Jesuit missionary, discovered the upper part of the Mississippi (1673). A few years later the Sieur de la Salle continued these explorations, and presently went down to the mouth of the river (1682). All of this country he claimed for the king of France, and now in this period of the greatness of Louis XIV, the king of France could hold from the king of Spain whatever Frenchmen took possession of for him. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Iberville established a French colony

Louisiana

on the Gulf of Mexico at Mobile (1701). Shortly after, the governor of Louisiana, as the country was called now, founded the city of New Orleans (1718). Later on Frenchmen posted in the northern part of their great inland valley heard of the sea far away to the west. In the course of search westward for the ocean shores of their country, La Vérendrye adventured as far as the mighty mountain mass (1743), known now as the Rocky Mountains.

The French West Indies

In the West Indies, then deemed so important, several islands had been colonized long before: Guadeloupe (1635) and Martinique (1635), while Haiti, the western part of Hispaniola, overrun by French pirates or buccaneers at an earlier time, was also annexed (1697). So was acquired a magnificent empire, based principally upon the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi valleys. Ultimately Frenchmen

might have been masters of North America, had they been able to hold what they had taken.

French possessions in Africa and in Asia

Meanwhile, in the seventeenth century Frenchmen had made settlements in Africa: upon the Senegal River on the western African bulge to the north of Cape Verde (1626), in Madagascar (1642) far off in the southeast, which the Portuguese had settled long before (1548), and at Goree, an island off the Senegal coast (1678). They had also begun to develop commerce with India and had tried to establish trading posts there: Surat on the northwest coast (1668), Chandernagore in the northeast (1672), and Pondicherry on the southeast coast (1674). These African and Asian possessions, like most of their holdings in America, were acquired during the period of France's greatness in the course of the seventeenth century.

French culture in the colonies of France

As was the case with the English, while the French made acquisitions in Africa and in India, their colonization and settlement were for a long time confined almost entirely to the lands which they acquired in America. In the valley of the St. Lawrence, about the mouth of the St. Lawrence Gulf, at New Orleans, and about the mouth of the Mississippi River a considerable number of Frenchmen settled. To the New World they brought the French language, the French character and temperament, the Roman law, and the customs which they had developed in the Old World. The government established over them was a system strictly in accordance with ideas developed in France. During the seventeenth century France had become an absolute monarchy, with power concentrated in the hands of the monarch, and wielded by councils and ministers beneath him. There was constant tendency for local government also to be administered less and less by local officials and more and more by royal officials directed from Paris. Likewise in Canada, in Martinique, in Louisiana there was scarcely any rule of the people by themselves. All matters were directed by officials sent out

Government

to these colonies by the king, and responsible only to him. Feudal rights and seignorial jurisdiction, also, which still survived to some extent in France, were brought over; and especially in Canada the seignorial system flourished for some time.

North America discovered by the Cabots and claimed by the English

When the French began to seek colonies abroad their neighbors, the English, were seeking them also, and the two, rivals so long in Europe, were soon engaged in a contest for colonies all over the world. In 1497 the Cabots, leading an expedition from Bristol, then the principal seaport in western England, reached the northerly part of the east coast of what was later called North America. All lands discovered or to be discovered in this part of the world had already been granted to Spain by the pope. England, like France, was not disposed to admit the pope's jurisdiction in such matters, and when later on in the next century the Church of England was separated from Rome and Protestantism was established in the country, the pope's decision was regarded not at all. Accordingly, England claimed the upper part of North America because the Cabots had discovered it first. For a long time nothing else was done. The English people became absorbed in their religious questions, and afterward for some time were engrossed in the struggle with Spain. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, however, when these issues were partly settled, a beginning was once more made.

The pope's settlement not regarded

English colonies in the West Indies

After several unsuccessful attempts, notably by Sir Walter Raleigh, to found settlements in America in the latter part of the sixteenth century, Englishmen began to establish colonies and found new homes in some of the West Indian islands and at various points along the middle coast of eastern North America: Newfoundland, center of the North Atlantic fisheries, taken by the English as early as 1583, Barbados (1605), the Bermudas (1609), St. Christopher (1623), Nevis (1628), Montserrat (1632),

Antigua (1632), St. Lucia (1638), the much larger and more important Jamaica, which Cromwell's navy seized from Spain (1655), the Bahamas (1666), and the Virgin Islands (1666). In some of these islands a flourishing agriculture was developed, and such lucrative trade arose, that for a long time they were regarded as the most important of all the colonies that England possessed.

The mainland colonies in North America, Virginia

Of greater importance ultimately, however, were the communities meanwhile founded on the mainland. First was the colony of Virginia, previously named from the unmarried queen, Elizabeth, established by the London Company, a commercial corporation (1607). After many hardships at first, this colony took firm root and entered upon a period of prosperity, based on cultivation of tobacco. In England this was the period of contest between the established Church of England and various bodies of Puritans and Protestant dissenters. In 1620 a number of "separatists" settled at Plymouth considerably north of Virginia, and ten years later a larger body of Puritans established the colony of Massachusetts Bay (1630). Such were the beginnings of the second important colony, Massachusetts. Already, to the north of Massachusetts, a settlement had been planted in New Hampshire (1623), and a few years later another colony was begun in Connecticut, to the south (1634). That same year George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, a Catholic nobleman, having received from the king grant of a district in the Virginia country, north of the Virginia settlements previously made, established the palatinate of Maryland (1634). Two years later, in the northern, New England country, between Connecticut and Massachusetts, a Puritan dissenter, Roger Williams, fleeing from Massachusetts, founded the colony of Rhode Island (1636). In 1663 Charles II granted to certain noblemen of his court a great tract in the southern part of the Virginia

New England

country. In honor of him it was named Carolina, and somewhat later divided into North Carolina and South Carolina (1712). During the second Anglo-Dutch War was taken the important country held by the Dutch, about the best harbor along the eastern coast of North America, and situated in between the group of New England colonies in the north and the colonies of the southern group. From this conquered territory three English colonies were presently made: New York—as the principal Dutch settlement, New Netherland, was now renamed—a country settled by the Dutch many years before (1614); New Jersey, the district between the Hudson and the Delaware rivers, settled a few years later (1617), which the Duke of York, brother of Charles II—to whom all the country taken from the Dutch had been granted—gave to two of his friends (1664); and Delaware, which the Swedes had once settled (1638), which the Dutch had later on taken (1654), which was later sold to William Penn (1681), and became a separate jurisdiction long afterward (1776). To the north of Maryland and behind the Delaware River Charles II also granted to the Quaker, William Penn, a rich district in which he founded Pennsylvania (1681). Considerably later, in the reign of George II, in the southern Carolina country, a tract was obtained by the philanthropist, Oglethorpe, who named the colony which he established there Georgia (1733). This district was also claimed by the Spaniards, whose country of Florida was said to extend here indefinitely northward. As a result of this settlement, appropriation, and conquest, carried on for more than a hundred years, England had obtained along the middle part of the Atlantic coast a continuous line of thriving settlements. In them a flourishing new England was being established.

Middle country taken from the Dutch

Southern land on the Spanish frontier

In the course of this time England had also acquired colonies in many other parts of the world: Gambia, in northwestern Africa (1618), near the Senegal country later

English colonies in Africa and in Spanish America

taken by the French; Honduras, on the western coast of Central America, in the midst of Spanish provinces (1638); the Gold Coast, on the southern part of the great North African bulge, north of the Gulf of Guinea (1650); the island of St. Helena, far out in the Atlantic, to the west of the southern African coast (1651); while she had established factories or trading posts in India, at Masulipatam, on the southeastern coast (1611), at Surat, on the western side (1612), Madras, on the southeastern coast, below Masulipatam (1640), Bombay, on the western coast, acquired from Portugal, as part of the dowry of Catherine of Bragança when she married Charles II (1662), and Calcutta, on the northeast coast, near one of the mouths of the Ganges (1686).

Factories in India

Conquests in the war of the Spanish Succession

During the eighteenth century the colonial empire of Great Britain was further increased as a result of conquests from France and from Spain. In 1704 England seized Gibraltar, which she ever since has retained. In 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht, she acquired from France the country about Hudson Bay—which an English company had been attempting to take since 1670; Acadia, on the south side of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which the English called Nova Scotia (New Scotland) thereafter; and such sovereignty as France still claimed over Newfoundland. In 1763 she made great additions to her empire. As a result of the Peace of Paris she received from France Cape Breton and other islands near Newfoundland, at the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Canada, and—save for New Orleans—all the great stretches of country as far west as the Mississippi River which France had once claimed in the middle of America, behind the English settlements on the coast. From France in the West Indies she obtained Dominica, Grenada, and St. Vincent; in Africa the Senegal country. In India she did not take the French possessions, but by the terms of the treaty she was left predominant, and free to develop a great empire

In the Seven Years' War

there whenever occasion offered. At the same time she obtained the Florida country from Spain.

France loses most of her first colonial empire, 1763

The settlement in the Treaty of Paris, and certain arrangements that resulted, marked a decisive point in the history of European colonial and imperial expansion. The overseas possessions of Spain were left almost intact; but just as the colonial empire of Portugal had long ago been lost very largely to the Dutch, so now was lost almost all of the first colonial empire which the French had constructed. France still retained her factories in India, and some of her most important islands in the West Indies—especially Guadeloupe, the much-prized Martinique, and the flourishing colony of Haiti; she still held Goree and other points in Africa; but the mighty areas which her missionaries and explorers had won in North America were now gone completely. All of Canada and all her realm east of the Mississippi River had been lost to Britain. Her vaster but less known country west of the Mississippi, along with New Orleans, she gave to Spain, to compensate that country for losses endured in the recent contest. The Louisiana country France would afterward recover for a short time, but this she would presently dispose of to the United States. Later she would construct a second colonial empire; but this would be work of the nineteenth century.

Her possessions on the North American mainland gone

Great Britain the principal colonial power

Great Britain, on the other hand, had become the foremost colonial power in the world. She had now the opportunity to make further acquisitions in India, and in the course of another century all the vast domains of India would acknowledge her rule. She had important stations in Africa, and in the future would be the dominant power there also. In America she had reached the highest point she ever attained. She had now the foremost influence in the West Indies. She held the shores of Honduras south of the Mexican gulf. North of that gulf she held all eastern North America, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi,

as far north as the Arctic Ocean, save only for Iceland and the little-known Greenland, taken for Denmark centuries before. Along the middle Atlantic seaboard of this mighty area she had thirteen flourishing colonies, in which lived almost all of the Englishmen who had emigrated from the British Isles. Here in time to come would be the greater home of the English-speaking people.

Holds all the eastern half of North America

Some of the settlers who had come to the English colonies were the best the British Isles could send. The Puritans and others who opposed Charles I were far more important from prosperity and position than any mere numbers might show. They were strong, well-educated, often well-to-do people, the best of the middle class and lesser nobility, narrow in their outlook, but determined, independent, and willing to endure much in upholding their cause. It was from this class that Cromwell and Milton came, and it contained many lawyers, merchants, and men of affairs. In 1637 a Venetian correspondent estimated that 35,000 Puritans had gone to New England, of whom one third were from "families of condition." It was by them very largely that New England was founded. Then during the period of the civil wars, somewhat later, when for a while the Puritans and the Independents got control of affairs in England, some of their cavalier opponents took refuge in Virginia and in Maryland.

The English in America

The Puritans

In New England and in all the other British colonies in America English law and custom were at once introduced. They took vigorous root and entered on sturdy growth. Many of the settlers had had direct acquaintance with their government in England and taken part in local affairs. Not a few of them had been justices of the peace or county officials, and most of them, perhaps, knew the working of parish administration. Very naturally they set up townships or parishes and counties, which saw from the first flourishing political life. This took place so readily in the English colonies then, because the English people,

Self-government

unlike those of France or even Spain, were used to taking part in local government. And in the freer circumstances of their new homes some of the English colonists carried government by the people much further than it had ever been developed in England. Over there, in the parish, which was the unit in which most of the people had political experience, only the pettiest things were determined, the more important parts of local government being in the hands of the king and the upper classes. But when the Puritans, who had left England partly because they wanted more government by the people, set up their townships in New England, they made the town meeting an assembly of the citizens of the district, who thus governed themselves in democratic assembly, and chose their own officers for executive and administrative work. As the New England colonies grew, town meetings elected representatives to sit in the assembly or parliament of the colony, thus organizing a self-government far in advance of anything in England then. Later on this became a model for the government of the United States. Outside of New England self-government was also developed, though in somewhat less striking manner. In 1619 the London Company bade the governor whom they sent to Virginia call a legislature or assembly consisting of representatives elected by the freemen of that country. Indeed, in all the colonies representative assemblies were set up modelled roughly upon the parliament of England. The colonists brought into their new homes the English common law, which became afterward the basis of the law of the United States. They always considered that they shared in the rights which English citizens possessed, that *Magna Carta* pertained to them as much as if they were in England.

Greatly advanced in America

Town meeting and colonial assembly

The rights of Englishmen

Into the English colonies, especially into the thirteen colonies on the mainland, came a large number of emigrants from other countries—discontented people from Germany

31. THE COLONIAL EMPIRES OF THE BRITISH

NCH, AND THE SPANIARDS ABOUT 1700

and France, and also from Ireland—and some of them for a great while retained their own language, characteristics, and customs. From the first, however, the English in America showed a wonderful power of assimilation. The foreign immigrants were usually admitted to share in the privileges and power of the commonwealths, and many of them after a while, of their own free will, adopted the English language and customs. Hence, the life of these countries continued to be fundamentally English. Houses and churches resembled those of England in the time of Anne or the Georges; and customs and class distinctions existed much like those in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England.

England's American colonies essentially English

Assimilative power

Judging in respect of these centuries there is no doubt that the colonists, whether in New England or in New Spain, were treated well. The British and the Spanish authorities both tried to give them much the same government that they would have had in the mother countries. There were differences, indeed, but these differences resulted mostly from the new circumstances in which the colonists were placed.

The colonists well treated

The principal grievances were economic, mostly because of restrictions on colonial trade. In accordance with the principles of mercantilism, the prevailing economic theory then, colonies were to supply the mother country with raw materials in exchange for manufactured goods, and colonial trade was to be confined to the country by which the colonies were held. Such commercial restrictions seemed very proper and natural then, and long precedent and custom were behind them. In the Middle Ages, when Calais was held by England, that city was the staple or place to which all exported English wool must be sent. Many a town and many a guild had a monopoly of some trade, and the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a period in which many a monopoly was granted. The English East India Company, founded in 1600, had the

Restrictions on trade

Mercantile restrictions and monopolies once the custom

sole right of trading in the far east; and some of the first English settlements made in America had been planted by companies with similar rights. The Spanish government had ordained that all the trading from Spanish America should be with Spain, until France and then England compelled her to relax this monopoly slightly. It endeavored to confine this trade entirely to the one Spanish city of Seville, and it tried to prevent trade between the several Spanish colonies. So, the English government forbade its colonial subjects to carry on manufactures. It tried also to restrict their trade through a series of navigation acts, the purpose of which was substantially to debar other nations from trading with the English colonies and compel the colonies to send most of their exports to England. On the other hand, certain advantages were maintained for the colonists. The planting of tobacco in England, for example, was forbidden. To some extent the Spanish colonists evaded the trade restrictions imposed upon them; and there was much smuggling, especially after English, Dutch, and French settlements were made in the West Indian Islands. The English colonists, left much freer, at first paid little attention to navigation acts; and when later on the mother country tried to enforce them, this was one of the principal things that led to the war for independence.

Navigation acts

Distance and difference brought separation

It was natural that the colonists, far away from the old conditions, should conceive new ideas and give up the old more quickly than people in Europe; that mere difference in circumstances and surroundings and mere distance would inevitably cause disagreements to develop, so that after a while the colonies could be held only by power or force, or through very skilful administration. Had they been very strongly held or very greatly oppressed probably they would long have endured. Since many of the colonies were not closely bound, and since their people were on the whole well treated, they easily chafed at whatever dis-

pleased them. It was natural and proper that they should do so; but it should be remembered that they broke away from the parent countries because of distance and difference in surroundings, rather than because of oppression, as was afterward so often said.

Centrifugal forces

The people of the English colonies in America were better treated than the inhabitants of any other colonial possessions ever had been. They had most of the privileges that people in England had. For a time they were left very largely to themselves, and did much as they pleased. The navigation laws were not strictly enforced and very little obeyed. The people who had settled New England, however, were the most progressive of the English people in politics. In their new homes they proceeded along the path of political development more rapidly than their kinsmen in England. They insisted upon all the rights of Englishmen, and began to think of getting more. The upper classes, who controlled affairs in the middle and the southern colonies, were in the position of the English gentry; and like them, they were determined to uphold all their legal and constitutional rights. The colonies were growing rapidly in prosperity and power, and the commercial and business leaders were ill-disposed to endure restraints on their trade. There was, to be sure, the menace of France in America, but in 1763 the conquest of Canada was completed by England, and that menace was definitely removed. The colonies were no longer bound to England either by fear or by need.

English radicals and progressives in America

The British desire to make imperial administration more effective

Just about this time the British government was attempting to devise some more effective plan of imperial administration and control. Previously no well-organized scheme of governing the colonies had been constructed. Government was vested in the king and his privy council; but government in Great Britain had been slipping from royal management into the control of parliament and ministers of the king. Important things were now performed

only by those powerful members of the privy council who were of the cabinet. The cabinet had management of many important things besides the colonies, and accordingly gave them little attention. There had been, since 1696, the Board of Trade and Plantations, something like the Spanish Council of the Indies, though less powerful and organized less well; but it could not enforce its decisions, and its recommendations were often not heeded. Moreover, now that the principal power in the British government was parliament and not the king, parliament attempted to control the colonies itself. To British authorities it seemed most proper that the colonists should contribute to the expenses of the empire, some of which had been incurred for colonial defense; but the colonists were not willing to pay taxes imposed upon them by the London parliament in which they were not represented.

The Board of Trade had little power

This was a situation with much of right on both sides, in which the quarrel developed because there were properly two points of view. The principal trouble, doubtless, was that in this period before the revolution in transportation and means of communication there had as yet been no scheme devised for holding together the parts of a widely scattered empire, except power and force sustained. The very excellence of British institutions and the spirit of freedom in them contributed to the trouble, for these institutions brought to new and distant communities had been greatly altered and reformed as a result of the radicalism and spirit of innovation now flourishing there. Considerable divergence in political outlook and aspiration between the two parts of the English-speaking people had resulted. Those who lived in the British Isles had developed the principal government then existing in which monarchy was limited and administration was controlled to some extent by the people. But in America Englishmen had gone much further. Once there had been in

Circumstances and viewpoints divergent

Political conceptions had altered more in America than in England

England a body of political radicals who had striven to establish a republic, some of whom had even cherished the idea of a democracy—a government controlled by all the citizens, equal one with the other. After a brief space these men had failed to make good such ideas in England. Some of them, however, had gone to New England, and there the radical doctrines had been preserved, and in course of time made more radical still. Furthermore, the very spirit of life on the "frontier" and government in the midst of conditions new and rapidly changing, tended to make men in America much less reverent of ancient custom and tradition. At the same time they were much more willing to accept innovation and more anxious to have reform. Accordingly, the two sides drifted farther apart, and presently the colonists on the mainland acted together against the mother country. "The freest of peoples," says the principal authority on this subject, "were the first to rebel."

The spirit of the frontier

By the Stamp Act of 1765 various taxes were imposed by parliament upon transactions in the colonies. Furious opposition at once developed, as a result of which the taxes were repealed (1766). At the same time, however, parliament passed a declaratory act, asserting its right to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever. Next year new taxes were imposed, on tea, paper, glass, and paints. At Boston somewhat later certain of the bitterest opponents destroyed a quantity of the tea about to be imported (1773). Then the port of Boston was closed, and Massachusetts was put under the rule of a military governor. The colonies now coöperated in resistance to England. The first blood was shed in a skirmish at Lexington (1775). Two months later, after the bloody action at Bunker Hill, the British forces in Boston drove an investing force away, but soon the new American commander, George Washington, of Virginia, compelled the British to evacuate Boston altogether. As a result of this, New England, where the

Great Britain imposes parliamentary taxes on the colonies

Resistance and bloodshed

spirit of resistance was most determined, was lost by Britain almost entirely.

The colonies unite for resistance

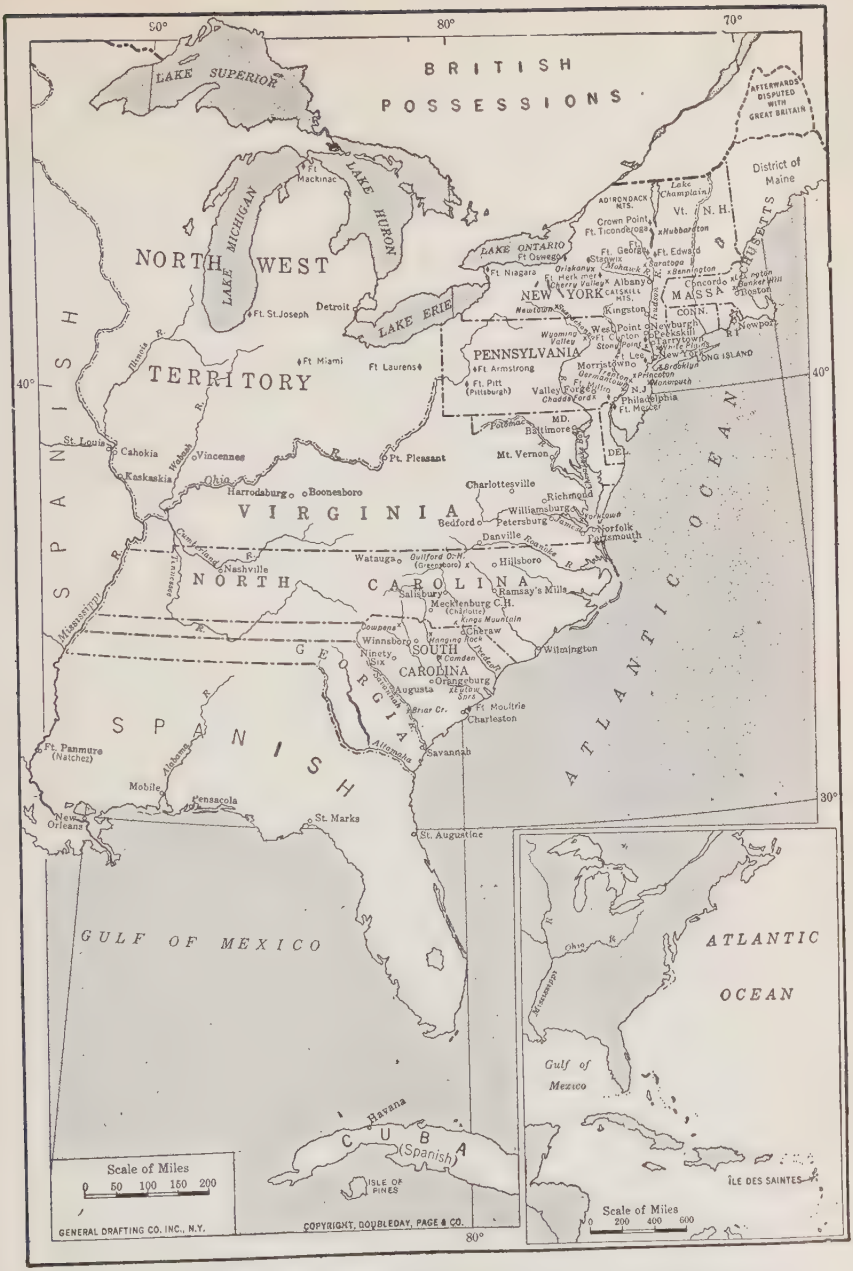
A "continental congress" or general assembly of delegates from all the British colonies on the mainland had assembled in Philadelphia, the principal American city, in 1774. A second general congress met there next year. Some whose discontent had led to the crisis now drew back, but the more radical element took control, and the movement went much further than had been expected by most people at first. In July, 1776, a declaration of independence was issued. There had been little thought of such a thing at the start. The upper and more prosperous classes and most of the conservative people were opposed to it strongly; and a contemporary, John Adams, afterward declared that from a third to a half of all the inhabitants of the colonies had not wanted any separation.

The American Revolutionary War

Had Great Britain blockaded the coast, and thus broken most of the communication between the several colonies, and tried in this way gradually to exhaust the resources of the revolutionaries, she might probably have driven them to submit. Rashly, however, she undertook to carry on offensive campaigns too far from her base. For some time she had much success. Disregarding New England for the moment, her armies seized New York, overran the middle colonies, and attempted, by securing all the line of the Hudson, to break the rebellion into fragments. During 1777 she nearly succeeded, but presently an entire British army was captured in the wild country of the upper Hudson, and the great design utterly failed.

The southern colonies conquered

Even so, British troops now overran all the southern colonies (1778–80), and England might probably have won, had not France, desiring revenge for the utter defeat by England a few years before, joined in the contest. The French had already been giving assistance, secretly, but as much as they could. During the first two years of the struggle it has been estimated that more than nine tenths



32. TO ILLUSTRATE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WAR

France made possible American independence

of the powder and munitions used by the Americans was supplied from abroad, largely by the French. After the capture of Burgoyne's army at Saratoga, France made open alliance with the colonies, acknowledged their independence, and promised them powerful aid (1778). Strong French forces were sent to America. For a time the French fleet had command of the sea, cutting the communications with England. France furnished most of the war materials which the colonists used. Presently another British army, blockaded at Yorktown in Virginia by the French fleet, was captured by the French and the American armies (1781). In 1783 the independence of the United States was acknowledged, and they, shortly after, triumphing over great difficulties, combined in a strong federal union (1787–8). Thus were the English-speaking people separated into two parts. Canada, which had recently been won from the French, and the West Indian Islands, which British sea power had on the whole sufficed to defend, were retained; but the Thirteen Colonies in America, the principal overseas possessions that Britain had in the eighteenth century, were lost for ever, and with them had been yielded all the country back as far west as the Mississippi River.

The United States

The Spanish colonies in America

The establishment by these Americans of a government which they believed would secure them liberty was not without effect upon France, and was among the causes that led shortly after to the French Revolution. Then came the mightiest changes that Europe had experienced for ages. Napoleon Bonaparte rose to power, and conquering much of Europe, disposed of it as seemed to him best. In the spring of 1808 French troops took possession of Spain. Britain was at war with France, and British command of the sea now separated Spain from her colonial possessions. For some years this continued. During this period the colonists in Latin America had a freedom from commercial restrictions that made them more willing

to follow the example of the United States. The trade restrictions had been previously somewhat relaxed, but Spain still wished to preserve her colonial trade mostly for herself. During the Napoleonic struggle England had won a large share of this trade, and she now encouraged the colonists to attempt separation. During the period 1810–30, one after another the mainland colonies revolted and gained independence.

Independence of Spanish America

The Americans, particularly the English-speaking people in the United States, went forward now in freer and more splendid development than would have been possible, perhaps, had the connection continued as of old. America, largely because of magnificent natural resources, became a land of opportunity for people from all over Europe, a haven for the aspiring and the oppressed. The people of the new nations went on their way, far from the older world, glorying in isolation and superior goodness. More and more they conceived of themselves as Americans, different from the people in Europe. There was much truth in this. Yet, always, in a larger way, America seemed as an extension, and expansion, of Europe. For it was from the countries of western Europe—from Spain, from Portugal, from France, from England, and to a lesser extent from Germany and Holland, that their population and their culture had come in the first place. In the early part of the twentieth century there were twice as many English-speaking people in America as in the British Isles, many more Spaniards than there were in Spain, and a larger population of Portuguese in Brazil than in Portugal itself. By that time the principal nations of Europe had acquired colonies and possessions in all parts of the world; but more important it was that in the eighteenth century they had transmitted their culture to the New World, and that the home of the European peoples was now the Americas as well as Europe.

The Americans

The culture of America European

America as well as Europe the seat of European civilization

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CHAPTER XIX

AUSTRIA, PRUSSIA, AND THE GERMAN STATES

Bella gerant alii, tu, felix Austria, nube:
Nam quæ Mars aliis, dat tibi regna Venus.

Lines attributed to MATTHIAS CORVINUS, king of Hungary (1458–1490).

Als haben Ihro Kayserl. Majest. in Consideration des Chur-Hauses Brandenburg Uralten Splendoris, Macht und Ansehens auch von des jetzt regierenden Churf. Durchl. Ihro und dem gemeinen Wesen bishero geleisteten grossen und considerablen Dienste resolviret . . . wegen Ihres Herzogthumb Preussen sich vor einen König proclamiren und Krönen lassen.

Treaty between the emperor, LEOPOLD I and FREDERICK III. elector of Brandenburg (November 16, 1700): Rousset, supplement to Dumont, *Corps Universel*, vol. iii, part i. p. 462.

These are the Ways by which *Germany* came to be so full of Princes, or, if the Reader rather pleases to call them, Prime Nobility: every one whereof is more *free* and absolute than several *Crown'd Heads* in *Europe* . . . The exact Number of those Princes and Counts cannot be fix'd by reason of Deaths, and the Extinction of Families; in which Case their Estates and Rights devolve to others.

The Present State of Germany (London, 1738), ii. 335, 336.

The empire less important than its parts

DURING the eighteenth century, while Italy remained divided in a number of parts, some ruled by foreign masters, the German people, separated as they were in a much greater number of states, for the most part preserved independence, and continued to be important in European affairs. In the latter part of the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century, the old Holy Roman Empire, in which these states were included, was no longer a great power in Europe. It was, indeed, the only bond of union for the German people, but often it failed completely to

The German people divided

hold them together. Many times one part fought against another, and on several occasions Germans ranged with the foreigner against fellow Germans. After the end of the Thirty Years' War (1648), the history of the German people is to be studied not so much in respect of the empire as of various German states. Their history during this time concerns Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Austria especially—one of the principal powers of Europe, and later on Prussia—destined to be the strongest German state in the end.

The Austrian dominions

As the French monarchy and state were preëminently the work of the French kings in the Middle Ages, so was the power of Austria the work of the family of Hapsburg. The French kings and the Spanish monarchs succeeded in building up great unified states, but the dominions which the Hapsburgs gradually won were so numerous, so various, and so scattered, that the only bond of union between the different parts was rule of them all by their common Hapsburg lord.

Hawk's Castle

In the mountainous country of the upper valley of the Rhine is the Aargau country, since the fifteenth century held by the Swiss. It had been an obscure district in the Roman Empire, afterward in the Empire of Charlemagne, later still in the Holy Roman Empire. During the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, while it was, by the law then, under the emperor's rule, it was actually held by various feudal lords, who, remote from the emperor's power, did much as they would. Among them gradually rose to prominence the Hapsburg family, who held the castle of *Habichtsburg* (hawk's castle) or *Hapsburg* on the banks of the Aar. One of these magnates, Werner I, assumed the title of count in 1096. During the thirteenth century they brought most of the Aargau under their lordship, along with territories in Suabia and in Alsace near by, and thus became prominent lords in the empire. In 1273, when the Great Interregnum was brought to an

The counts of Hapsburg

end, by the election of another emperor, it was a Hapsburg count who was chosen, Rudolph I (1273–1291). During the fifteenth century the struggle of the Swiss mountaineers against the Hapsburg lords would deprive them of many of the possessions upon which their power had at first been founded; but the emperor, Rudolph, now acquired for his family possessions elsewhere in the empire upon which larger greatness was to rise in the future.

Their first possessions lost to the Swiss

The country in the upper Danube valley, south of the lands of the Czechs and west of the country held by the Magyars, had long been a German frontier land thrust out against Hungarians and Slavs. Charlemagne had constituted this country a mark or march (frontier state). Later it had been reconstituted by the German king, Henry the Fowler, when he was consolidating the German countries again and repulsing the Magyars. It was known as the *Ostmark* or East Mark, a name later changed to *Ostarrih*, the East Kingdom (*Oesterreich* in modern German) from which the name Austria is derived. In 1156 this country was made a duchy. In 1192 the jurisdiction was enlarged by the addition of Styria, the country extending southward below the Drave, a southern branch of the Danube. For a long time Austria and Styria were ruled by the House of Babenberg, but this dynasty became extinct in 1246. During the confusion of the Interregnum period that followed soon after, these districts were seized by Ottocar, the powerful ruler of Bohemia near by. For these fiefs of the empire Ottocar refused to do homage. After Rudolph had been made emperor, he set out to reconquer these countries. In 1278 Ottocar was defeated and killed in a battle on the Marchfield. Austria, Styria, and Carniola, still farther south, were seized, and a little later Rudolph conferred them on his sons (1282). Hapsburgs did not yet continuously wear the imperial crown, but the Hapsburg dominions in this southeastern part of the empire continued to grow. In the fourteenth century

The East Mark of the empire

The Duchy of Austria

Austria becomes a Hapsburg possession

Carinthia, to the west of Styria, a district that had been acquired by Bohemia (1269), was added to Austria (1335). A little later the Hapsburgs acquired the county of Tyrol, west of Carinthia (1363), and a few years after an opening on the Adriatic at Trieste (1382).

Hapsburg emperors

At the end of the thirteenth century a second Hapsburg had been chosen emperor, Albert I (1298–1308), but thereafter for some generations no other was elected. Meanwhile, the Hapsburg dominions were several times divided among the several heirs of the house. In 1438, however, with Albert II (1438–1439) a Hapsburg became emperor again. Albert died the next year, but the electors proceeded to choose his relative, who now became Frederick III (1440–1493). Afterward, until the end of the empire, the imperial dignity was practically hereditary in the House of Hapsburg, for thereafter the electors, save for one occasion, chose only members of that house. Toward the end of the long reign of Frederick, moreover, the Hapsburg dominions were finally united under Maximilian, Frederick's son (1490). Somewhat earlier the Duchy of Austria had been made an arch duchy (1453).

The imperial dignity becomes virtually hereditary in the House of Hapsburg

Great extension of Hapsburg rule

At the end of the fifteenth century the Hapsburg dominions were greatly extended by the addition of most of the Burgundian possessions, when Maximilian married Mary, the daughter of Charles the Bold (1477). Their son Philip married the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and their grandson, Charles I of Spain, was lord not only of the Spanish kingdoms and the Spanish dominions in Italy and in the New World, but of the Netherlands and various German districts and, after the death of his grandfather, Maximilian (1519), of Austria and the various dependencies which Austria held. These enormous holdings, however, were brought together only for a moment. In 1519 Charles was elected emperor. Two years later he divided the domains he had received from his father Philip and his grandfather. The Netherlands and Franche-

33. THE HAPSBURG DOMINIONS

The Hapsburg dominions divided, 1521

Comté he kept, and thereafter they continued for some time to be provinces in the empire of Spain. His Austrian dominions he conferred upon his brother Ferdinand. Ten years later Ferdinand was made King of the Romans, and after the abdication of Charles (1556) was chosen emperor to succeed him, Ferdinand I (1556–1564). Thereafter the Austrian provinces remained in the possession of the Austrian Hapsburgs.

The Austrian Hapsburgs rule Hungary and Bohemia

In 1521 Ferdinand married Anna, sister of Louis II, king of Bohemia, and also king of Hungary. Five years later, in resisting the advance of the Turks under their sultan, Suleiman, Louis perished at the Battle of Mohács, in Hungary (1526). Still earlier the Hapsburgs had had claims upon Bohemia. Now Ferdinand was elected king of Bohemia, and at the same time chosen king of Hungary.

The emperor holds the Bohemian electorate

After 1526 a Hapsburg archduke of Austria and emperor of the Holy Roman Empire was king of Bohemia, controlling thus one of the electorates of the empire. The addition of the Kingdom of Bohemia also brought to the Hapsburgs the districts of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, which the kingdom of the Czechs had long since acquired. After 1526 also the emperor was king of Hungary likewise. For a long time, however, most of Hungary remained subject to the Turks, who had conquered it in the campaign of Mohács. Later this country was gradually recovered, and thus brought under Hapsburg rule.

Austria threatened by the Turks

For some time not much more was acquired by the Austrian Hapsburgs. During the sixteenth century the Austrian dominions were preoccupied in foreign politics with resisting the Turks, and in domestic matters with troubles connected with religion. For a long time the Turks, who had carried forward their victorious advance at the expense of the South Slavs and then of the peoples of the Hungarian lands, threatened to overrun the Austrian dominions also. On several occasions Turkish hosts advanced across Hungary and up the valley of the Danube

into the Austrian country. In 1529 Suleiman besieged Vienna itself, but the sultan was forced to retreat with great loss. A century and a half after this the Turks again advanced far into Austria and laid siege to Vienna (1683), but again they were held, and presently driven off in irreparable rout.

Vienna besieged

More serious, meanwhile, were disasters from religious struggles. Following upon the work of Luther and his associates in Germany, the Reformation made rapid progress in Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary, until at one time it seemed probable that these districts would be lost to the Catholics altogether. In the latter part of the sixteenth century, however, the Jesuits gained great influence with the rulers and nobility of these countries, and presently the Counter-Reformation recovered for the pope almost all that had been lost here. In 1579 the emperor Rudolph II (1576–1612) began the overthrow of Protestantism in Austria. An attempt made to destroy Protestantism in Bohemia led to the Thirty Years' War. In 1618 the Bohemian Protestants rebelled against the emperor, Matthias (1612–1619), who had succeeded Rudolph. When, in the year following, the cousin of Matthias was chosen emperor as Ferdinand II (1619–1637), the Bohemians refused to accept him for their king, and invited the Elector Palatine, leader of the Calvinist Protestants in the empire, to rule them. Ferdinand now allying himself with the Catholic League, formed a few years before (1609), put himself at the head of the Counter-Reformation in the German lands.

The Reformation in the Hapsburg lands

The Counter-Reformation

The Thirty Years' War was memorable in the history of religion, in the history of the Holy Roman Empire, and in the history of the House of Hapsburg. In the empire the power of the emperor was largely nominal, except in so far as it was based upon the resources derived from his own Austrian possessions in the empire, and his possessions, like Hungary, which lay outside. Had he been successful in the struggle which he now led against the Protestants

The Thirty Years' War

of the empire, he might have increased his power and authority immensely by punishments and confiscations. At first there seemed a good chance of this. Bohemia was regained at once, and Protestantism largely destroyed there. The Palatinate was overrun, and its ruler driven into exile. Shortly after, all the Protestants who had taken arms against the emperor were reduced. His general, Wallenstein, became the most conspicuous leader in the war, and Wallenstein's army the most powerful military force in the empire. In 1629 Ferdinand published his Edict of Restitution, which would have outlawed, to a considerable extent, Protestantism in the empire, and caused the restoration to Catholics of a vast amount of ecclesiastical property once taken from them.

The emperor leads the Catholics in triumph

The emperor defeated by Sweden

The tide was turned almost immediately, however, first by Sweden's entrance into the war, and afterward because of assistance to the German Protestants from France. In 1630 Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, entered north Germany, and put himself at the head of the Protestants opposing the emperor. At once he destroyed the power of the Catholic League, the emperor's ally (1631). Next year Gustavus lost his life in contest with the emperor's forces under Wallenstein, but Ferdinand had been forced to give Wallenstein almost independent powers, and now, alarmed at his general's doings, connived at his assassination (1634). Meanwhile, France, rising under guidance of Richelieu, and long anxious to abase the power of the Hapsburgs, gave large assistance to the Protestants opposing the emperor. Year after year the war dragged on. Ferdinand died in 1637, but the terrible contest continued during much of the reign of Ferdinand III (1637–1657) who followed. In this struggle the resources and prosperity of the Germanies were ruined; the strength of Austria was exhausted; and, in the end, the authority of the emperor in the Holy Roman Empire reduced to a shadow. By the Peace of Westphalia (1648) the Austrian posses-

France enables the German Protestants to withstand him

Diminution of imperial authority

sions were somewhat diminished: from the possessions of his House of Hapsburg the emperor ceded to France Alsace and certain districts near by. He also ceded his rights to ten neighboring imperial cities. By the settlement made in this treaty with respect to the constitution of the empire, all chance of increasing the emperor's power was lost.

Imperial power mostly Hapsburg power

Thereafter, the emperor's chief concern was the administration and extension of his Austrian possessions. His highest dignity came from the imperial crown; his real power and authority from the territorial possessions of the Austrian Hapsburgs. These possessions were presently increased, outside the bounds of the empire, at the expense of the Spanish monarchs and especially at the expense of the Turks.

Successful wars with the Turks

During the seventeenth century the possessions of the Hapsburgs were greatly extended south and southeastward. In 1678 there was a rebellion in the part of Hungary that had remained under Austrian dominion. The Turks undertook to assist the rebels. The power of the Ottoman Empire had for some time been declining; but there was at this period a temporary recovery of vigor and strength. For some years desultory warfare followed between Austrians and Turks, in which the emperor's forces were commanded with much success by Montecuculi, a general then widely renowned. The Turks, however, made great efforts and dispatched northward an expedition like those which in earlier days had been the terror and dread of Europe. In 1683 they besieged Vienna itself, and were very near to capturing the city. But a Christian host arrived when the place was on the eve of surrender, and in the battle that followed next day the Ottoman army was ruined.

Montecuculi

The Holy League, 1684

In 1684 the Holy League of the emperor, Poland, and Venice was formed against Turkey, and this was joined a little later by the tsar of Muscovy. Buda, the principal

city in Turkish Hungary, was captured, and during 1687 nearly all of Hungary was conquered. In that year the imperialists under Prince Charles of Lorraine inflicted a crushing defeat on the Turks at Mohács, where long before the Turks had destroyed Hungarian power. Next year Belgrade on the Danube was captured. Three years later the imperialists under Prince Louis of Baden totally defeated the Turks at Szalankamen near Belgrade (1691).

Great gains from the Turks

In 1696 Prince Eugene of Savoy, who somewhat earlier had entered the emperor's service, was appointed commander-in-chief of the Austrian forces. At Zenta in southern Hungary he gave terrible defeat to the Turks. The Venetians also had had large success. Accordingly, the Turks accepted the disastrous Treaty of Carlowitz (1699). The emperor now gained nearly all of Hungary, all of Transylvania—once dependent on Hungary, and most of Croatia and Slavonia—Slavic districts south of Austria.

War again with the Turks

A generation later Austria joined Russia in a war upon the Turks, but they defended themselves with success, while the allies quarreled and made separate peace. By the treaty that followed (1739), Austria gained nothing.

Rivalry with Russia concerning the Ottoman dominions

In 1771 Austria, jealous now of Russian advance at the expense of the Turks, gave assistance to the Ottoman Empire. Russia was so successful in this struggle against the Turks that they had to make large concessions in the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji (1774). As a reward for Austrian assistance, however, Turkey now ceded to the emperor the district of Bukovina, adjoining Transylvania on the east.

Great extension of Hapsburg rule

The result of this advance at the expense of the Turks was that the Hapsburgs had built up a greater empire to the south and southeast of their Austrian dominions. During the eighteenth century the larger part of their territories lay outside the Holy Roman Empire. The Hapsburgs now ruled more Magyars and Slavs than Germans. At this time began that fatal rivalry between Austria and

Russia concerning the South Slavs and the Balkan dominions of Turkey. Austria had begun to oppose the advance of Russia, as she did again in the nineteenth century, and as she continued to do until the Great War (1914–18) shattered the Hapsburg dominions to pieces.

End of the line of the Spanish Hapsburgs

Toward the end of the seventeenth century there seemed for a moment some chance that all the Hapsburg holdings might be brought together again. The mighty dominions, scattered all over western and central Europe, which Charles V, the emperor, had united for a brief space, had been finally partitioned in 1521. Thenceforth some of those possessions were held by the Spanish Hapsburgs who ruled over Spain, others by the Austrian Hapsburgs, emperors after 1556. About the end of the seventeenth century it was certain that the Spanish dynasty would come to an end with the feeble and pathetic Charles II. For the Spanish dominions there would then be several claimants. Among them in the end the most conspicuous were a grandson of Louis XIV of France and a son of Leopold I (1658–1705), emperor and ruler of the Austrian lands. On the death of the Spanish monarch in 1700 it was announced that the French prince had been chosen as heir. Presently, however, was formed a combination of European powers, led especially by England and the Dutch to prevent the Spanish empire from being ruled by a French prince, and from coming, presumably, under influence of France. This combination, which included also the emperor and various German states, undertook to procure proper satisfaction for the emperor's claims, and presently the allies attempted to make the archduke. Charles, Leopold's second son, king of Spain.

The Spanish dominions claimed by the Austrian Hapsburgs

Charles of Hapsburg, king of Spain

Charles was for a while king of Spain, so far as the allies were able to conquer that country; but it was in Spain that they had least success in the war, and the Austrian candidate was presently driven from the country. Meanwhile, the emperor Leopold had been succeeded by his eldest

son, Joseph I (1705–1711), but Joseph dying after a brief reign, his brother succeeded to the imperial title as Charles VI (1711–1740). Most of the members of the Grand Alliance fighting against France had now less enthusiasm in continuing the war. They had been fighting to prevent the too-great aggrandizement of France. If France were compelled to yield completely, however, the former possessions of the Spanish Hapsburgs would be united to those of the Austrian branch, and a vast, preponderant empire might reappear like that in the days of Charles V. Accordingly, for this and for other reasons the War of the Spanish Succession was ended with compromise. In 1713 England, Holland, and some of their associates made the Treaty of Utrecht with France, by which Spain and her colonial possessions were to remain to the French prince whom the Spaniards had chosen for their king, provided that the French and Spanish crowns should never be worn by the same monarch. Most of the European possessions of Spain—in Italy and in the Netherlands—were to go to the emperor. Charles VI refused to accede to this arrangement, but attempting to continue the war singly against the French, he was soon defeated, and was driven to accept the Treaties of Rastadt and Baden (1714), by which he acceded to the arrangement made at Utrecht.

The Austrian Hapsburgs obtain part of the Spanish possessions

The Austrian Netherlands

None the less, Austria had received valuable additions to her holdings. The Spanish Netherlands now became the Austrian Netherlands. Charles strove to revive their old prosperity, mostly lost since the days when the Dutch Netherlands had sought independence. He attempted to regain for his Netherland provinces the privileges of trade with Spanish America that they had had while still under Spain. In this he had no success. He tried also to recover for this country some of the commercial prosperity of the days when Antwerp was greater than Amsterdam—a prosperity lost during the destruction attending conflict

with the Spaniards, and permanently destroyed by the Dutch when they closed navigation of the Scheldt. In 1714 Charles granted to shipowners of Ostend commissions to trade with the East Indies. Ostend had long been important in the Spanish Netherlands, second as a commercial center. Over Antwerp it had the advantage of being situated on the seacoast itself. Both England and the Dutch Netherlands at once protested against this raising up of a commercial competitor against them. In 1722, however, the emperor incorporated the Ostend East India Company. He now drew closer to Spain, with whom he had recently been engaged in hostilities, hoping thence to obtain for his new company exclusive commercial rights. For a moment, indeed, there was a treaty of alliance between Spain and the emperor (1725), but after various episodes this came to nothing, and the emperor met the wishes of the English and the Dutch by withdrawing the charter of the Ostend Company. No further attempt of importance was made to revive the commerce of the Austrian Netherlands, until they were conquered by France during the French Revolution; and Belgian commerce was not actually restored until Belgium became independent (1830).

The Ostend Company

Attempt to revive Belgian commerce fails

In Italy the emperor had received—as a result of the Treaty of Utrecht and his own acceptance in the treaties of Rastadt and Baden—Sardinia, Naples, and Milan. Charles at once set out to obtain Sicily, which had been awarded to Savoy, and he cherished designs upon Tuscany also. On the other hand, Spain prepared diligently to recover the Italian territories recently lost. In 1717 the Spaniards conquered Sardinia, and next year they overran Sicily. A European combination, however, the Triple Alliance, which became the Quadruple Alliance when the emperor was added, forced Spain to withdraw. At the same time an arrangement was made by which the ruler of Savoy received Sardinia from the emperor and gave him

Austria holds Sardinia, Naples, and Milan, 1714

Exchanges Sardinia for Sicily, 1720

Sicily in return (1720). Somewhat later Austria took part in the conflict known as the War of the Polish Succession (1733–8). Along with Russia she caused the candidate whom she favored to be chosen king of Poland, thus defeating France who had supported another. In western Europe, however, she was defeated by France and by Spain; and by the Third Treaty of Vienna (1738) she was forced to cede Naples and Sicily to a Spanish Bourbon prince. Meanwhile, in 1737, the Medici dynasty of Tuscany became extinct. Thereupon the emperor claimed Tuscany as a vacant fief of the empire. By the Treaty of Vienna he renounced Lorraine to France, and was allowed to confer Tuscany upon his son-in-law, the duke of Lorraine. In 1763 Tuscany was made an appanage of the second son of the emperor. The result of all this was that Austria, which in 1714 had received provinces in northern and in southern Italy, remained in possession only of Tuscany and Milan in the north.

Loses Sicily and Naples but acquires Tuscany, 1738

The Austrian succession

A considerable disaster now came to the House of Hapsburg. In 1740, with the death of Charles VI, the male line of the dynasty ended. Charles had desired that all the Austrian dominions should go undivided to Maria Theresa, his daughter. Long hoping against hope for a male heir he had neglected, however, to have her husband, Francis of Lorraine, chosen King of the Romans, the usual step preliminary to the imperial title. Accordingly, on the death of Charles the succession was left undecided. For the succession of Maria Theresa to all of his dominions, in default of a male heir, Charles had long since labored to provide. By much negotiation and many concessions he had procured the adherence of the European powers to an agreement guaranteeing this arrangement. In accordance with the use in diplomatic of a term formerly employed in a different sense, but now used to designate a family compact relating to succession, this agreement was known as the Pragmatic Sanction (*πράγματα*, affairs [of

The Pragmatic Sanction, or agreement about the succession

state] sanction, agreement). The emperor had not, however, provided a strong military force to uphold and defend this agreement, as his wisest councillors urged.

The War of the Austrian Succession

Immediately on his death Frederick II, king of Prussia, seized Silesia, one of the richest provinces that the Hapsburgs held (1740), while the Bavarians and the French intervened to secure what they could from the Hapsburg dominions. A confused and widely extended conflict, known as the War of the Austrian Succession, ensued (1740–8). Frederick defeated the Austrian armies sent against him, and could not be dislodged from Silesia. By the Treaty of Berlin (1742) Maria Theresa ceded Silesia to Prussia, so as to deal with her other opponents. The year before, Great Britain had joined her cause. In 1742 the elector of Bavaria, one of the claimants to the Austrian succession, had been chosen emperor, Charles VII (1742–1745). The Austrians now overran Bavaria, while the English and the German allies of England defeated the French, and English naval power made it impossible for the Spanish Bourbons to conquer Tuscany. Frederick II of Prussia again intervened, and later on made another separate peace with Austria (1745). In 1745 the unfortunate Charles VII died. The electors now chose Maria Theresa's husband as emperor, Francis I (1745–1765). In other parts of the world the war continued, and great deeds were done, but the imperial succession was now assured in the House of Lorraine-Hapsburg. By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) the Hapsburg dominions remained intact, except that Silesia had been abandoned to Frederick of Prussia, and certain small Italian districts had been ceded to Sardinia in 1743.

The elector of Bavaria chosen emperor

Maria Theresa's husband chosen emperor

Austria unable to recover Silesia

For the recovery of Silesia another great war followed, and ravaged a large part of Europe. Maria Theresa neither forgot nor forgave the spoliation by Prussia, and bent all her energies toward preparing to recover Silesia and have her revenge. In 1756 an alliance was concluded

with France, while a league was formed with Russia, Sweden, and Saxony, for attack on Prussia. In the terrible Seven Years' War (1756–63) Prussia was several times at the brink of destruction, but in the end, with assistance from Great Britain, her able ruler preserved his dominions intact, and defied all the efforts of his powerful foes to wrest Silesia from him. England made large conquests from the colonial possessions of France and of Spain, but in Europe, after all the carnage, matters were left as they were when the conflict began. By the Peace of Hubertusburg (1763) Silesia was retained by Prussia, and Frederick lost none of his own dominions. This contest was important not only in the history of Austria but also in the history of the empire. Had Austria succeeded in overwhelming Prussia, the emperor, ruler of the Austrian dominions, might have been so much more powerful that he could have given to the empire greater coherence and stronger union. When the utmost might of the Hapsburgs failed to crush Frederick, there was no longer any possibility of this, and the empire remained a loose congeries of states, in which two predominant, rival, military monarchies stood watchfully facing each other.

Imperial power still weaker

Maria Theresa, archduchess of Austria, queen of Hungary and of Bohemia, ruled the Hapsburg dominions for forty years (1740–1780). She was one of the great characters of the eighteenth century, and one of the able sovereigns who have governed in Europe. In 1772 the loss of Silesia, which had darkened all the early part of her reign, was to some extent compensated by acquisition of the great Polish province of Galicia, lying north and east of Hungary, beyond the frontier of the Carpathian Mountains. During part of her time her husband was emperor, after which her son, Joseph II (1765–1790), succeeded. Joseph also ruled the Austrian possessions after his mother's death. She had made him coregent with herself on the death of her husband many years before (1765).

Maria Theresa, 1717–80

Government of the Hapsburg dominions

In the eighteenth century the government of the Hapsburg possessions was vested in the Hapsburg ruler who was archduke of Austria, king of Bohemia, king of Hungary, and lord of the various other districts which his dominion embraced. He was assisted by three groups of councillors or assistants: the secret body of ministers (*geheime conferenz*), the aulic council of war (*hofkriegsrath*), exchequer (*hofkammer*) for administration of finances, under which there was a separate exchequer for Hungary. To each of these three councils was attached a chancery (*kanzlei*) or court, with judicial and administrative powers. Under this central government each province or district had its local government (*regierung*) controlled by Austria or managed in her interests. Each local government consisted of an executive official (*statthalter* or *ban*) and a provincial assembly (*landtag.*) There were also provincial courts (*ständische landrechte*), and other courts in the towns and on the manors.

Local government

Reforms under Maria Theresa

During the reign of Maria Theresa the government was amended and reformed. The contests with Prussia and the power of Prussia herself made it obvious that changes were needed. In 1760 was instituted a supreme central organ, the council of state (*staatsrath*), to have control over four principal subordinate organs: the chancery (*hofkanzlei*), in which was vested executive power; the exchequer (*hofkammer*), which superintended finance; the aulic council of war (*hofkriegsrath*), and the high court of justice (*hofrath*). Under these central organs were the provincial bodies and subordinate courts. The financial system was improved. Military control was taken from the provincial estates, and efforts made to create a national army. In all respects the central government was made stronger and more effective.

Greater centralization

Joseph II of Hapsburg, 1741-90

Under Joseph II large social and economic reforms were attempted. Joseph had sympathy, fine intelligence, and much nobility of character. The abstract principles of

An enlightened despot

justice and the high ideals, which humanitarians and philosophers were teaching, had taken possession of his mind, and he tried to make philosophy his guiding principle. He was the foremost figure among the "enlightened despots" who were so striking in the politics of Europe at this time. It was the purpose of his life to increase the extent of his possessions, and at the same time institute sweeping, immediate, and fundamental reforms for the welfare of all of his subjects. During the decade before the French Revolution he attempted to bring about within the Hapsburg dominions alterations like those made by the radicals of the national assembly afterward in France.

Desires greater unity and stronger union in his dominions

Joseph II understood clearly a problem that had long confronted Hapsburg statesmen a problem that continued to trouble Austrian rulers until their power was brought to its end: that the Hapsburg dominions could probably not be transformed into a state with permanent power, until the various Hapsburg provinces and peoples became one homogeneous whole. Austria ruled over numerous scattered provinces, the central mass of which contained Germans, Magyars, West Slavs, South Slavs, and Vlachs. Each district had its own customs, its prejudices, its own rights. The principal bond connecting these peoples was the church and the Roman Catholic religion. In last resort they were held together by force and by the power of their Austrian rulers. In 1781 by an edict of the emperor all the Austrian dominions were constituted a single state. This state was to be composed of thirteen districts: Austria Proper—which included Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola—Lower Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, Croatia, Transylvania, Galicia—which had recently been taken from Poland—Suabia, Tyrol, the country about Trieste, the Austrian Netherlands, and Lombardy. These districts were divided into circles (*kreise*), each under a governor (*kreishauptmann*).

Attempts to make a unified Austrian nation and state

Within these districts the privileges of the towns were suppressed; the local diets (*landtage*) were no longer to be convoked; German was to be the sole language for the Austrian state.

Abolition of serfdom

At the same time sweeping social reforms were made. In 1781 serfdom was abolished in Bohemia, Moravia, Hungary, and Galicia, where it had lingered on, as of old. The land formerly held by the peasants on servile tenure was now to be held on payment of a rent. The judicial system was reformed. Torture was abolished. The death penalty was given over almost entirely. In 1781 also a great edict of religious liberty was promulgated. Protestants and Greek Catholics were permitted to have schools and places of worship, while Jews were given larger rights than before. The power of the pope was curtailed, and Austrian preachers taught that properly the pontiff had no temporal power. So alarmed did the papal court become that in 1782 Pius II took the unusual step of going to Vienna. The pope's visit caused enormous sensation, but he was not able to accomplish anything. Meanwhile, church lands were confiscated, monasteries were abolished, ceremonies altered, and decorations and effigies removed from churches and shrines.

Edict of toleration

These reforms mostly not practical

Many of these changes were ordained in the best spirit, and some of them were of the highest benefit to the peoples concerned. Generally, however, they were unwisely conceived, and their execution brought only confusion and disaster. The Roman Catholic religion was the principal force in the lives of most Hapsburg subjects. When the church was antagonized it was presently impossible to retain their obedience. From all the old corporations and possessors of vested rights touched by Joseph's reforms came steady and sullen opposition. Furthermore, violent resistance was aroused in some of the districts by abrogation of old customs and rights. There was discontent in Hungary, a revolt in the Tyrol,

Opposition and resistance

and the Austrian Netherlands tried to throw off their allegiance. Under the conditions with which Joseph had to deal no such changes could quickly have been made. Soon he was compelled to withdraw much of what he had ordered. Afterward he was remembered as a visionary rather than a statesman, one who had acted not so much in accordance with experience and practical wisdom as from abstract principles and general ideas.

Joseph would exchange the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria

On the whole, the foreign policy of Joseph II had equally little success. He perceived correctly that the Austrian Netherlands were too far detached from the main mass of his possessions to be easily held and defended. He conceived the design, therefore, of exchanging them for something else. In 1778, on the extinction of the electoral house of Bavaria, he attempted to secure that country, and entered on the so-called War of the Bavarian Succession with Prussia who headed a confederacy of German states. Great military demonstrations were made, and there was much excitement throughout central Europe; but the war was ended, without fighting, by the Peace of Teschen (1779), by which Joseph abandoned his claims in consideration of Bavaria ceding a small district to him. Some years later he tried to have the elector of Bavaria exchange his dominions for the Austrian Netherlands. This scheme was strongly opposed by Frederick of Prussia who formed the League of the Princes of Germany (*Fürstenbund*) against it (1785), and again Joseph was forced to desist. To the south also he desired to make further acquisitions at the expense of Turkey. For this purpose he sought the coöperation and friendship of Russia, now essentially Austria's rival in the Balkans. From the Turks he did obtain a small addition of territory, but the gain was in no wise comparable to the expenditures and efforts that Austria had made.

Successfully opposed by Prussia

Makes trifling gains from Turkey

During the long time that Austria had been making herself greatest among the German states, a rival, Prussia,

had been growing in strength farther north. During the period from the age of Charles V until the middle of the eighteenth century Prussia was merely one among several secondary states in the empire, in no wise comparable to the dominion of the Hapsburgs which had primacy among them all. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, however, Prussia suddenly took her place as one of the great powers of Europe. She was destined in the century that followed to dispute the primacy of Austria, overthrow her in battle, and then become leader of the German people.

The rise of Prussia

As Austria developed from the East Mark, which became later the East Kingdom (*Österreich*), so Prussia was built up from the North Mark (*Nordmark*), and developed from territories conquered and grouped about it. This frontier state was founded by Henry the Fowler in country recently conquered from the Wends, a people much like the Lithuanians, about the Elbe (918). By Otto the Great the North Mark was extended eastward to the Oder. It was granted to Albert, called the Bear (1134). He thoroughly subdued the Wends, spread Christianity among them, and taking the town of Brandenburg as the capital of his possessions, presently assumed the title of margrave (*markgraf*, march count) of Brandenburg. The dominion of Brandenburg was gradually extended. To the Old Mark (*Altmark*), as the nucleus was called, were added during the fourteenth century Priegnitz and the *Mittelmark*. When in 1356 Charles IV issued the Golden Bull he recognized Brandenburg as one of the seven electorates of the Holy Roman Empire. Together with the *Ukermark*, added 1415–40, this country formed then the *Kurmark* or Electoral Mark. To this was added the New Mark (*Neumark*) during the years 1450–71.

The North Mark of the empire

Brandenburg

In the fifteenth century the march of Brandenburg came into the possession of the Hohenzollern family. The origin of the Hohenzollerns was much like that of the

The hill of Zollern

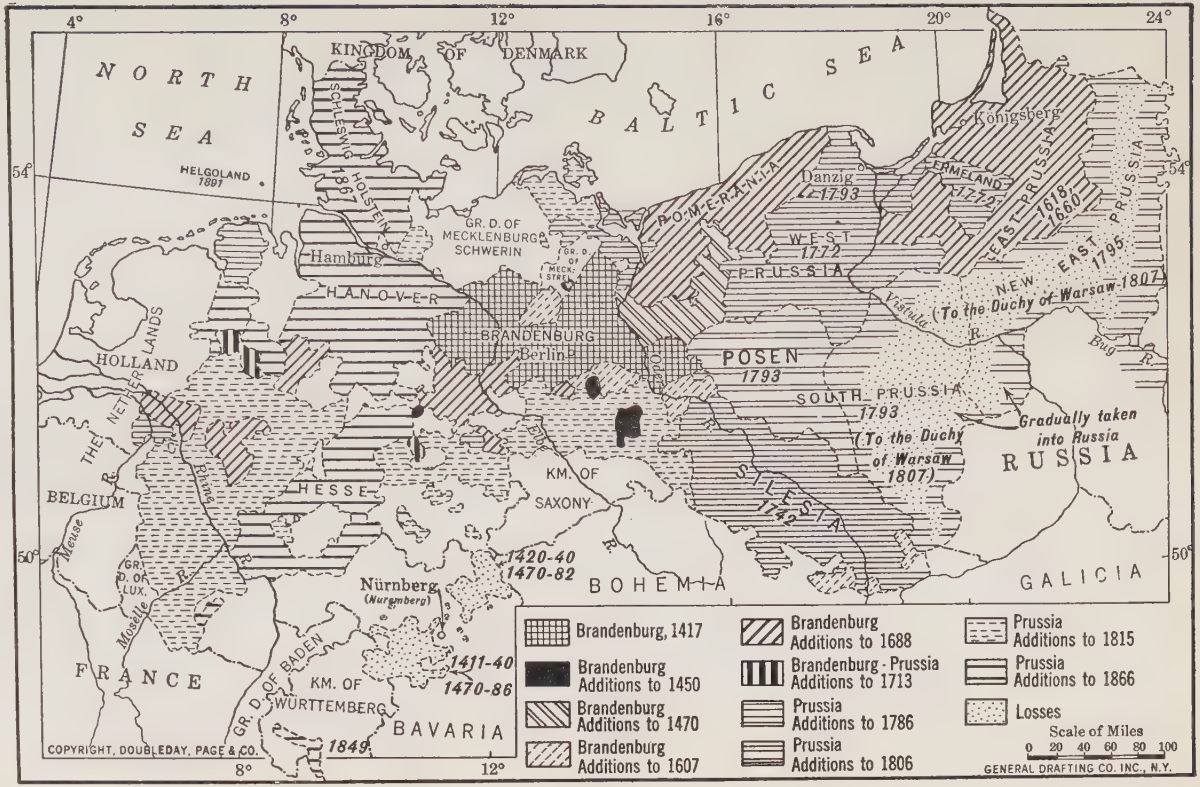
Hapsburgs. In the tenth century, in Suabia, just above the Swiss hill country, they held a castle on the hill of Zollern. During the confusion of the period following they, like the Hapsburgs, extended their power and influence, and gradually achieved some prominence among the many feudal lords of the district. The first great advance came in 1192 when Frederick III of Hohenzollern, having married Sophia, daughter of the *burggraf* of Nürnberg, succeeded as burgrave of what was one of the most important cities in the German lands. During the troubles that beset the empire in the early part of the fifteenth century, Frederick of Hohenzollern, sixth burgrave of Nürnberg, served faithfully the emperor Sigismund and assisted him with money. To him, as pledge for loans advanced, Sigismund gave the march of Brandenburg. To a ruler of Nürnberg then this country must have seemed a rude and distant land, but when in 1417 the emperor formally invested him with the march and the electoral dignity that went along with it, a Hohenzollern had become one of the great princes of the Holy Roman Empire.

A Hohenzollern burgrave of Nürnberg becomes margrave of Brandenburg also

Brandenburg

Under Hohenzollern rule Brandenburg was increased by addition of the *Ukermark* and the *Neumark*. The Reformation here made rapid progress; most of the population soon went over to Protestantism; and Brandenburg was henceforth one of the principal Protestant jurisdictions in the empire. During the earlier religious contests in Germany its remote position saved it from some of the disasters that beset the older and more prosperous states; but Brandenburg was terribly ravaged during the Thirty Years' War. None the less, its rulers contrived to continue their acquisitions and increase their power.

In 1609 came to an end the dynasty of Cleves, an old German duchy lying north of Cologne on the lower Rhine. By virtue of the rights of his wife, the elector of Brandenburg now claimed Cleves and other territories



34. THE GROWTH OF PRUSSIA, 15TH TO 19TH CENTURIES

Acquisition of Cleves, Ravensberg, and Mark

which former rulers of Cleves had held. The emperor was unwilling to see these countries in the hands of a Protestant, but partly because of previous interference by Henry IV of France, who had greatly desired to weaken the emperor's power, the matter was presently settled by the Treaty of Xanten (1614) by which the inheritance was divided. By this arrangement the margrave of Brandenburg became also duke of Cleves. At the same time he received the subsidiary districts of Mark and Ravensberg. The course of the Thirty Years' War interfered with the elector's occupation of these western districts, and it was not until 1666 that they came under Brandenburg's rule.

The Knights of the Teutonic Order

Meanwhile, another acquisition of great importance had been made by the addition of a part of the Prussian country, farther eastward along the Baltic in the region of the Slavs. In the Middle Ages this country had been gradually subdued by German pioneers and Crusaders. During the era of the Crusades various military-religious orders had been founded to fight for Christendom against Islam. In 1190 at Acre in Palestine was founded the Teutonic Order. Presently the activities of this order were transferred from the Levant to the northeastern frontier of the German lands, out beyond Brandenburg.

Conquer the country of the Prussians

During the thirteenth century the Knights of the Teutonic Order occupied a wide area of varying extent, and introduced Christianity among the Prussians (Borussi)—a people akin to the Lithuanians—and the Slavs over whom they ruled. By the Emperor Frederick II their grand master was made a prince of the empire. From the name of its principal inhabitants this country was known as Prussia.

The rule of the knights over the Prussians was harsh yet often not easily enforced. In 1454 the Prussians rebelled and put themselves under the powerful protection of the king of Poland. In the long and sanguinary struggle that ensued the knights were entirely defeated. By

the Peace of Thorn (1466) the Teutonic Order ceded to Poland the larger part of what it had held, so that Poland now acquired the city of Danzig and a seacoast along the Baltic. Eastward beyond the Polish frontier the knights continued to hold a portion of their possessions, thereafter known as East Prussia, but this they held now as a feudal dependency of Poland. In 1525 the knights, having accepted Lutheranism, dissolved their order, and constituted their country of East Prussia a duchy hereditary in the family of the grand master of the order just dissolved. Count Albert of Hohenzollern, late grand master, became the first duke. By marriage, the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg and of East Prussia subsequently merged, with the result that in 1618 East Prussia came under the elector of Brandenburg's rule. This part of the elector's dominions lay outside of the Holy Roman Empire, and for it he was vassal to the king of Poland. During the Thirty Years' War Brandenburg was terribly ravaged and frequently trampled down by the march of armies, so that presently the elector, George William, removed from this impoverished domain to Königsberg in East Prussia.

The Teutonic Knights lose West Prussia to Poland

East Prussia, a duchy, ruled by Hohenzollerns

George William was succeeded by his son Frederick William (1640–1688), known afterward as the Great Elector, founder of the power of Brandenburg-Prussia. Frederick William found his dominions wasted and poor. He at once instituted economies, raised a strong army, and presently by skilful diplomacy rid his possessions of foreign armies. The result of his strength and his skill was seen when by the Peace of Westphalia (1648) he acquired the districts of Halberstadt and Magdeburg—adjoining Brandenburg on the southwest and Eastern Pomerania—by which he won a seacoast on the Baltic as far east as West Prussia, still held by Poland.

The Great Elector

The Great Elector was strong, able, unlovable, hard. His great ambition was to add to the power of his house

His character

and to the security and prosperity of his dominions. In pursuit of his purpose he was deterred by no scruple, no kindliness, no ethical consideration whatever. He did lay firm the foundation of his country's greatness. From his work much good came to his people and ultimately to the inhabitants of all German lands. In his time, however, Prussian statecraft assumed that character of harshness, stern strength, and cunning self-interest, unrelieved by anything attractive or pleasing, which, continued by Frederick the Great and later by Bismarck, caused Prussia at last to be hated and feared by so many.

The Great Elector's reforms

With much skill Frederick William reformed the government of his country and increased the strength of his army. He strove with success to do in Prussia what Richelieu and Mazarin had been carrying out in France: he would make of Brandenburg-Prussia a powerful military state with a strong centralized government. Hitherto the Hohenzollerns had ruled over a group of separate jurisdictions each with a government of its own. Frederick William ceased to call the diets, took entire control of the finance and military affairs of each part, and merged the several administrations in one strong government, consisting of himself assisted by a single council. As a result of the territorial arrangements of 1648 he ruled over a compact mass of territory in northern Germany, from Halberstadt up to the Baltic, with detached masses lying beyond to the west and the east. He succeeded in doing what Joseph II of Austria was afterward unable to do. Within a few years he had made of the principal mass of his provinces a single strongly organized state, with one of the most effective governments in Europe.

Brandenburg-East Prussia becomes a strongly centralized state

East Prussia freed from vassalage to Poland

Of the shifting and turbulent politics of the later seventeenth century the Great Elector took full advantage. In 1655 war began between his two more powerful neighbors, to the north and the south, Sweden and Poland. The Poles were badly defeated. In 1657

they purchased his assistance by recognizing the independence of his Duchy of East Prussia, which he held thenceforth in full sovereignty, and no longer as a fief of Poland. The Swedes were unable to take vengeance at the time, but war between Brandenburg and Sweden came somewhat later. In 1672, when Sweden had joined Louis XIV of France in his endeavor to conquer Holland, the Great Elector allied himself with the Dutch. The Swedes then invaded Brandenburg, but in 1675 he defeated them at the Battle of Fehrbellin, the first time Swedish soldiers had been defeated, save by greatly superior numbers, since before the days of Gustavus Adolphus. Frederick William now overran all Swedish Pomerania—north of Brandenburg, and west of his own province of Pomerania—which the Swedes had won in the Thirty Years' War. When Louis XIV made the Peace of Nymwegen, however, he was able to safeguard the interests of his ally, and by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye (1679) the Pomeranian conquests were restored to the Swedes, save for a small district along the Oder.

The Swedes defeated at Fehrbellin

Meanwhile, Frederick William was doing for Brandenburg work of the kind once done for France by Colbert. He built roads, constructed canals, and drained marshes. He strove to improve agriculture. By every device he sought to further manufactures and commerce. Like the English and the Dutch governments, Brandenburg welcomed the Huguenot refugees who left France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), and Prussia profited greatly by this French immigration. The country was still rude and backward, however. In 1688 the population of Berlin, the new capital, was no more than 20,000.

Internal improvements

Prussia, like Savoy, continued to profit by watching the quarrels of neighbors, and intervening so as to get most advantage. The Great Elector was succeeded by his son Frederick III (1688–1713). During his time the

Hohenzollern assistance much sought

contest between France and her opponents culminated in the War of the Spanish Succession. As the question of the succession to the Spanish inheritance became more acute all western and central Europe were presently marshalled in opposing camps. In 1700 the emperor greatly desired to secure the assistance of the ruler of Brandenburg-Prussia. The elector stipulated that the emperor should confer upon him the title of king. Leopold I, though unwilling, presently consented, on condition that the royal appellation be in respect of Prussia, a jurisdiction outside the Holy Roman Empire. Accordingly, in 1701 Frederick was crowned and took the title of Frederick I, King in Prussia. Gradually he was known as king of Prussia, and soon Prussia was popularly understood to be all the dominions which he ruled. Hohenzollerns had secured a title which dukes of Burgundy had once vainly striven to obtain. During Frederick's reign various small additions were made to the Hohenzollern possessions. By the Treaty of Utrecht he received Neuchatel, adjoining the Swiss country, and a portion of Gelderland, on the Dutch border.

King in Prussia

The Prussian army

Frederick I was succeeded by his son, Frederick William I (1713–1740), a man of coarse fiber and narrow mind, but of great firmness and tenacity of purpose. Without largeness of ideas or any nobility, he strove unceasingly to perfect his power, strengthen the central government, improve the finances, and, above all, assemble one of the most powerful armies in Europe. A very rigid economy was practised in all other departments; but the resources of the state were not spared in building up one of the strongest military forces in the world. At his accession the Prussian army numbered less than 40,000 men. During his reign it was increased to 80,000. Officers and commanders were given careful and elaborate training, and the soldiers subjected to unceasing drill. Presently—though this was not generally realized yet—Prussia had

Becomes the best in Europe

the most formidable military machine in Europe. Frederick William I was too cautious and timid to risk this army by embarking in wars for conquest. During the collapse of Swedish power, however, that occurred in his time, a part of Swedish Pomerania was added to Prussia (1720).

Frederick the Great

A great commander now appeared to use the army so carefully fashioned. Frederick II, surnamed the Great (1740–1786), was one of the ablest administrators and statesmen of the eighteenth century, and one of the foremost commanders in the history of war. He, like the kings and electors before him, was devoted to the interests of Prussia, and resolved to let nothing hinder increase of her power and possessions. In his later years, particularly, he labored without ceasing for the good of his people; and he spared himself not in trying to give efficient administration and to make his subjects prosperous and happy.

Character and ideals

Like most other rulers then, he was firmly convinced that kings ruled by divine right, and that central government should be vested completely in the hands of a ruler with absolute power. Unlike his father, however, and other Prussian rulers before him, his clear and lively intellect was fully in sympathy with the philosophical and intellectual movements of his time. He was a patron of men of letters, an admirer of Voltaire, and an eager disciple of those who were proposing great reforms for the betterment of mankind. In his later years he, like Joseph II of Austria, was conspicuous among the "enlightened despots" who were striving to introduce reforms and make better the lot of their people.

Prussianism

None the less, he was always hard, cynical, remorseless, and cold, undeterred by ethical considerations or scruples of conscience. Like the Great Elector, he applied the principles long before taught by the Italian Machiavelli, that might made right, that the means justified the end if success were obtained, that for good of the state any means might be followed. "If there is anything to be gained by it, we

will be honest," he wrote, "if deception is necessary, let us deceive." All in all, though perhaps less able and striking, he was probably somewhat finer in personal character than Napoleon the Great, as he was better balanced and wiser.

One of the greatest of commanders

His father, who had caused him to receive a rigorous education, and had subjected him to severe surveillance and restraint, considered him an incompetent trifler. Shortly after he took control of the Prussian army, however, he gave proofs of the highest military genius. He did suffer great defeats but he seldom lost his campaigns, and almost always he succeeded in his principal purpose. Like Napoleon afterward, he had fully mastered the art of war in his time, and understood thoroughly the materials and equipment with which war was conducted. He had, indeed, the finest army then in existence ready for his use; and the excellence of the troops and the officers who served him had much to do with his success. But he was more than a capable leader and master of tactics.

A master of strategy

He was, like Hannibal, Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon, a great master of strategy and extensive movements. He understood, as by intuition, the unchanging principles that concern combats between large bodies of men; and these principles he applied with decision and swiftness in respect of each problem encountered. When the Russians assembled their army in a huge square at Zorndorf, Frederick massed all his troops in irresistible force on one side and burst the square in. At Leuthen, where the Austrians had 70,000 men against his 33,000, Frederick advanced against their line obliquely, so that his strong right wing crushed the Austrian left and turned their flank, while his own weaker left was kept too far away from their right to be crushed in turn. At Prague he so maneuvered that the Austrians presently had their army forming the two lines of a right angle. Against one side of this angle Frederick was able to hurl nearly all his force, while

Brilliant exploits in war

the remainder of the Austrian army looked idly on. At Rossbach where the French and their confederates numbered 50,000 against his 22,000 he outflanked his opponents as they were trying to get round his own flank, and drove them away in rout. He was indefatigable, bold, fertile in expedient, resolute, inexhaustible, and ready in resource.

Seizure of Silesia

Frederick came to the throne the same year that Maria Theresa succeeded to her Hapsburg dominions. The Pragmatic Sanction was at once disputed by various claimants. Among them Frederick asserted his right to Silesia, to parts of which Prussian rulers had maintained some ancient claims. In 1740 his army suddenly seized Silesia. For a moment he was unopposed, but next year the Austrians advancing were completely defeated at Mollwitz, his infantry behaving with wonderful steadiness, and delivering five volleys to one from their opponents. In 1742, by the Treaty of Berlin, Maria Theresa, who desired to be rid of some of her enemies while she was trying to deal with the others, ceded Silesia to Frederick. The War of the Austrian Succession, begun with Frederick's action, lasted for some years and involved a great part of Europe. In the end the principal result was that Silesia remained to Prussia, and later events were to show that this wealthy and important district had been definitively added to the Hohenzollern lands.

Retained by Frederick

Destruction of Prussia planned

A short breathing spell followed, during which Frederick applied himself to developing his kingdom and improving administration. Having taken what he wanted, he desired peace and opportunity to consolidate his gains and develop the resources of his country. But Maria Theresa, who never forgot the cynical disregard he had shown in the time of her trouble, and the bold rapacity which seemed to be justified with his success, lived in hope of vengeance and recovery of the Silesian country. Elaborate plans were made, and no effort was spared to

Austria seeks assistance from France

bring against Frederick such overwhelming force as this time to crush him entirely. For a century France had been the constant foe of the Hapsburgs, and in the War of the Austrian Succession France had done them as much injury as lay in her power. This was forgotten now, and assistance of the French government sought. In 1756 traditional policy was reversed, and alliance made between Austria and France. Meanwhile, Frederick, foreseeing the storm, though as yet unaware of its vast extent, sought the friendship of England, who had recently fought for Austria, and an agreement had already been made between Great Britain and Prussia (1756).

A powerful combination formed against Prussia

Having gained the adherence of France, Austria proceeded to form a mightier combination against Prussia. Agreements were also made with Russia, Saxony, and Sweden. The confederates proposed to destroy the power of Prussia, and divide her dominions between them. Austria was to recover Silesia and the county of Glatz; Courland, a possession of Poland on the Baltic, was to go to Russia; Poland was to receive East Prussia; Magdeburg was to be given to Saxony; the Pomeranian country to Sweden. At the same time a part of the Austrian Netherlands was to be given to France, and the remainder, it was thought, would be virtually under her control.

The Austrian Netherlands for French aid in partitioning Prussia

These possessions Austria had held since 1714, as an outpost against France. Under the altered circumstances of the present, however, she much preferred to abandon them to France, and by French assistance recover Silesia, so much more important to her. This arrangement added to British rivalry with France and threw Great Britain into close alliance with Prussia.

The Seven Years' War

The conflict that followed, the Seven Years' War (1756–63), had wide ramifications, and extended at last over many parts of the world. In one of its aspects it was a gigantic duel between Great Britain and France, in which they fought for primacy in colonial dominion, for com-

35. TO ILLUSTRATE THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

merce, and power on the sea. During this contest, in far-distant fields they settled the question of dominance in India and of the mastery of North America. Meanwhile, a struggle no less decisive was being waged over central Europe, between Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs, and ultimately it was seen that the results of the combat transferred predominance from Austria to Prussia. This part of the war was filled with memorable battles and sieges, and is one of the most renowned in the annals of warfare.

Hohenzollerns against Hapsburgs

Frederick conquers Saxony

Frederick, learning of the league formed against him, struck before his enemies were ready. In 1756 he suddenly invaded Saxony, defeated a relieving army of Austrians at Lobositz, and made himself master of the entire electorate, adding to his own resources its revenues and its armies. In 1757 he invaded the Hapsburg lands, overrunning Bohemia. During this year he astonished all Europe with his feats of arms. At Prague he defeated an Austrian army, but a little later was overthrown at Kolin by Daun, best of the Austrian commanders, who forced him to abandon Bohemia entirely. This disaster checked him only a little. A great French and Austrian army was coming from the west to join another large Austrian force against him. Dashing westward he completely routed the French and their allies at Rossbach, and then swiftly returning defeated the Austrian army at Leuthen. In 1758 he defeated the Russians at Zorndorf.

Defeats the French, the Austrians, and the Russians

Almost destroyed by superior numbers

Actually, however, there seemed no hope that this genius and valor could save him from his vastly superior foes. He had been put under the ban of the empire, and while some of the German states indirectly assisted him, many of the others were against him. From England alone was he receiving substantial aid, and this was largely in money, with which he bought the services of German troops. In 1759 he attacked an army of Aus-

trians and Russians drawn up in nearly impregnable position at Kunersdorf. In the cemetery on the hillside horrible slaughter took place, and at the end of the struggle his army was nearly destroyed. Had his enemies acted with his own decision and swiftness they might have finished him now; but they dallied while he assembled his remaining forces. None the less, the Russians took Berlin next year (1760), and a little later England ceased to give her subsidies of money (1761). Frederick was at the brink of despair, for his resources were almost exhausted. His enemies, however, were near to exhaustion also. France was more and more engrossed in her mighty struggle with England. In 1762 Russia withdrew from the contest, and made a separate peace with Prussia. Next year France made the Peace of Paris with Great Britain, and Austria, left virtually alone, was forced to desist. In 1763 the war came to an end with the Peace of Hubertusburg. Maria Theresa confirmed the former treaties of Breslau and Berlin, by which Silesia and Glatz had been yielded to Prussia, while Frederick abandoned his Saxon conquests.

The Russians occupy Berlin

Russia and France abandon the struggle

According to an estimate of Frederick himself, 900,000 men had been slain in this war. It had brought devastation and terrible suffering to a far greater number. The king of Prussia had supported the struggle as far as possible from the resources of the districts which he invaded, by wringing exactions from the unhappy populations among whom his armies encamped. So far as central Europe was concerned, the war brought no territorial changes. The principal results here were that Frederick the Great had defied all the efforts of his numerous foes, and that Prussia, though shaken and exhausted, was now one of the great kingdoms of Europe.

Ruin wrought by the war

More successful than Napoleon afterward, Frederick kept what he had taken. He devoted the remainder of a long reign to restoring the prosperity of his country and

Frederick holds his gains

developing its resources to the utmost. He gave himself to the task of ruling his subjects as well as he could, and during his time Prussia went steadily forward. In foreign policy he continued to regard Austria with watchful suspicion. In the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778-9) he succeeded without fighting in frustrating the designs of Joseph II. Generally he put himself at the head of German opposition to Austrian and imperial designs.

Takes West Prussia from Poland

In 1772 he joined Russia and Austria in the first partition of Poland, and securing, as his share of the spoils, West Prussia, connected the detached parts of his dominions along the Baltic, and secured a most important addition to his kingdom. In 1786 he died in the midst of age and great honor. His period was near to its close. Under his successors, Frederick William II (1786–1797) and Frederick William III (1797–1840), a new age would commence that would bring to Prussia, as to so many other states, vast new problems, much gain, much disaster.

Smaller German states

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in respect of the German peoples, the history of Austria and of Prussia engrosses much of the student's attention, but some of the most interesting German life was in smaller states. Power and prestige had long been passing from the older, western German communities to the greater states to their east. For a long time, however, these states had been frontier communities while wealth, prosperity, and culture had been developed in the districts of the Rhine and the Elbe.

Contributions to literature and the arts

In these communities, as much as in Austria or in Prussia, Germans made the contributions to literature, religion, science, and the arts, that are treasured by so many others. Along the Rhine printing had been developed. It was in Saxony that the Reformation began; and in Bavaria, especially, that the Counter-Reformation began among Germans.

Goethe, Schiller, Lessing

Goethe was born at Frankfort-on-the-Main; Schiller was born at Marbach in Würtemberg; and both of them did much

of their work at Weimar. At Hamburg Lessing did some of the best of his work, as Klopstock had done before him. Klopstock was born in Prussia, however, and Kant lived long at Königsberg on the eastern Baltic. During the eighteenth century Vienna became the chief musical center in Europe.

Bavaria in earlier times

In the Germanies during this period Bavaria was most important among states of second rank. After the breaking up of the Roman Empire in the west this country was settled by various German tribes, and was presently ruled by its own dukes. It was included in Charlemagne's empire, and was a part of the Holy Roman Empire of the Middle Ages. During this period it was one of the four great duchies of the empire, and later on one of the imperial circles. In 1180 the Emperor Frederick II, Barbarossa, granted it to the Wittelsbach family, who continued to rule it thereafter. In the beginning, the Reformation made progress in Bavaria, but this country was the scene of some of the early triumphs of the Counter-Reformation, and Bavaria remained stanchly Catholic. Under Duke Maximilian I (1597–1651) it became the head of the Catholic League (1609), and Bavaria together with the emperor led the Catholic forces of Germany in the Thirty Years' War. For assistance given at this time the duke of Bavaria was rewarded with the Upper Palatinate and given the electorate which had just been taken from the conquered Palatine ruler (1623). By the Peace of Westphalia Bavaria retained this part of the Palatinate, together with the electoral title. The Rhine Palatinate restored at this time to the former house, was later on united to Bavaria by the Treaty of Teschen (1779), which brought the War of the Bavarian Succession to an end.

Held for Roman Catholicism

Association with France

In the latter part of the seventeenth century Bavaria entered on a course of hostility to the Hapsburgs, and drifted over to the influence of France. In the War of the Spanish Succession, she was the most important ally of

Louis XIV, but during the Blenheim campaign (1704) the country was overrun by the troops of the Grand Alliance and forced to return to allegiance to the emperor. In 1740 the elector of Bavaria claimed right of succession to the Hapsburg inheritance and attacked Maria Theresa. By the opponents of the House of Hapsburg he was crowned emperor, Charles VII (1742–1745). The troops of Maria Theresa at once conquered Bavaria, and his French allies were unable to give effectual support. The elector soon after lost his life and his crown, and thenceforth Bavaria took no conspicuous part in European affairs.

Opposition to the House of Hapsburg

Greatness of Saxony in earlier times

Of diminishing importance during this period also was Saxony, once the most important of the German lands. In the early Middle Ages the Saxon country had extended from the base of Denmark southward almost to the Harz Mountains, and it had filled nearly all of the space between the Rhine and the Elbe. From this country in the fifth century had gone many of the emigrants who founded Teutonic England. Saxony had been conquered by Charlemagne after the most terrible wars that he waged. From the great Duchy of Saxony in the tenth century came the dynasty of rulers who reëstablished the Holy Roman Empire. The height of its greatness was reached under Henry the Lion (1139–1180). But he was overthrown in his contest with the Emperor Frederick I, Barbarossa, and on his death the domain fell to pieces. From the thirteenth century on, the Duchy of Saxony consisted merely of a remnant of territory on the upper Elbe, between Bohemia and Brandenburg. In 1485 the country was divided, and there were thereafter, for some time, the electorate of Saxony, ruled by one branch of the family, and the Duchy of Saxony, ruled by another. It was at Wittenberg, capital of the electorate, that Martin Luther began the Reformation (1517), and the elector Frederick the Wise was at first the principal champion

A remnant of the old duchy remains

of the movement. During the first religious wars in Germany, as a result of the dexterous policy of Maurice, duke of Saxony, the electorate was added to the duchy, and the Saxon lands thus reunited (1547). During the Thirty Years' War Saxony at first stood aloof, then vacillated, and afterward suffered greatly. In 1635 it obtained Lusatia from the emperor, and other possessions were gained in the settlement of 1648.

Duchy and electorate reunited by Maurice

Thereafter it declined, as its mightier neighbors increased to the north and the south. For some time during the eighteenth century (1697–1763) its electors were also kings of Poland, but this brought weakness and trouble, not strength, and involved Saxony in disasters at the hands first of Sweden, afterward of Prussia. During the Seven Years' War Saxony joined Austria against Prussia, but was at once conquered by Frederick the Great. The country was restored to its rulers in 1763, but it had suffered very greatly in the struggle. Thereafter it followed a cautious policy, for some time in the train of Prussia.

The elector of Saxony king of Poland

During the eighteenth century one state of second rank increased in importance. From fragments of other jurisdictions, especially parts of the medieval Duchy of Saxony, had been built up the principality of Lüneburg. In 1692 this principality became the electorate of Hanover, and during the War of the Spanish Succession the European powers recognized its ruler as elector (1708). On the death of Anne, queen of England, last Protestant of the line of Stuarts, the elector of Hanover became king of England as George I (1714–1727). The British government had tried to arrange beforehand that England should not be involved in European questions through this connection. Nevertheless, both George I and his son George II (1727–1760) spent much of their time in the electorate, and Great Britain was on several occasions drawn into European complications to defend the king's

Rise of Hanover

The elector of Hanover king of England

Hanoverian dominions. Inevitably, Hanover received thereby a power and prestige not otherwise hers. During the War of the Austrian Succession and in the Seven Years' War Hanover was overrun by the French, but on both occasions the French were forced to relinquish what they had conquered.

Life in the lesser Germanies

There were numerous other states and cities and smaller jurisdictions, such as the territories of the knights of the empire. Some of them had once been wealthy and renowned, but most of them now took no part in larger affairs. The Palatinate declined and was finally merged in Bavaria. The Hanseatic League had been ruined, and most of the great cities, once its members, were fallen on evil days. Some smaller states had brilliant courts, and were centres of the intellectual movements of their time. Notably was this so of Weimar. In most of them, however, there was a dull, proud aristocracy, ruling the peasants and taking from them all that it could. The revenue obtained in this fashion was spent not in local improvements but in imitating more prominent rulers.

An aristocracy conservative, proud, and dull

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CHAPTER XX

THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

> Such was the very armour he had on,
> When he the ambitious Norway combated;
> So frowned he once, when, in an angry parle,
> He smote the sledded Polacks on the ice.
>
> SHAKESPEARE, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark* (1603) i. I.

> On what foundation stands the warriour's pride,
> How just his hopes, let Swedish Charles decide;
> . . .
> Behold surrounding kings their powers combine,
> And one capitulate, and one resign;
> Peace courts his hand, but spread her charms in vain;
> "Think nothing gain'd," he cries, "till naught remain,
> On Moscow's walls till Gothick standards fly,
> And all be mine beneath the polar sky."
> . . .
> Hide, blushing glory, hide Pultowa's day.
>
> SAMUEL JOHNSON, *The Vanity of Human Wishes* (1749).

The Scandinavian countries remote in the north

OUTSIDE the main currents of European politics in modern times, yet not without influence upon Europe's affairs, were the Scandinavian people—in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. From remote times these countries had been inhabited by a Nordic race, a branch of the so-called Aryan or Indo-European people, related closely to their German kinsmen south. In ancient days, when European affairs centered about the Mediterranean, these men were scarcely known to the southern races. Throughout the period of Roman domination they were completely outside Rome's influence. Long after the German races had been won by Roman culture and by Christian teachers the Scandinavians continued in rude and remote isolation, holding to their northern pagan

The Scandinavians long outside European affairs

deities and living as they had lived for generations. The Roman Empire in the West had decayed and broken to pieces, Germanic kingdoms had been founded on its ruins, among them the Frankish power had risen to predominant greatness, before these northern people attracted much attention from others. In the latter days of his greatness, when Charlemagne had built a dominion all across western and central Europe, and had set up once more a Roman empire over his subject peoples, the Northmen were reaching the shores of his empire, and he is said to have wept at the ruin they wrought.

Swedes found the Slavic Kingdom of Russia

During the ninth and tenth centuries the warriors and pirates of Scandinavia carried conquest and depredation to all parts of Europe. From Sweden certain warriors under their leader, Rurik, founded a kingdom among the North Slavs (862), presently called Russia after themselves. From Denmark in the eighth and ninth centuries came Danes who did much to ruin the rising culture of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in England. They also brought anarchy and confusion to Ireland where they conquered some of the coast lands. Presently, under their leader Knut, they conquered England and made it part of a Danish empire (1017). This period of confusion and misery was remembered afterward as the "dark ages." The rising new "Roman" empire was ruined, and prosperity and strong government destroyed. This was largely brought about by the ravages and incursions of the Northmen, at the same time that Saracens were attacking from the south and Hungarians came from the east. At the beginning of the tenth century a Norse viking (sea rover), Hrolf or Rollo, overran the territory about the lower Seine, and presently compelled the king of France to grant him this country as a fief (911). In Normandy, as the district was called thereafter, a brilliant civilization soon developed, and Normans showed themselves preëminent during the Middle Ages in war, conquest, and adminis-

Ravages of the Northmen in the Frankish dominions

The Normans

tration. England, portions of Ireland, Naples, Sicily, parts of the Byzantine Empire, and districts in the Levant were conquered by Norman adventurers at different times. During the same period also mariners from Norway itself, with a boldness not shared then by others, steered out through the fogs, the mists, and icebergs of the northern seas, until they reached the far-distant lands of Iceland (870), Greenland (900), and Vineland (1000). Soon Vineland was left and forgotten, but afterward men realized that Norsemen had come thus early to the continent much later discovered by Cabot.

Norse sailors reach Vineland

After the eleventh century Scandinavia declined again into unimportance. Christianity had been accepted by its inhabitants; they had become less warlike and no longer plagued other peoples. Too far away to take much part in larger affairs, with resources too small for a numerous population, during some hundreds of years now these northern men took as little part in greater affairs as did the Slavs secluded in the dreary plains and forests of eastern Europe.

The Scandinavians unimportant again

Norway, westernmost of these countries, was largely mountainous and almost entirely barren or poor. Among the towering mountains that come down to the fiords of the coast, scanty population supported itself largely by rude farming and fishing. To the east, Sweden was larger and richer and much more important; but a great part of its area was near to the polar winters; much of its surface was mountain or lake; and its soil was too poor to support a numerous people. The southernmost member of this group, and the smallest, was for a long time the most important. In Denmark there was much good soil and a thriving agriculture, while the position of its peninsula and islands was such that Denmark could often control the entrance to the Baltic, and take much revenue from commerce flowing by. Its principal city, Copenhagen (Kjöbenhavn—harbor of merchants), became more

Norway poor and of little moment

Denmark rich and long the most powerful and important

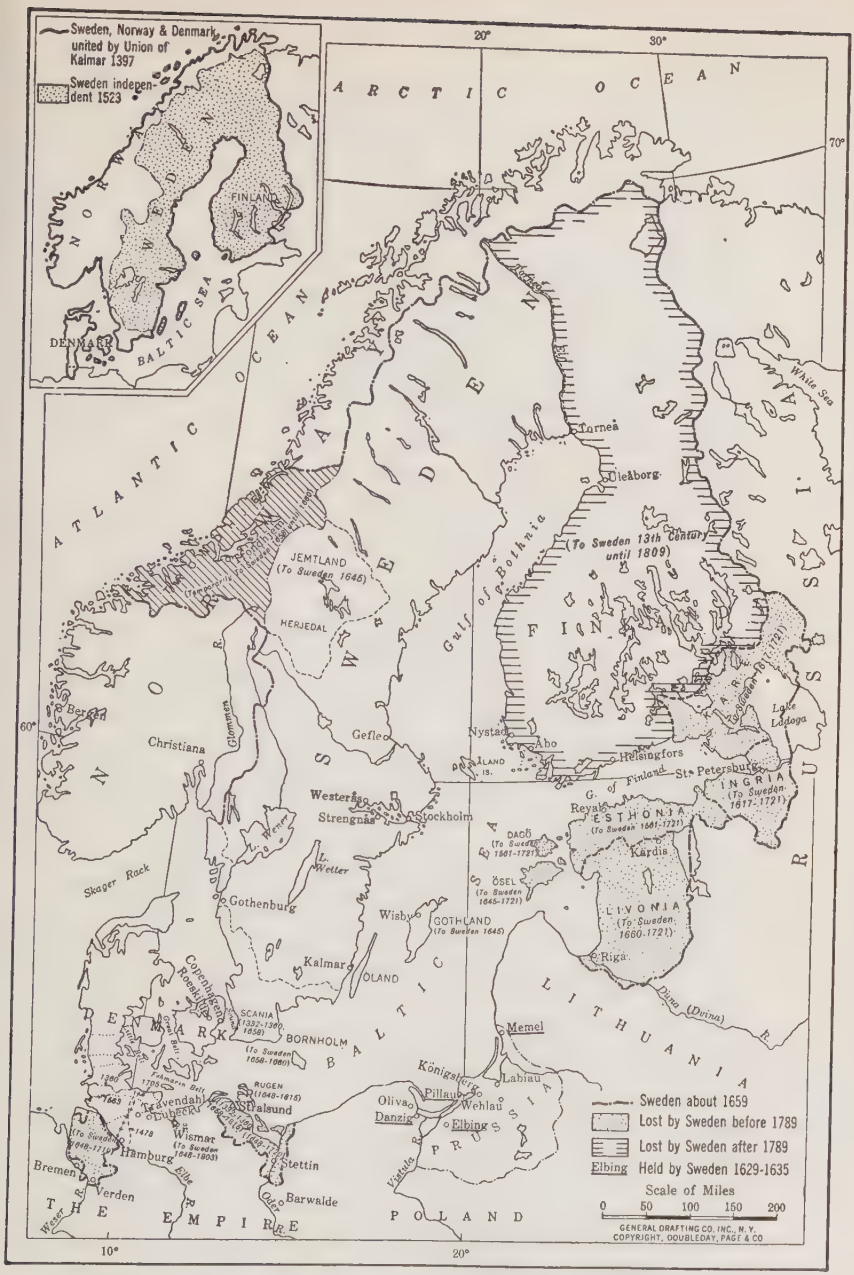
important than Wisby—the commercial metropolis of Sweden, and a member of the Hanseatic League. Denmark, therefore, was long the leader of the Scandinavian countries, and for a considerable time ruled the others. During much of her history Norway was subject to one or the other of her more powerful neighbors: first to Denmark (1397–1814), then to Sweden (1814–1905).

The rise of Denmark

After the death of Knut the Great (1035) the Danish empire of Denmark, England, and Norway fell apart. Thereafter, for some time Danish power was extended to the eastward along the shores and islands of the Baltic. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries some of the country of the Wends—along the middle Baltic—was conquered, a country afterward held by Poland and by Prussia. For various short periods also parts of the German coast were subdued, and Esthonia, a more distant eastern Baltic district. During these centuries there were many heroic exploits and feats of arms, afterward cherished in the tales and the memory of the people. Gradually, under able and warlike rulers, Denmark became the most powerful state in the Baltic region, and presently asserted mastery over Norway and Sweden.

The Union of Kalmar

In 1397, by the Union of Kalmar, the three countries were united under the headship of Denmark. This agreement provided that each country should retain its own customs and laws, but that they should act together for common defense. The sovereign was to be elected, and the three kingdoms to take part in the election, but a son of the reigning or the previous king was always to be preferred as successor. This confederacy resulted largely from conquest, and could only be maintained by force. The spirit of separatism, still very strong in Europe, tended to drive the three countries apart, at the same time that Danish leadership tended to be in the interests of Denmark. In 1439 Norwegians and Swedes broke away, and after a period of confusion the union was dis-



36. TO ILLUSTRATE THE HISTORY OF THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

Broken and established again

solved (1448). The three countries were again brought together under Christian I in 1457. The power of this monarch was further increased when in 1460 he succeeded his uncle as lord of those districts south of Denmark, Schleswig and Holstein, which had long before been conquered by Knut and had long been ruled as fiefs of the crown of Denmark. Schleswig and Holstein had previously been united under one ruler (1386). In 1474 the emperor, Frederick III, made Holstein a duchy under Christian. Thereafter sovereigns of Denmark were princes of the Holy Roman Empire as dukes of Holstein.

Schleswig and Holstein

Denmark holds Norway dependent

The hold upon Norway was easily kept, since that country was too weak to resist its more powerful neighbor, and since Danes and Norsemen were closely akin and spoke very much the same tongue. It was more difficult to maintain the union with Sweden, larger, stronger, and farther away, inhabited by a people differing in temperament and character from the Danes, and speaking a language that differed from Danish more than south German differed from Flemish. Christian I retained only a slight hold upon Sweden, and although the Union of Kalmar was renewed again after his death (1483), yet the king of Denmark could establish little real authority in that country. Under Christian II (1512–1523), however, brother-in-law of the emperor, Charles V, and from his cruelties known as the "Nero of the North", all resistance was stifled in Norway, and Sweden conquered with ruthless barbarity. In Sweden a rising was led by a nobleman, Gustavus Ericson, better known as Gustavus Vasa; and after some vicissitudes, the yoke of Denmark was definitively broken. In 1523 the Union of Kalmar was finally dissolved, and all Sweden, save the southernmost provinces and the islands, established its independence under the dynasty of Vasa.

Most of Sweden breaks away

The Reformation, now moving forward in the German

lands, was carried almost at once into Denmark and across into Norway. Quickly these countries abandoned the Catholic faith, and accepted the Lutheran teachings. During the great contest between Charles V and France they stood aloof, and they were untroubled by the earlier religious wars. During the seventeenth century, however, Denmark was involved in the great contest that raged near by. In the early part of the Thirty Years' War the defeated Protestants of Germany appealed to Christian IV (1588–1648) for assistance. In 1626 the Danes were entirely defeated at Lutter by the forces of the Catholic League under Tilly. Christian was glad to be allowed to withdraw, leaving his German allies to their fate.

The Reformation in Denmark and in Norway

Denmark defeated in the Thirty Years' War

Considerably later, when the struggle was nearing its end, Denmark became involved in a war with Sweden. In this conflict the Swedish general Torstenson overran much of the country, while the Swedish navy defeated the navy of the Danes (1644). Next year by the Treaty of Brömsebro Denmark ceded to Sweden outlying possessions which she had long held: Gothland—the large island off the southeast coast of Sweden, Dago and Ösel—islands in the eastern Baltic, and her claims to Bremen and Verden on the North Sea. A little later she rashly entered a league of northern nations against the Swedish king, Charles X, but that monarch by a sudden march overran all the mainland country of Denmark. Then, taking his army across the ice from one island to another, he entered Zealand on which Copenhagen stands (1657–8). By the Treaty of Roeskilde (1658) Denmark ceded to Sweden the island of Bornholm off the southern coast of Sweden together with such cities and districts as she had continued to hold in the southern part of Sweden itself, and Swedish vessels were to be exempt from all tolls for passing through the Sound—the narrow body of water between Denmark and the greater Scandinavian peninsula, and the Belts—the

Disastrous conflict with Sweden

Denmark loses her remaining Swedish possessions

channels between the islands of Denmark itself. When the northern war was brought to an end by the Treaty of Oliva (1660) the arrangement of Roeskilde was confirmed in the Treaty of Copenhagen (1660), by which, however, Sweden lost her immunity from dues in the Sound. Thereafter, Denmark, for a considerable time, took no important part in affairs.

Strong government established in Denmark

The Danish government had long been an elective monarchy, in which most of the power was actually in the hands of an oligarchy of the nobles. The disasters of the seventeenth century, and the example of strong government being formed in other countries, gradually brought desire for a change. In 1660 an assembly of the states or orders of the kingdom was held to consider the matter. After some dispute the nobles were overborne by the clergy and the representatives of the towns, and the crown was declared hereditary. A constitution, the *Kongelov* (king's law), drawn up by a German jurist, substituted now for the former weak kingship in the midst of a strong oligarchy an hereditary ruler with absolute power.

Gustavus Vasa establishes independence for most of Sweden

Meanwhile, Sweden, independent, had been rising in power and increasing in strength, until for a brief space she played a great part, and for a short time was one of the principal powers of Europe. Gustavus I, Vasa (1523–1560), who established the independence and founded the greatness of Sweden, was descended from the noble houses of Vasa and Sture, whose members had long been prominent in the country. Carried as a hostage to Denmark, when the Danish king, Christian II, was trying to subjugate Sweden, he escaped. Taking advantage of an outburst of bitterness and national feeling after the massacre by Christian at Stockholm of the principal Swedish leaders, Gustavus collected followers and headed a movement for the expulsion of the Danes (1520). In 1523 he captured Stockholm, and that same year a Swedish assembly or diet at Strengnäs repudiated the Union of Kalmar and declared

The Diet of Strengnäs

Gustavus their king. The southern provinces and the Swedish islands remained for some time longer in possession of the Danes.

Lutheranism accepted in Sweden

During the reign of Gustavus I the Reformation was introduced into Sweden, and soon dispossessed the older faith altogether. In the recent struggle for independence the Swedish clergy had sided with the Danes. Now on the triumph of the national party Gustavus proceeded to deprive the Catholic clergy of their power and seize their possessions for the state. By his influence the Reformation was quickly introduced and strongly supported. At the Diet of Westerås (1527) the lands of the church were put at the disposal of the king.

Economic advance

A period of national development and increasing vigor now followed. In 1540 the Swedish diet consented that the kingship should be hereditary from that time on. Gustavus was an able administrator. He effected economies, and strove with success to develop the industrial and agricultural resources of his country, and spent much time in the cultivation of his own estates. With the eastern Hanseatic towns, especially with Lübeck, he carried on successful war. Differences with Denmark were composed for the time.

A period of decline

After his death a period of misfortune followed. His eldest son, Eric XIV (1560–1568), was insane at times, and after some confusion and struggle was deposed and murdered by his brother, who succeeded him as king, John III (1569–1592). A disastrous war with Denmark was ended by the Peace of Stettin (1570), in which was confirmed the Danish possession of southern Swedish districts, containing a fifth of the Swedish people. As before, Denmark continued to be superior to Sweden in strength and resources.

Sweden and Poland

In this reign began the connection between Sweden and Poland, destined to be so unfortunate in the end for Sweden. John III was married to a Polish princess. With

the assistance of her friends the elective crown of Poland was presently procured for their son, Sigismund Vasa, who became king of Poland as Sigismund III (1587–1632). On the death of his father he succeeded to the crown of Sweden also (1592–1604). During the necessary absences of Sigismund in Poland, his uncle, Charles, was able to seize all effective power, and to fill all the chief offices in the kingdom with his supporters. Presently Charles deposed his nephew, and assumed the crown as Charles IX (1604–1611). The last year of this monarch's reign was clouded by disastrous conflict with Denmark.

Union under one king

He was succeeded by his son, the greatest of the kings of Sweden, Gustavus II Adolphus (1611–1632). This young prince had already given evidence of very high ability. He had received an excellent training. He possessed fine understanding and a strong mind. Under capable instructors he made himself master of the art of war as war was then carried on. An exhausting conflict with Denmark was ended in 1613, as a result of mediation by England, whose king, James I, had married a Danish princess. Gustavus then intervened in the affairs of Muscovy. That country was in deplorable weakness and confusion, during a period known in Russian history as the Interregnum, following the death of Boris Godunov (1605). There were several candidates for the throne, and neighboring powers, especially Poland and Sweden, were striving to seize all that they could. Sweden, like Poland, had much interest in Russian affairs, since her territories east of the Baltic adjoined the Muscovite possessions. In the twelfth century the Swedes had begun the conquest of the country of the Finns, across the Gulf of Bothnia. During the thirteenth century all Finland was acquired, and ever since had been an outlying possession. Furthermore, on the dissolution of the order of the Livonian Knights of the Sword in 1561, Esthonia, south of the Gulf of Riga, had fallen to Sweden. The

Gustavus Adolphus, 1594–1632

Weakness of Russia

Finland an old possession of Sweden

Russian succession was presently settled when Michael, first of the Romanovs, became tsar (1613–1645), but Gustavus continued the war, supporting the pretensions of his own brother. The contest was ended by the peace of Stolbova (1617), by which Sweden obtained Ingria and Carelia, about the Gulf of Riga, including the country where St. Petersburg was later to be founded. Immediately after this, Gustavus began a war with Poland, concluded with the Truce of Altmark (1629), by which he was left in possession of certain coast cities westward of Livonia, bringing his frontier farther south along the shores of the Baltic Sea.

Gustavus conquers additional territory from the Russians

Takes Livonia from Poland

Much greater gain came from Sweden's participation in the Thirty Years' War. For this participation there were several reasons. Undoubtedly the young king, having tasted military glory, desired to make further conquests. In France Richelieu viewed with alarm the success which the emperor and his allies were having, and to prevent total destruction of the power of the German Protestants, resolved to give them French aid and call to their assistance such other forces as he was able to rouse against the Hapsburgs. Through Richelieu's mediation the armistice had just been made between Poland and Sweden, so that Gustavus might enter the German contest. The most decisive reason, however, seems to have been that the Lutheran king, fearing for Protestantism in central Europe, resolved to attempt to save it.

Encouraged by France Gustavus invades Germany

The intervention of Sweden in the struggle had immediate and decisive results. Gustavus Adolphus landed in Pomerania in 1630. Next year he completely broke the power of the Catholic League, when he defeated Tilly at Leipzig. In 1632 he defeated the imperialist forces under Wallenstein at Lützen, but here he fell in battle and his brief career came to an end. During his campaigns he was seen to be the ablest general of his time. His victories had been due to courage and swift decision, to the excel-

Gustavus saves Protestantism in Germany

lence of his Swedish soldiers, to superior artillery, and to the admirable tactics he employed.

Oxenstierna carries on the work of Gustavus

In 1631 by the Treaty of Barwälde an alliance had been made between France and Sweden. With increasing assistance from France the contest was now continued. On departing from Sweden Gustavus had left the administration of his kingdom in the hands of the astute chancellor Axel Oxenstierna. This statesman ably directed the foreign policy of Sweden, and managed Swedish conduct of the war. The military operations were conducted with much success, first by Baner, then by Torstenson. There were many vicissitudes, but at last the increasing might of France and the skill of the Swedish commanders made the position of the emperor and his allies hopeless. Torstenson became commander-in-chief of the Swedish armies in 1641. Next year he gained the second victory of Breitenfeld, and overran Silesia. In the two years following, when Denmark entered the war against Sweden, he conquered Schleswig, Holstein, and Jutland—the mainland possessions of Denmark. He then won another battle from the emperor's forces, and in 1645, in conjunction with Rakoczy, prince of Transylvania, he conquered Moravia, and invaded Austria, advancing almost to Vienna itself.

Victories of Torstenson

Gains from Denmark: the Treaty of Brömsebro

Extensive gains resulted from the victories of Gustavus and Torstenson. By the Peace of Brömsebro (1645) Oxenstierna obtained for his country the islands off the coast of Sweden which Denmark had long retained, together with Danish rights to Bremen and Verden in northwestern Germany. By the Treaty of Westphalia, three years later, Sweden received as hereditary fiefs to be held of the empire, western Pomerania, with the islands and towns that controlled the mouth of the River Oder, and the territories of Bremen and Verden, lying between the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser, the two principal rivers flowing from Germany into the North Sea. For these

Gains from the empire: the Peace of Westphalia

possessions the king of Sweden was to have three votes in the German diet, and Sweden was to have the privilege of establishing a university—afterward done in Pomerania at Greifswald.

Sweden a great European power

Sweden's gains were more important from position than size. They controlled the mouths of the principal German rivers, and so she, succeeding to the position once held by the Hanse, might, perhaps, come to be master of German commerce. Actually, however, she had exhausted herself in the costly and protracted struggle, and it was beyond her strength permanently to hold these outlying possessions. As the power of German states like Brandenburg and Hanover increased, her German dominions would be taken from her, and she would consume much of her remaining vigor in vain efforts to keep them. Meanwhile, the great part she had played for a moment would lead her lesser statesmen to further adventures. From these adventures only failure would come.

Her conquests beyond her strength to hold

Christina of Sweden

Gustavus had been succeeded by his daughter Christina (1632–1654). She found her northern country and the task of governing it uncongenial, and presently abdicated, having procured the election of her cousin to the throne. Free then to follow her own desires, she became a convert to Catholicism. Taking up her abode in Rome, she there drew about her men of letters and science; and for many years deeply enjoyed the culture that Rome of the seventeenth century afforded.

Charles X

She was succeeded by her cousin, Charles X Gustavus (1654–1660). Charles, who had gained military experience under Torstenson, and was of warlike disposition, resolved to make his country greater. Sweden was now almost exhausted, and her finances were ruined for the time by the great expenditures made in the wars and by the recent extravagance of Christina. The country, moreover, was maintaining a powerful army of Swedes and German mercenaries, which it could no longer support

unless they were employed in a war made to pay for itself.

Resolves to make further conquests on the Baltic

Charles resolved to conquer all the shores of the Baltic. Sweden already held besides Finland—on the eastern side of the Gulf of Bothnia—Carelia, Ingria, Esthonia, and Livonia—on the eastern shore of the Baltic. She had also, besides Bremen and Verden west of Denmark, western Pomerania midway along the southern Baltic coast. Charles X planned to conquer Denmark, and take the Baltic provinces held by the elector of Brandenburg and by the king of Poland. An alliance was made with England, ruled at that time by Cromwell.

Overruns Poland

Charles proposed to attack Poland first. The king of Poland, who was a member of the house that had ruled Sweden until the abdication of Christina, had protested against the accession of Charles, and this protest gave sufficient excuse for a declaration of war. In 1655 a Swedish army invaded Poland, and that country being in a state of utter weakness and disorder, the Swedes overran the country with ease. The extent and rapidity of the conquest, however, awakened apprehensions in his neighbors. Russia began to move, and the attitude of Brandenburg was uncertain. Accordingly, Charles thought it well to assure himself on one side by making a treaty with Frederick William, the "Great Elector", of Brandenburg.

Invades Prussia

A little later, however, he invaded Prussia also, and forced the elector to make an arrangement satisfactory to him. Next year the Poles rose in revolt, and Charles resolved to reduce their country, and divide it between Russia, Brandenburg, and Sweden; but the vast stretches of the Polish plain and the severity of the weather exhausted his strength. The Russians, smarting under losses sustained previously at the hands of Sweden, entered the Baltic provinces they had lost and ravaged them as they pleased. Furthermore, the emperor began to encourage his enemies. Frederick William of Brandenburg was now able to secure very advantageous terms. By

the Treaty of Labiau (1656) Charles recognized him as sovereign of Prussia and not vassal to Poland for this possession. Charles also made an arrangement with Rakoczy, prince of Transylvania, and together they invaded Poland again; but in the midst of the campaign intelligence came that Denmark also had begun war against him.

Recognizes the elector of Brandenburg as sovereign of Prussia

Much of northern and eastern Europe was now involved in a general war, in some respects a continuation of the Thirty Years' War that had raged so long farther south. The Danes got command of the sea and blockaded Swedish ports. In 1657 the emperor entered the struggle. Charles hastened back from Poland against the Austrians and the Danes. The Poles then rose against his garrisons, and many of his troops were cut off. His position now appeared hopeless, and the elector of Brandenburg made peace with the Poles. By the Treaty of Wehlau (1657) they acknowledged him as sovereign duke of Prussia, and he joined in the contest against the king of Sweden. Nevertheless, in an astonishing campaign, Charles overran Denmark, and despite Danish control of the sea, entered their islands by crossing the ice. In 1658 Denmark submitted. By the Treaty of Roeskilde she abandoned her remaining possessions in Sweden. The war was for some time continued, and Denmark joined the enemies of Sweden again. Finally, in 1659, the French, the Dutch, and the English, whose interests in the Baltic were much damaged by the conflict, joined to compel the contestants to make peace. In 1660, largely as a result of French mediation, the Treaty of Oliva was accepted by Poland, Sweden, the emperor, and Brandenburg. The Polish Vasa king renounced his claim to the crown of Sweden, and definitely ceded part of Livonia to that country. The emperor renounced his conquests in Pomerania, and Sweden abandoned to the elector of Brandenburg any claim upon Prussia. Between Sweden and Denmark the Treaty of

Denmark, the emperor, and Brandenburg join the enemies of Sweden

Denmark conquered by Charles X

Treaty of Oliva

End of the Northern War

Copenhagen (1660) confirmed most of the earlier arrangement. The Swedes now turned on the Russians, and had much success against them. By the Treaty of Kardis (1661) the Russians abandoned what they had conquered, and the former Peace of Stolbova was confirmed. As a result of these long and costly wars Sweden had at last obtained the important south Swedish districts so long held by Denmark, and she kept her earlier possessions. The grandiose schemes of Charles X, however, had for the most part failed altogether, and Sweden was now thoroughly exhausted.

Decline of Swedish power

During the long reign of Charles XI (1660–1697), the decline that had begun continued. In this reign occurred the first great reverse. Sweden enjoyed the reputation of being one of the principal powers of Europe, and her aid was eagerly sought by others. In 1668 she joined Holland and England to form the Triple Alliance against Louis XIV. Shortly after, however, she was won back to alliance with France, just before Louis attacked the Dutch in 1672. For a moment Holland was nearly conquered, but the Dutch saved themselves, and presently a European coalition was formed against France. In the course of the contest that ensued, Sweden and Brandenburg came into conflict, but a Swedish army was completely defeated at Fehrbellin (1675), and all Pomerania was lost. By the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye (1679), however, France compelled Brandenburg to restore Swedish Pomerania excepting a small district on the Oder. About this time the royal power in Sweden was greatly increased, by reducing that of the nobles and taking from them domain lands, which they had formerly taken from the crown. Sweden became now, like Denmark and France, an absolute monarchy. During the remainder of this reign Sweden continued at peace. In the midst of peace she slowly restored her finances and recovered her strength.

Pomerania conquered by Brandenburg but restored

Such gains were entirely lost in the following reign. To

Charles XII

the east and the south new powers were growing stronger and greater. Upon the extensive outlying possessions of Sweden they were casting covetous eyes. When Charles XII (1697–1718) came to the throne a mere boy, a scheme was quickly formed for the partition of the Swedish empire. Augustus, elector of Saxony, also king of Poland, desiring to make war on Sweden, and conquer her province of Livonia, formed a combination of neighboring powers. In 1699 he concluded an arrangement with Denmark, and shortly after another with Russia. But the young king of Sweden displayed astonishing resolution and courage. In 1700 Sweden made alliance with England and with Holland, who were preparing for the coming struggle with France. Sweden was thus assured of command of the sea. Charles XII then suddenly invaded Denmark, and conquering that country at once, compelled her to accept the Treaty of Travendahl (1700) by which she withdrew from the war.

Confronted by Poland, Saxony, Denmark, and Russia

Relieved of this enemy Charles prepared to take vengeance on the other foes who had planned to despoil him. Especially did he burn for revenge upon the king of Poland. First he struck the Russians. Under their tsar, Peter I, afterward known throughout Europe as "the Great," they had invaded one of the Baltic provinces of Sweden. At Narva with 8,000 men Charles utterly defeated five times that number of Russians, and the tsar fled in terror. Reinforced, Charles turned against the Saxons and the Poles. He easily drove Augustus from Poland, and set up another king in that country. For some years the contest dragged on. In 1706 he resolved to press the attack, and destroy the power of Augustus completely. Saxony and Poland now, like Denmark previously, were driven to abandon the war.

Charles forces all but the Russians to make peace

The Russians defeated at Narva, 1700

Meanwhile, however, the tsar, with reorganized armies, had greatly increased in strength. In 1701 he had resumed the invasion of Sweden's provinces on the southeast

Charles XII invades Russia

Baltic, and year by year he had pushed his conquests on farther. In 1707 he prepared to intervene in Poland, and undo what Charles had there accomplished. Between Sweden and Russia, accordingly, a decisive contest approached. In 1708 Charles determined to seek his enemy in Russia, and destroy him. Like Napoleon a hundred years later, he led his army straight into the heart of the country, seeking a decisive conflict, while the Muscovites constantly retreated. The land was wasted and the Swedes were caught in the midst of a terrible winter far from their base of supplies. Much weakened and now without any definite plan, Charles turned south, seeking to effect a junction with Mazeppa, hetman or leader of the Cossacks of the Ukraine. The matter came to issue in the Battle of Poltava (1709), where a greatly superior army of Russians crushed the Swedish forces completely. Poltava has been reckoned one of the decisive battles in the history of Europe. The military power of Sweden, already depleted, was utterly broken. Charles fled south, and presently took refuge in Turkey. Some years later he returned to his country, and later on was killed at the siege of a town in Norway (1718).

The power of Sweden broken at Poltava

Sweden's outlying provinces mostly lost

From this disaster there could be no recovery. The resources of Sweden were exhausted, and some of her enemies had become far greater than she. In 1709 Denmark and Saxony again joined Russia. The allies entered Swedish Pomerania and conquered all that country. Next year the tsar continued his progress along the eastern Baltic, and Riga was captured. Russia was temporarily distracted by war with the Turks, among whom Charles had found refuge, but the fortunes of Sweden continued to decline. In 1715, Charles having returned to his kingdom, Prussia now joined his foes, and presently Hanover also. In 1716 all the remaining possessions of Sweden in Germany had been conquered.

Charles was succeeded by his sister, Ulrica Eleonora

(1718–1720). Two years later her husband was crowned as reigning king, Frederick I (1720–1751). By great disasters the monarchy had already been shaken to its foundations. In 1719 an assembly of the Swedish estates declared the monarchy elective, and gave all real power to an oligarchy of nobles. Meanwhile, it was necessary to make peace on the best terms that could be got. By the Treaty of Stockholm (1719) Sweden ceded to Hanover the territories of Bremen and Verden. In return Great Britain engaged to support Sweden against Denmark and Russia. By a treaty with Prussia Sweden abandoned most of her province of Pomerania. The remainder had been conquered by Denmark, but Denmark was compelled to restore it by the Treaty of Stockholm (1720). Finally, after many further disasters, peace was procured with Russia. By the Treaty of Nystad (1721) Russia restored to Sweden Finland and a small part of Carelia adjacent. All the other provinces which Peter the Great had conquered in the past few years Russia retained—most of Carelia, Ingria, Esthonia, and Livonia. Sweden, utterly weakened, held beyond her own frontiers only a portion of Pomerania and all of the country of the Finns.

The government of Sweden reverts to an oligarchy

Sweden forced to surrender most of her outlying dominions

Thereafter Sweden had no great part in European affairs. From her northern situation she merely looked on at events to the south. When the War of the Austrian Succession broke out France urged Sweden to attack Russia and so divert a portion of her forces. The Swedes hoped to recover the provinces they had held at the beginning of the century. But the Swedish oligarchy, still in control of the country, managed the war with complete incapacity, and again the Russians conquered Finland. In 1743, by the Treaty of Abo, Russia restored most of her conquests, but kept the southern portion of Finland. During the rest of the eighteenth century Sweden retained the small remnant of her outlying possessions—a portion of Pomerania and most of Finland. These she continued

Sweden no longer important

Continues to hold most of Finland

to hold until the period of the Napoleonic wars at the beginning of the century succeeding.

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CHAPTER XXI

POLAND AND RUSSIA

The present violent dismemberment and partition of Poland, without the pretence of war, or even the color of right, is to be considered as the first very great breach in the modern political system of Europe.

The Annual Register for the Year 1772, p. 2.

A Knight ther was, and that a worthy man,
That fro the tyme that he first bigan
To ryden out, he loved chivalrye,
. . .
And therto hadde he riden (no man ferre)
As wel in Cristendom as hethenesse,
. . .
At Alisaundre he was, whan it was wonne;
Ful ofte tyme he hadde the bord bigonne
Aboven alle naciouns in Pruce.
In Lettow hadde he reysed and in Ruce,
No Cristen man so ofte of his degree.

CHAUCER, *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales* (1386).

The Labours of the ablest Politicians to distribute Power & Influence with an equal Hand, during the Five Years which preceded the Conclusion of the Peace of Munster, have, long since, lost their Efficacy.

The Revolution in the relative Strength of many of the Great Powers which took Place immediately after that Period, & the introducing into the Political Scale . . . of Russia, has rendered these Principles so obsolete that they are no longer applicable to the Interests of the present Times. . .

Despatch of SIR JAMES HARRIS, British Minister at The Hague, February 1, 1785.

South Slavs

DURING the past thousand years half Europe has been occupied by Slavic peoples. Much of that time their part in affairs has not been very important. The South Slavs were conspicuous early in the Middle Ages, conquer-

ing the Balkan country and threatening the Byzantine Empire; but before they had developed their culture and achieved any greater destiny, the Turkish deluge rushed over, and for centuries they remained in subjection.

West Slavs

Above the Danube, beyond the Hungarian nation, the West Slavs—Bohemians and Poles—long took important part in the matters about them. During the Middle Ages there was a time when great Czechish kings built up a flourishing kingdom, that reached down beside the German lands to a seacoast on the Adriatic. Even in decline Bohemia was important in the history of the German peoples, her king an elector in their empire. Later, to the east, the Poles developed their power. For some time after the Renaissance and the Reformation they were the principal representatives of the Slavic race. Against the Turks they were long an important bulwark. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Polish leaders constructed a powerful state, in contact with western civilization, and the Polish people seemed to have large future before them. It was gradually apparent, however, that internal difficulties, which had long beset other peoples of Europe also, would not be surmounted in Poland. During the eighteenth century anarchy and weakness continued after they had been mastered in states near by, and presently Poland fell a victim to strong and rapacious neighbors.

The North Slavs

Most of this time the principal body of the Slavic people, the North Slavs of the Russian plain, had remained uncivilized, unimportant, little known, separated by far distances from the older civilizations west. Down to the sixteenth century most people in England and in France were scarcely aware of the existence of the Slavs of Muscovy and of Kiev; nor was it until the eighteenth century that Russia became an important European power. Then her rise was rapid, and no large diplomatic calculation could be made without Russia as one of the factors.

In the tenth century about Gnesen, in what was after-

37. TO ILLUSTRATE THE HISTORY OF POLAND

Earlier history of Poland

ward Posen, there was a Polish duchy, vassal to the German emperor. Here were laid the foundations of Polish power, and later on it was at Gnesen that Polish kings were crowned, until the early part of the fourteenth century. To Otto the Great, as emperor, the duke of Poland did homage, just as did the duke of Bohemia. Presently, however, the rulers of the Poles styled themselves kings, extended their domains, and considerably increased their power. In the eleventh century came a period of decline. Poland was less strong than the Duchy of Bohemia, to which it yielded Silesia (1163). In the latter part of the twelfth century Casimir II (1177–1194) organized the Polish senate or assembly, which he made to consist of ecclesiastics and nobles, and also promulgated ordinances for the protection of the peasants, the great mass of the people, against the nobles. There were many vicissitudes, with much weakness and frequent confusion. Frederick Barbarossa forced the king of Poland to resume his allegiance to the empire.

Bohemia more important than Poland

Casimir the great

Poland entered upon its medieval greatness in the reign of Casimir III the Great (1333–1370). The kingdom had already been extended, so that by Casimir's time it consisted of Great Poland, the older, western portion, and Little Poland, embracing more recent acquisitions to the east and southeast, country afterward contained in Russia and a portion of Galicia. Since 1320, also, the capital, formerly at Gnesen, had been at Cracow to the southwest. For the two divisions of his kingdom Casimir promulgated a double code of laws (1347). Casimir extended further his dominion by conquests westward in Silesia again, and to the east from Lithuania in the Galician district known as Red Russia, in Podolia, and in Volhynia. At his death ended the dynasty of Piast kings who had hitherto reigned over Poland.

Cracow the capital

Casimir had no children of his own. He had desired, accordingly, to leave his crown to Louis, the son of his

sister, married to the king of Hungary. He had summoned an assembly of the nobles at Cracow, and from them procured consent. Hence, for a short time, the kingdoms of Hungary and of Poland were united under the same sovereign (1370–82). But the union of two such dissimilar peoples, each one so large and so powerful, could not be permanent, and brought no accession of strength to either. On the other hand, at this time the Polish nobles, like the principal German vassals shortly before, gained definitively the right to elect their ruler. The system of electing the king at each accession, long discarded in the western countries, but continued in the empire, in Hungary, in Bohemia—in each one of them a source of a great deal of weakness and danger—was thenceforth fastened upon Poland. There it afterward brought weakness beyond what prevailed in any other country of Europe.

Temporary union of Hungary and Poland

The kingship weak and elective

In Poland the feudal system of the west, with its hierarchy of nobles—lesser vassals holding of greater, and they of the sovereign—had not developed. The Polish nobles were all equal in rank, and in theory had the same rights and privileges. They constituted an aristocracy, supported by the great body of the Polish people, the peasant serfs. Over them was a king, whom they chose, and to whom they left little power. At his accession Louis was compelled to exempt them from all taxes, and generally each election of a king afterward was made on condition of privileges and concessions to the nobles that made it impossible for the monarchy to develop any strong central rule. The kings of Poland continued beset by difficulties far greater than those which the kings of France were gradually overcoming, greater even than those which the rulers of the Holy Roman Empire were never able to surmount. Because of great personal ability or because of circumstances accidental there were from time to time kings of Poland who had no little power and

The Polish nobles

No strong central government developed

importance. Generally, however, Poland remained an aristocratic republic, ruled by numerous local lords, without any strong central control.

Jagello of Lithuania

On the death of Louis the Polish assembly chose his daughter queen. She married Jagello, who had become grand duke of Lithuania (1381). Shortly after he was made king of Poland as Wladislaw (Ladislaus) II (1386–1434). With him began the Jagellon dynasty, that ruled Poland until 1572. In his reign also began the connection between Lithuania and Poland.

Lithuania

At the end of the fourteenth century the Kingdom of Poland extended from Brandenburg and the Silesian frontier of Bohemia on the west, below Prussia on the north, and above Hungary and Moldavia on the south, to Lithuania on the north and the east. About Vilna, in the western part of the great plain of eastern Europe, had grown up during the thirteenth century another large inland dominion. Its inhabitants were the Lithuanians—deemed by ethnologists a separate branch of the Indo-European people, but very closely related to the Slavs—and the so-called White Russians, a branch of the East Slavic people. During the fourteenth century the power and extent of Lithuania greatly increased. Eastward its sway was pushed until the city of Kiev was acquired, and recently the Mongols had been driven from the lower stretches of the Dnieper (1368). United with Poland in 1386, it remained none the less under its local prince. It continued to extend its boundaries until it reached nearly to the Baltic Sea on the north and near to the Black Sea on the south. Later on it was to be finally united with Poland (1501), and by the assembly or diet of Lublin (1569) the union would be drawn closer. After the accession of Jagello, accordingly, the fortunes of Poland and Lithuania followed much the same course; and it was because of the acquisition of Lithuania that Poland now became such an extensive kingdom.

Union of Lithuania and Poland

This union was more lasting and successful than that of Poland and Hungary had been. Yet Poles and Lithuanians were in many respects so dissimilar and the stretches of their country so vast, that the kings of Poland would never succeed in consolidating the two peoples into one strong state. Lithuania was far remote from the civilization of western Europe. Not until the period of Jagello was Christianity introduced there, and he himself was a convert. The Lithuanians, like the Poles, accepted the Christianity of Rome. The White Russians, in common with the other East Slavs and North Slavs, as well as the South Slavs, had been converted to the Eastern Church.

Lithuania remote from western Europe

Meanwhile, the power of Poland was extended to the north. Along the eastern Baltic the Teutonic Knights had been conquering the country of the heathen Borussi. With the Knights of Prussia Poland now came into conflict. In 1410 Jagello completely overthrew them at Tannenberg, memorable five hundred years later for a more terrible defeat of Russians by Germans. By the Peace of Thorn (1411) the king of Poland restored most of his conquests, but the power of the Teutonic Order was broken.

Poland defeats the Teutonic Knights

Hitherto the greatness of the order had come largely from the hosts of Crusaders who wished to make war on the heathen and conquer lands for the Christian faith. Now the Lithuanians had accepted Christianity. Moreover, the greatness of the order had been possible largely because of contests between Lithuanians and Poles. United now they possessed immensely superior strength. So the fortune of the Teutonic Knights steadily diminished. Half a century later, when the country was torn by civil dissensions, the Poles attempted conquest again. Marienburg, the principal stronghold, was captured, and all resistance was soon overcome. By the second Treaty of Thorn (1466) all of West Prussia was ceded to Poland, which now obtained an outlet on the Baltic, while East

Waning power of the Teutonic Order

West Prussia annexed to Poland

Prussia, though left to the knights, was to be held by their head as a fief of the Kingdom of Poland. Meanwhile, under Ladislaus III (1434–1444), Hungary and Poland had again been united for some years (1440–4). When Ladislaus perished at Varna in battle with the Turks (1444), this union, like the one before it, came to an end.

Poland maintains itself against the Turks

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, Poland was one of the important European states. Hungary and Poland were now the principal obstacles to the northward advance of the Turks. When, after the Battle of Mohács (1526), most of Hungary was conquered by the Turks, and the rest joined to the Hapsburg dominions, Poland maintained independence, and resisted the Ottoman power. Under Sigismund I (1506–1548), the country was ably governed, and successful wars were waged with peoples to the east. Under his son, Sigismund II (1548–1572), Lithuania, including its southern district, the Ukraine, was closely united with Poland (1569). He also extended his dominions northward by making Courland a fief of Poland (1562). This country, beyond Prussia, on the Baltic, was mostly peopled by the Letts, closely related to the Lithuanian people. In the thirteenth century it had been conquered by the Teutonic Order. Somewhat later, more of the country of the Letts was acquired by Poland when Livonia, northeast of Courland, was annexed (1582). Thus Poland obtained a considerable seacoast on the Baltic.

Closer union with Lithuania

Henry of Valois elected king of Poland, 1573

Sigismund's death was followed by much confusion. For the throne there were several aspirants, including a son of the emperor, a son of the king of France, a son of the king of Sweden, and a son of the Muscovite tsar. Choice presently inclined toward Henry of Valois, the French prince. He was required to subscribe an agreement or capitulation (*Pacta Conventa*), by which, as was usual, the royal power was much circumscribed, and the independence of the nobles enhanced. Then some 30,000 mounted

Polish nobles assembled near Warsaw, and chose him for king. The embassy that appeared a little later to escort the new sovereign to Poland astonished the citizens of Paris by costly furs and rich jewels, their long beards, and half-oriental appearance. Henry ruled his dominion only a short time (1573–4). On the death of his brother, Charles IX, he became king of France, and escaping gladly from Poland, returned to rule France as Henry III (1574–1589). Stephen Báthori, prince of Transylvania, was next elected king of Poland (1575–1586). On his death, Sigismund III, of the Swedish house of Vasa, was chosen (1587–1632). Through him the affairs of Poland and of Sweden became entangled, a connection fraught with much woe to both in the end.

Deserts his Polish subjects

Meanwhile, the Reformation had spread eastward from the German lands and Bohemia into Poland. Lutherans got control of the government of Danzig in 1525. Polish Prussia, Courland, and Livonia became entirely Lutheran. For a time some of the most important leaders favored Lutheranism, and the Reformation spread especially among the nobles. In vain the king of Poland strove to arrest the extension of the new doctrines. It was in vain also that the Catholic clergy tried to stamp out the heresy. Numerous acts of their synods were disregarded; the ecclesiastical courts were powerless; and the nobles, sheltered behind immunities and privileges, defied both church and king. In the time of Sigismund II, it seemed that Poland had been definitively won for the Reformation.

The Reformation in Poland

The very conditions that procured success for the Reformation in Poland presently helped to bring its downfall. The numerous nobles of Poland were able to disregard the weak central government. Each one accepted the form of Protestantism that pleased him best. So, Polish Protestants were soon divided into various sects, with no strong organization binding them together.

Failure of Protestantism in Poland

By 1560 they had nearly complete religious freedom, but they had utterly failed to unite. Probably the mass of the people had been little considered or affected, so that the Reformation had rather captured the upper class than taken root in the nation. Accordingly, when the Counter-Reformation began, Poland was soon won back to the older faith. A Jesuit college was established in 1569. During the reign of Sigismund III Vasa, the Catholic recovery proceeded apace, and its triumph was complete by 1587. Lutheran and Calvinist minorities did persist, but by the end of the sixteenth century Poland was Catholic again.

Success of the Counter-Reformation

During the seventeenth century Poland declined relatively. For a long time she continued to retain most of her territories; and her nobles, as before, fought very bravely in war. Yet her central government remained weak, while in Austria, in Brandenburg, and in Russia strong central authority was developed, so that Poland's neighbors were becoming much more powerful about her. For some time these neighbors were occupied in consolidation of their own resources or else they were busy with projects at a distance; but for Poland the time of immunity soon departed.

The neighbors of Poland become stronger

John II Casimir (1648–1668), of the Swedish Vasa house, protested when the crown of Sweden was bestowed on Charles X. That warlike sovereign, who greatly desired Poland's Baltic possessions, declared war, and in rapid campaign conquered Poland almost completely (1655). The year previous, the Cossacks of Lithuania, for some years in revolt against the Polish government, had put themselves under protection of Muscovy's tsar, and the Russians coming to their assistance, had now overrun all the outlying eastern possessions of Poland. In this extremity, to procure the assistance of Brandenburg, Poland renounced suzerainty over East Prussia (1657), of which thenceforth the elector of Brandenburg was sovereign duke. After some years the struggle was

Poland loses part of Livonia to Sweden

Renounces suzerainty over East Prussia

brought to an end. By the Treaty of Oliva (1660) Poland ceded to Sweden all Livonia north of the Dwina. After a long struggle, by the Treaty of Andrussov (1667), Poland ceded to the Muscovites her easternmost possessions—Smolensk, Kiev, and eastern Ukraine. By this treaty Poland lost nearly a quarter of her dominions, and her eastern frontier was now drawn back to the Dnieper. These disasters were very much greater than any she had ever suffered from the Turks.

Cedes her eastern provinces to Russia

Once more Poland played a great part in the history of Europe. In the reign of John III Sobieski (1674–1696), the Turks, reviving their power and making their last strong effort northward against Christian Europe, advanced up the valley of the Danube and presently laid siege to Vienna (1683). The empire was weak; the Austrian armies unprepared; for a while the progress of the Ottomans was unimpeded; and Vienna seemed about to be captured. A call for succor went out to all Christian powers near by. To this appeal the king of Poland responded. The army that he led joined German forces coming to the city's relief. He took part in the assault on the Turkish camp and the rout of the Ottomans that followed. For the last time Poland's renown was spread around over Europe.

John Sobieski helps to save Vienna

The decline was not to be arrested, however. It proved impossible to strengthen the Polish government; and without that no adequate improvement could be made. Poland was, substantially, a republic. Central government, so far as central government existed, was vested in a king, who had almost no power, assisted by a council or senate and the Polish diet. In some countries of western Europe hereditary kings had gradually built up strong monarchy by resolute pursuing of strong policy and generally governing well. In Poland not only was the kingship elective, but it came to be stipulated that no successor should be chosen during the life of any king. Usually the

Poland an oligarchic republic

electors insisted that the king about to be chosen should agree to capitulations. Frequently candidates were willing to ruin the financial resources of the crown and barter away all of its power. The king was leader of the Polish army and he appointed the principal ministers and officials, but he had no adequate standing army to maintain order and enforce his decrees. His government was not supported by sufficient revenue. He could impose no taxation. Practically he had no power to make ordinances or laws. The foremost officers of state, such as the grand chancellor—at the head of the judicial system and administration of the law, the grand treasurer—who presided over the finances, and the grand marshal—who superintended executive affairs, were responsible to the diet, not to the king, and often they were not much influenced by him. In Poland the king was important only when he was a man of very great ability and vigor.

The king left without any power

In Poland political power was vested in the nobles who, in effect, constituted the state. In the eighteenth century, of the 9,000,000 inhabitants—which included some 6,000,000 serfs, 1,000,000 Jews, 600,000 clergy, and 50,000 inhabitants of towns—the nobility were estimated at 1,350,000. Within the noble class there were several ranks or divisions. First, the great nobles, the princely families, those with possessions wide and revenues large. They maintained their own troops or retainers, and carried on private warfare at will. Next, the principal officials and ecclesiastics. Thirdly, the lesser officials in church and in state. Fourthly, most numerous of all, the minor nobles or gentry (*szlachta*), without official position and without much property, for a long time largely dependent on the greater nobles above them. This nobility possessed the immunities and freedom held by feudal lords in western Europe before strong central authority appeared. In their own jurisdictions they were virtually sovereign, and the Polish state was in reality a confederation or republic

Classes of the nobility

of nobles, bound together, in so far as they were united, more by common language and customs than any political institutions. The nobles had the right to form unions, which raised armed forces to decide differences by fighting.

The Polish diet

The principal functions of the government were vested in the senate and in the diet (*sejm*), composed of or controlled by the nobles. The senate consisted of the bishops and the principal judges and executive officials. Originally all the adult nobility had the right to attend the diet, but after 1466 that body was composed merely of delegates elected in the provincial assemblies of the nobles. The delegates were chosen only by the noble class, for not only were the serfs, as elsewhere, utterly excluded from government, but the citizens of the towns, while personally free, had no part and were not permitted to hold public office. The diet made the laws, took some part in executive affairs, and elected the king. Actually, the diet could seldom accomplish much, since unanimity was required for decision, and a single member, exercising his privilege of *liberum veto* (free negative), might forbid any action.

Liberum veto

Poland very backward in political organization

At the beginning of the eighteenth century here was a country, scarcely a state, with some of the worst characteristics of medieval jurisdictions in other parts of Europe centuries before. In 1700 the king of Poland had less power than the king of France had had in 1200, and the Polish central government was less well organized under Augustus II (1697–1704) than the government of England had been under Henry II (1154–1189). The Italians and the Germans had failed to erect great states uniting under capable governments all Italians and all Germans. Their failures had been less grievous, however, for in Italy had arisen substantial states such as the papal country and Sardinia, and in the German lands among numerous jurisdictions one great power, Austria, had arisen, and Prussia also was about to take her place among im-

portant powers. In Poland, with wide area and large population, no strong jurisdictions had been able to arise. The parts were weak; the whole was weaker. There was no effective government, and apparently no tendency whatever to develop one. There was little revenue, no navy, an army small, undisciplined, and unpaid, there were no fortresses, no arsenals, no ambassadors at foreign courts. It almost seemed that the Poles, so strikingly endowed with courage, with imagination, and with brilliant qualities of mind, were deficient in political genius. The tendency toward weakness and disorganization increased rather than diminished. Catholicism had been restored, but various bodies of Calvinists and of Lutherans continued to exist in the country, with the Jesuits and more fervent Catholics constantly endeavoring to subvert them. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the *szlachta* had gained control of the diet, and were ever trying to assert themselves against greater nobles and other classes in the realm. In Poland class divisions and local separatism were as much a detriment as tribalism had been in Ireland.

The Poles seemed defective in political genius

Poland was unfortunate in geographical position. The British Isles seemed to form a natural unit. In Spain and in France powerful monarchies had been built up inside of well-marked frontiers. Poland extended far over a portion of the great plain of eastern Europe, and most of her boundaries were no more than rivers easily crossed. Within these boundaries were various groups of people, many Russians and Letts, as well as Poles. To hold them all in one permanent union was a task almost as great as that which confronted the Hapsburg rulers of the Austrian dominions. As things then were it could only be done by a strong, capable government above and by military force and might.

Heterogeneous population without strong frontiers

Poland's territories were coming to be more and more coveted by rising neighbors. She had risen to greatness

38. THE PARTITIONS OF POLAND

Covetous neighbors about her

when she had no strong rivals whose interests vitally conflicted with hers. During the seventeenth century her territories were coveted by Sweden. During the eighteenth they were eagerly desired by Russia and by Prussia. During the eighteenth century Russia constantly sought to expand to the west, obtain good outlets in the north and south, and reach the frontiers of the states of central Europe. This could only be done by expansion at the expense of Sweden and of Poland. Meanwhile, Prussia desired to unite her dominions of Brandenburg and East Prussia by acquiring from Poland West Prussia lying in between. To keep her possessions Poland would have to be strong enough to defend them.

Poland again conquered by Sweden

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Poland was again involved in a ruinous war with Sweden. Had it been possible for these two powers to unite against Russia, their common foe, it would have been greatly to their interest to do so. Instead, they wasted their strength in mutual conflict, while Russia took advantage of both. When Charles XII of Sweden came to the throne in 1697, Augustus II, king of Poland, who was also elector of Saxony, taking advantage of the Swedish monarch's inexperience and youth, resolved to seize the part of Livonia that Poland had been compelled to cede to Sweden in 1660. Accordingly, he made a combination with Denmark and Russia to attack the Swedish possessions. Charles XII at once forced Denmark to withdraw from the war (1700), and then defeating the Russians (1700), overran Poland, and deposed its king (1700–4). A Polish nobleman, Stanislaus Leszczynski was now put on the throne (1704–1709).

Stanislaus Leszczynski

Stanislaus, who owed his crown largely to the interposition of Charles, was unacceptable to many of the Poles. After the overthrow of Charles in Russia, Stanislaus was deposed, and Augustus II was restored (1709–1733). During his period the decline of Poland continued, and

Russia having conquered from Charles XII the Baltic provinces of Sweden awaited now an opportunity to take the eastern portion of Poland also. During this time, indeed, the probable dissolution of Poland and the prospective disposition of her lands became a great diplomatic question in Europe, much as the affairs of Spain had been a generation before. Actually, the death of Augustus was followed by a general European war.

Continued weakness and decline of Poland

Louis XV of France had married the daughter of Stanislaus Leszczynski, who held the Polish throne a short time. Now, on the death of Augustus II, France supported the claim of Stanislaus again. This she did partly because of his relationship to the queen of France, but mostly to uphold the prestige of France in eastern Europe and oppose the designs of the House of Hapsburg. Austria and Prussia supported the son of Augustus. From this came the War of the Polish Succession (1733–8), fought between Austria and Russia on the one side and France, Spain, and Sardinia on the other. In the west France and Spain were successful, and in Italy Austria suffered considerable losses. Stanislaus was restored for a moment (1733–4). Generally, however, in Poland, Russia and Austria carried all before them. France tried to rouse Turkey to fall upon Russia, and a diversion by the Turks in Poland might have had decisive results. The Turks moved very slowly, however, and Danzig, where Stanislaus had taken refuge, was captured by the Russians. In Poland, therefore, the eastern allies were completely triumphant. By the Peace of Vienna (1738) the new elector of Saxony was put on the throne, Augustus III (1734–1763). The influence and power of Russia in Poland became now constantly greater.

The War of the Polish Succession, 1733–8

Russian influence increases in Poland

On the death of Augustus III Poland fell into complete anarchy and confusion. The country was rent by the struggle of two principal factions. Foreign influence was more important than any domestic consideration, and the

Russia dominates Poland

influence and machinations of Russia became the principal force. Catharine II, who was planning Russian expansion at the expense of the Poles and the Turks, determined that the Polish crown should be given to a Polish noble, Count Stanislaus Poniatowski, previously a favorite of hers. By the Treaty of St. Petersburg (1764) Russia and Prussia agreed upon a common policy with respect to Poland. That year the Russian candidate became king, Stanislaus II Poniatowski (1764–1795), destined to be the last king of independent Poland. In their treaty Russia and Prussia had agreed, for their own ends, to perpetuate anarchy in Poland. The constitution of the country was now changed to make it weaker, if possible, than before.

Russia and Prussia agree about Poland

Stanislaus was weak, utterly unable to confront the difficulties increasing in his kingdom. Confusion, as Poland's enemies had intended, became worse and worse. The Poles could not protect themselves, and conditions in their country seemed more and more of a trouble to neighboring powers. The end came quickly now. In 1772 Austria, fearing to receive nothing while her rivals obtained great increase, joined Russia and Prussia in a scheme to deprive Poland of all her outlying lands. Maria Theresa is said to have wept when she gave her consent, but Catharine II was determined to proceed, and Frederick the Great cared nothing for Polish independence and wished to obtain West Prussia. In 1773 the Poles were forced to agree to the spoliation of their country. Russia received all Polish territory east of the Dnieper and the Dwina rivers. Austria acquired Galicia. Most of West Prussia was given to Prussia.

The First Partition of Poland, 1772

A diminished Poland lingered on a little, but extinction was not for a great while postponed. In 1793 Russia and Prussia proceeded to appropriate more of the Polish spoils. In this second partition Russia took the remainder of what had once been Lithuania and something beyond, while Prussia acquired most of Posen and some of old

Second and Third Partitions, 1793, 1795

Poland proper. Two years later, Austria, Prussia, and Russia agreed to divide what was left. Prussia took most of the rest of old Poland, including Warsaw, now the capital. Austria received certain districts to the south. All the remainder went to Russia. Thus Poland, which had at times in the past performed great services for Europe and often had moments of glory, came to its end. Shortly after, a part would be revived under the protection of Napoleon, but this Grand Duchy of Warsaw would fall when Napoleon was defeated, and the annihilation of Poland would then be confirmed. After that time, for a century, there would seem no prospect even that the independence of Poland would ever be restored.

Extinction of the Polish state

Poland's ruin was accomplished largely by Russia, who profited most. Only recently had Russia become an important power. For a long time she had been far less than Poland, for some centuries foremost among Slavic states. When in the fifteenth century the Poles were overwhelming the Teutonic Order in Prussia, Muscovy, far off in the endless stretches of the east, was nearly unknown. To western Europe the eastern half was an area vast and dim, its people remote and strange.

Russia

To the ancients the country north of the Euxine (Black) Sea was little known. There were Greek colonies along the north shore and in the Crimea, but the country above was visited only by traders and a few travellers, who brought back strange reports. This land was Sarmatia or Scythia, and one of the best stories that Herodotus tells concerns the strange terror that its inhabitants inspired in the Persians. To the Romans these districts lay beyond the pale of civilization. To the Byzantines afterward the vast wilderness, peopled by rude inhabitants, afforded certain materials to be got by barter. From time to time out of this country came hordes of barbarians who moved down upon the empire, to be absorbed or destroyed, or else made havoc and conquest.

Eastern Europe in earlier times

Successive hordes of barbarians

From the unknown stretches of this eastern country at different times came the Goths, the Huns, the Avars, the Bulgars, the Magyars, and various others. In the early Middle Ages, while the Byzantine Empire, now the center of European culture, was being threatened by advance of the Saracens from the south, it was constantly threatened with destruction by barbarous hordes coming down the Black Sea or by land through the Balkan peninsula.

Part of the Slavic country called Russia

During the ninth century certain Scandinavian warriors, who had ravaged the southern coasts of the Baltic, and then penetrated southward through the great plain, established their dominion over Slavic people. To themselves these Northmen were known as Varangians (confederates). It is believed that these Swedes appeared to the Finns as vikings or seafarers (*rothsmen*, rowers) and were by them called *Ruotsi*. They and the people over whom they ruled soon pressed southward against the Byzantines, and presently threatened Constantinople itself (866). By Greek writers the *Ruotsi* were called Ῥῶσοι—*Rus*, or Russians. Later on their country was known as *Russia* (Ῥῶσια, *Rossiya*). From this district, about the upper Dnieper, in what was long afterward the western part of European Russia, the name *Russia* afterward spread in course of time, as the Slavs of Muscovy extended their empire.

Novgorod and Kiev

In 862 Rurik, leader of the Varangians, afterward regarded as the founder of Russia, came to Novgorod not far below where St. Petersburg was a long time afterward to rise. As prince of Novgorod he built up an extensive domain round about, and founded a dynasty of Russian rulers that continued until the end of the sixteenth century (1598). Later in the ninth century Kiev, far to the south, on the Dnieper, became the center of the Varangian state. This dominion was enlarged at the expense of neighboring peoples, and the Russians were dreaded in Constantinople, which they threatened again in 941.

The Russians accept the Eastern Christianity

During the time of the Prince Vladimir (980–1015) the Russians began to accept the Eastern or Orthodox Christianity, by missionaries brought up from the Eastern Roman Empire. Among them some elements of the older European civilization were now introduced. In the time of Yaroslav (1015–1054), son of Vladimir, and himself grand prince of Kiev, the bounds were largely extended. Tribal spirit was still strong, however, and cohesion depended rather on the strength of the ruler than any bonds of national feeling. On the death of Yaroslav the Russian domain was broken into fragments. There were now several Russian principalities, among which for some time the grand principality of Kiev had a certain overlordship.

Slavic culture and organization

Among these Russian Slavs were many of the primitive forms of organization seen in western Europe then and in earlier times. As the Germans of the period of Tacitus and the Anglo-Saxons of the time of Alfred were organized in village communities, so were the Russian Slavs in their villages or *mirs*. In the *mirs*, as in western village communities and medieval manors, most of the land was held and worked in common. The people were ruled, especially in time of war, by princes, with power much like that which an English or a Spanish king had then, and the ruler was assisted by a council of the principal men of his dominion much like the Witan of England before the Norman Conquest. Most of the people were peasants supported by rude agriculture. The art of writing was taken from the Byzantine people, so that the Russian alphabet was based upon that of the Greeks. Some of the numerous letters of the Russian alphabet were taken from the Greek unchanged, others were modified, while certain new characters were added.

Characters of the Russian alphabet

The Mongol conquest

Such political development as might have come was presently checked by a terrible invasion from the east. Early in the thirteenth century the Mongols or Turks of the central Asian highlands suddenly threatened the world.

Under Jenghiz Khan and others, eastward they overwhelmed the Empire of China and threatened the islands of Japan. Westward they went to the bounds of Asia, then over the mountains across the east plain of Europe until they halted in Silesia at last. During the course of this advance they overthrew nearly all of the Slavic states and the various peoples in the south. So, during the first half of the thirteenth century Russians and Poles went down in common subjection. By 1240 nearly all the Russian principalities were conquered.

Russian principalities subject to the Mongols

When the Mongols met with resistance, all their opponents were overwhelmed in hideous slaughter. In their triumph they subjected those whom they reached to a grinding tyranny, and often heaped degradation upon them. The Mongols, however, though irresistible in war and unexcelled as nomad horsemen, had usually little ability for political construction. Their huge empires were rapidly built, then as rapidly they fell into pieces. They conquered the Russian country completely, and ended all resistance; but they could not build up a great Mongol state, nor even a state with Slavic population ruled by Mongol lords. The center of their power they established at Seraï on the Volga, east of where the Russian states had earlier begun to arise. From Seraï they tried to hold subject the Russians whom they had conquered; but they could never build up any permanently effective organization to do this. For the most part, the Russian Slavs held to their own laws and customs, under the rule of their Slavic princes, who acknowledged the lordship of the Great Khan on the Volga, paid tribute and furnished soldiers to serve in the Mongol armies.

The Great Khan

Moscow

During this period of subjection to the Mongols, a new Russian jurisdiction or principality rose in importance. About the middle of the twelfth century the town of Moscow had been founded nearer the center of the Russian plain. For some time it was much less important than

older cities like Kiev and Novgorod. About the end of the thirteenth century the principality of Moscow grew up around it. For some time its fortunes wavered, and future greatness could not be foreseen. In 1319 the principality was united with a larger domain, the grand principality of Vladimir. At one time in the fourteenth century Moscow was captured and burned by Lithuanians and Tartars. Ivan (John) I, ruler of Vladimir and Moscow, made the city the capital of all his dominions. Its prosperity grew and its power increased. Presently one of the princes of Muscovy assumed the title of "grand prince of all the Russias." This destiny was, indeed, to come to its rulers.

Union of Muscovy and Vladimir

Vasili (Basil), grand prince of Moscow and Vladimir (1389–1425), acquired Suzdal, Murom, Vologda, and other districts, extending his dominions well to the east and northeast. These territories, and others later, contained Slavs and also non-Slavic peoples. Ivan III, surnamed the Great, grand duke of Moscow (1462–1505), acquired Perm—some distance to the east (1472), Novgorod to the north (1478), Tver (1482), and Vyatka, to the east (1489), while to the west from the Lithuanians he made still other acquisitions. Thus in the central and eastern parts of the great plain was built up an extensive dominion. Furthermore, in 1480 he freed himself from the lordship of the Tartars (Mongols). Muscovy was now a considerable state. Vasili IV (1505–1533) took Pskov—to the west (1510), bringing his frontier in this direction not very far from the Gulf of Riga and Ryazan—to the south (1521).

Ivan the Great

Muscovy greatly enlarged

This progress was continued under Ivan IV, the Terrible (1533–1584). He annexed Kazan—to the east (1552), and Astrakhan (1554), extending now the frontier of Muscovy far down to the southeast toward the Caspian Sea. In eastern Europe the rulers of Muscovy had constructed a great Slavic state, which had been extended from the

Ivan the Terrible

Muscovite dominion extended into Asia

environs of Moscow eastward to the verge of Europe. Under Ivan IV, Russian adventurers and pioneers crossed the low Ural Mountains into Asia, and began to conquer the tribes of the Sibir. By the end of his reign all western Siberia had been annexed, and the realm of the Muscovites extended from eastern Europe far across northern Asia. He also brought the Cossacks of the Don region under his protection, and the power of Moscow was thus taken still farther south in Europe. In 1547 Ivan had assumed the title of *tsar* of Russia. For ages the great rulers of Europe, remembering the might of the emperors of Rome, had been taking the title of *Cæsar*, which these emperors had borne. Rulers of the Holy Roman Empire had styled themselves *kaisers*, and from time to time the principal Russian rulers had been known as *tsars*. After the time of Ivan, the grand duke of Moscow called himself tsar of the Russias. In other lands he was often known as the tsar of Muscovy.

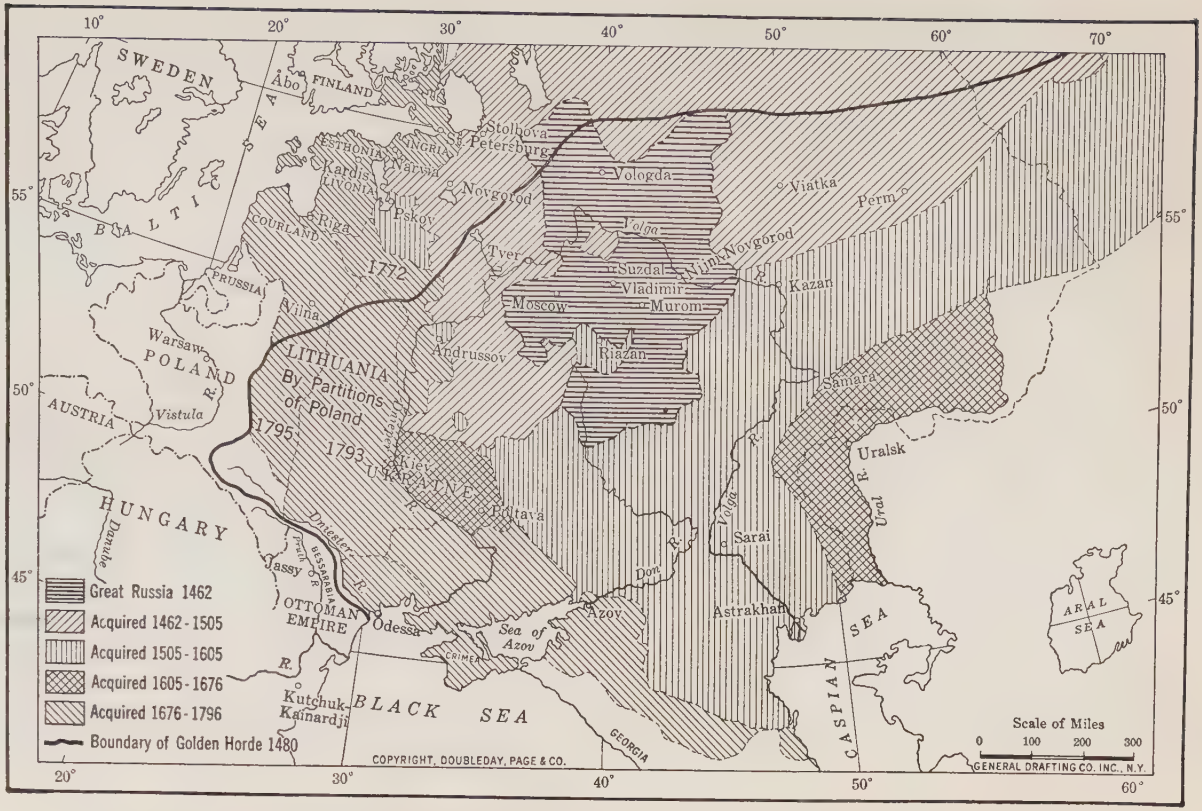
Cæsar, Kaiser, Tsar

Boris Godunov

On the death of Feodor (Theodore) I (1584–1598) the dynasty of Rurik came to an end. Feodor had been an imbecile, and during his reign Muscovy was administered by a regency, of which the chief member was the tsar's brother-in-law, Boris Godunov. He, having poisoned the *tsarevitch* or son of the tsar, was, on the death of Feodor, chosen tsar, and ruled Russia for some years after (1598–1605). The story of his career and his rise to power made a deep impression on contemporaries and in later generations. His deeds were the subject of a drama by the Spaniard, Lope de Vega, and afterward of a tragedy by the Russian writer, Pushkin, while they also inspired the music of the opera *Boris Godunov* by the Russian Moussorgsky.

Contact with Poland and with Sweden

On the death of Boris, during a period known as the Interregnum, Russian affairs fell into confusion. During this weakness of Muscovy both of her powerful neighbors, Sweden and Poland, strove to seize what they could.



39. GROWTH OF RUSSIA IN EUROPE. 15TH TO 18TH CENTURIES

During the long, slow rise of the Russian state, while the tsars were building up a great inland eastern dominion, Poland had been extended far eastward by union with Lithuania and Sweden, acquiring Finland on the eastern side of the Baltic, was trying to acquire territory southward, and win all the eastern shores of the Baltic. By the Treaty of Teusin (1595) between Muscovy and Sweden Russian claims upon Livonia on the Baltic, south of the Gulf of Finland, had been acquired by Sweden. Now on the death of Boris, when several candidates aspired to the Muscovite throne, Gustavus Adolphus, the able young king of Sweden, supported the pretensions of his own brother. The war that followed was ended victoriously for the Swedes by the Treaty of Stolbova (1617), by which Ingria and Carelia, at the inner end of the Gulf of Finland, and adjoining the Swedish possession of Esthonia, were yielded to Sweden. Muscovy was now deprived of all chance to have an outlet on the Baltic.

Sweden bars Muscovy from the Baltic

Meanwhile, the succession had been settled after a period of confusion, with the choosing of Michael (1613–1645), first of the dynasty of the Romanovs, who were destined to rule Russia thereafter until the end of the tsardom in 1917. In the time of his successor, Alexis (1645–1676), there was further great expansion of the domain of the tsars. Alexis was an able and ambitious prince. In his time began some of the changes afterward carried on more strikingly by Peter the Great. Foreign artisans were invited to Russia to instruct the Muscovites in western crafts, and some attempts were made to reorganize the Russian army like European armies in the west.

The House of Romanov, 1613–1917

Western civilization in Russia

Poland now fell into weakness and disaster such as Muscovy had experienced in the generation preceding. In 1648 her Cossack subjects in the Ukraine rose in revolt. They put themselves under the protection of the tsar, and Russia intervened. In the course of the struggle Poland

The weakness of Poland

became involved also in war with her neighbors to the west and the north. Of this situation Russia was able to take much advantage.

The Cossacks

North of the Black Sea, about the rivers that empty into that body of water, dwelt the Cossacks, rude horsemen who long lived a wild, free life in their tribal independence, and who were known to their neighbors from persistent marauding. Their origin is uncertain, but they were probably composed of the Tartars, who had long held these regions, mingled with refugees and outlaws from the Slavic districts to the north. In course of time the Cossacks lost their independence and became to some extent subordinate either to Muscovy or to Poland. In the sixteenth century, during the reign of Ivan the Terrible, the eastern or Don Cossacks came under the protection of Russia. They continued to live much as before, but ultimately their country was entirely absorbed by Russia.

The Ukraine

Farther west, the Cossacks in the Dnieper region had come under the domination of Lithuania and then of Poland. This country had long been known as the Ukraine (*Ukraina*, frontier or borderland), just as such a territory had often been known as a *mark* by Germans to the west. From having been governed by the grand duke of Lithuania, it came to be known as Little Russia, in distinction from Great Russia ruled by the Muscovite tsars. The Ukraine had been a frontier and debatable land between Poland expanding eastward and Russia expanding to the west. After long dispute, it had fallen to Poland.

Revolt of the Cossacks

The Cossacks of the Ukraine, conceiving themselves to be oppressed, now rose in revolt, and endeavored to escape Polish rule.

After some success, the Cossacks were completely reduced; but the tide was turned in 1654 when Alexis threw the power of Muscovy into the scale. The Russian army captured Smolensk and afterward Kiev, and soon all the Ukraine had been conquered. The power of Poland

Poland conquered by Sweden while Russia overruns Lithuania

was broken completely, for next year Charles X of Sweden invaded that country. In a short time all Lithuania was in the hands of the Russians, and nearly all of Poland in the hands of the Swedes. By the Treaty of Oliva, however, with Sweden in 1660, Poland bought peace from her principal antagonist by the cession of most of Livonia. Then turning upon Russia and the Cossacks, her army, led by a Polish noble, John Sobieski, destined to win greater fame against the Turks, regained much of what had been lost. None the less, by the Treaty of Andrussov (1667) the easternUkraine, together with Smolensk and Kiev, was yielded to Russia, whose frontier was now brought west to the Dnieper. During the course of this contest, while the Swedes and the Russians were tearing Poland to pieces, they came again into conflict with each other. Alexis conquered Ingria and a portion of Livonia, and seemed to have obtained an outlet on the Baltic; but at the Treaty of Kardis (1661) he was forced to relinquish these districts to Sweden.

The Treaty of Andrussov

Peter the Great

Alexis was succeeded for a brief time by his son, Feodor II (1676–1682), and he by his younger brother Ivan V (1682–1689). Ivan being weak and nearly blind and dumb reigned only nominally, and was associated with his half brother—the son of Alexis by a second marriage—Peter I, afterward known as the Great (1682–1725). In 1689 Peter became sole ruler of the Russian state, and with him the greatness and the modern history of Russia are usually conceived to begin. He had much strength of mind and body, and very high ability as ruler and statesman. He was strong, cruel, ruthless, bold, half a barbarian, but also very patient, ingenious, and wise. The work of his father, Alexis—the introducing of western European civilization into Russia, the expansion of her boundaries, and the seeking an outlet on the sea—was taken up by Peter and carried forward to high success. Hitherto remote and in European affairs mostly un-

His character

important, Russia was now made a European power and a powerful European state.

Russia hitherto remote from western Europe

During the seventeenth century Russia had become the largest state in Europe; but the vast stretches of her territory were remote and inland, far away from Europe's culture and nations. She looked rather toward Asia; many of her people had oriental traits of character and customs, and were traditionally more connected with Asia than Europe. Nowhere, save in the far north, had Russia outlet to the sea. During the reign of Ivan III (1462–1505) vast regions in the north had been taken, barren, untracked, almost unpeopled, but extending to the White Sea. This water was closed by the ice during part of the year, but it was Russia's sole outlet to the oceans of the world. By this route it was that the English navigator, Chancellor, came in 1553. Having coasted north of Lapland, he presently entered the White Sea, and landing at the mouth of the Dwina went southward five hundred leagues overland, until at last he arrived at Moscow and came to the court of the tsar. For the most part, however, Russia in the age of Elizabeth and Henry IV and Philip II was much less well known in western Europe than India or China or Peru.

An Englishman reaches Moscow by way of the White Sea

Peter introduces western civilization

For the power and the development which Peter wished his country to attain he prepared with much labor and many reforms. Shipwrights were brought to Russia, especially from Holland, and sailors and captains were engaged in Venice and other maritime cities. In 1693 Peter went to Archangel, his only port, where the first Russian merchant ship was now constructed. In 1696 and 1697 he travelled in the western lands—Germany, Austria, England, and the Netherlands, everywhere studying the best that these countries had to reveal. At Saardam in Holland he lived on the quay and worked as a laborer, learning about the construction of ships. Returning to his dominions, he at once attempted large and

Radical reforms made by a despot

radical reforms. With ruthless decision he forced those of his subjects whom he could influence to accept western dress, customs, and manners. His police cut off the ends of the long eastern cloaks of the men, and he ordered the women to give up the flowing garments that Slavic women had worn for so long. The men were bidden to shave off their long beards.

The Julian calendar introduced into Russia

Theretofore the new year had begun in Russia with September 1. Peter introduced the Julian calendar, formerly the standard in western Europe, and at that time still used in some western countries. The year 1700 was ordained to begin with January 1. This belated adoption of the Julian calendar, however, was destined long to keep the Russian year different from that in western Europe. During the sixteenth century the reformed, Gregorian calendar had been adopted in various countries. For some time certain other governments held to the less correct Julian calendar; but when in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they also adopted the Gregorian mode of reckoning, there were several days' difference between the calendar in Russia and that held in most other countries.

Abolition of the *streltsi*

In Muscovy the principal military force at the disposal of the tsar was the body of the *streltsi* (archers) or bodyguard of the tsar, which in the time of Peter the Great numbered some 20,000. In Muscovy at times they were as powerful as the Janissaries in the Ottoman Empire, and often they behaved with as much insubordination and wilfulness as the Pretorian Guard once in Rome. Following several insurrections, Peter abolished them completely in 1700. Thereupon he strove to form an army after the model of France and of the Prussian rulers. He also began the building of a Russian navy.

Russia secures Azov

Peter wished to extend his possessions to the south and the west until Russia had ample outlets on the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea. First an opening was secured

in the south. In 1696 Peter, having joined in the war of the Holy League against the Turks, captured Azov, at the mouth of the Don, on the Sea of Azov, which leads to the Black Sea. Six years later the porte ceded Azov to Russia.

War with Charles XII of Sweden

He now sought to obtain a port on the Baltic by friendly agreement with Sweden; but failing this, he joined Poland in attack on the Swedish possessions when the youthful Charles XII came to the throne. In 1700 his troops entered Livonia, and undertook the siege of Riga. For this invasion he soon paid dearly. The Swedish king delivered a series of lightning blows at the several members of the combination against him. Having quickly disposed of Denmark, he crossed the Baltic and at Narva in 1700 totally defeated a greatly superior force of Russians. The tsar fled from the field. Ignominious as this disaster was, however, the real strength of Russia had scarcely been touched. Peter boasted that his troops would learn the art of war, even while beaten by the Swedes, and that his armies would then overthrow them.

The Russians defeated at Narva

Petersburg

So it did come to pass. For some time Charles marched back and forth across Poland, winning victories, but using up his soldiers and gradually exhausting his strength. Meanwhile, the Russians had again invaded the Baltic provinces of Sweden. All Livonia was overrun, then Esthonia and Ingria. In 1703 Peter began, on the Neva, in Ingria, a new city, called Petersburg, after its founder. He desired a new capital nearer the influence of the rest of Europe. Moscow, however, so long the old capital, and so much nearer the center of Russia, continued to be the real metropolis of the Russian people.

Swedish power destroyed at Poltava, 1709

To overcome his antagonist the king of Sweden resolved to strike far into Russia. In 1708 he led his army into the interior. The season was unusually severe; the country was wasted and too poor to support his troops; the Russians retreated, drawing him far from his base; finally he

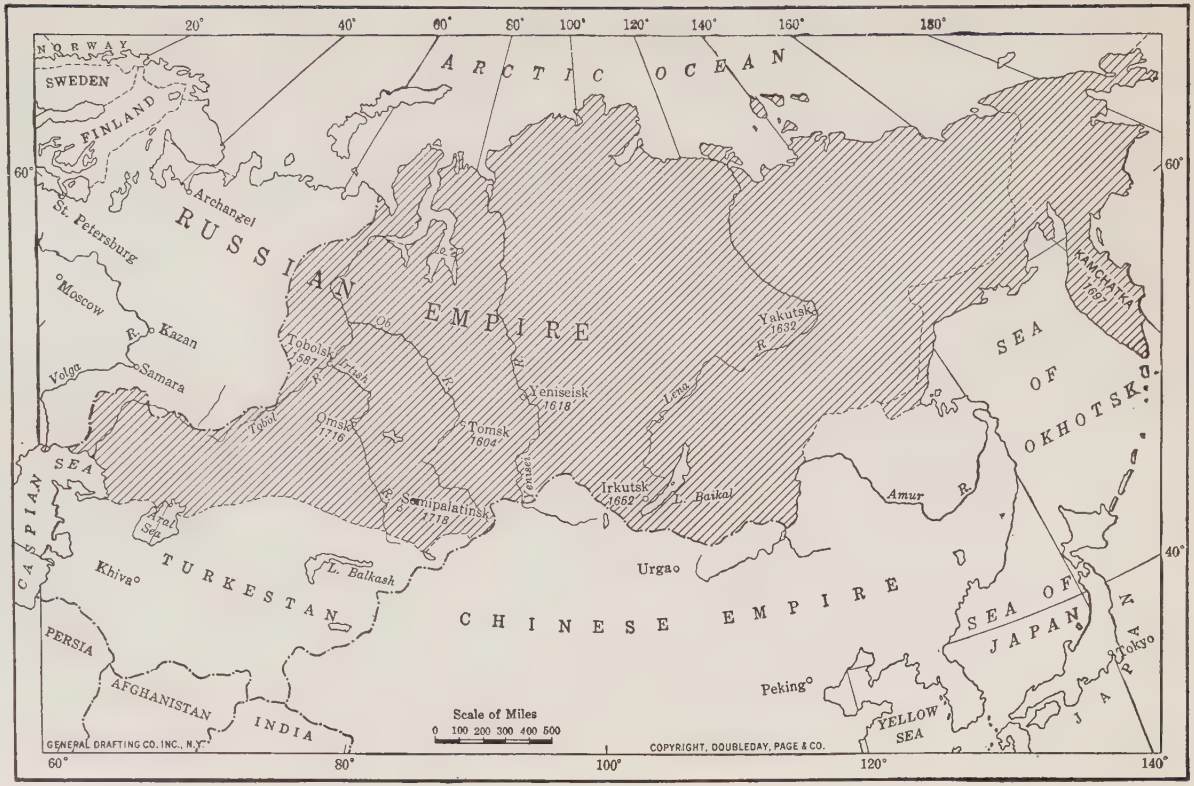
was altogether worn out. In desperation he turned to the south, to join the Cossacks of the Ukraine. Peter followed, with greatly superior forces, struck the separate Swedish armies in turn, and utterly defeated Charles at Poltava (1709). At this battle the contest between Russia and Sweden was decided. The fortunes of Charles were ruined. Livonia was soon conquered by Russian forces. They captured Riga in 1710. Then they assisted Saxon and Danish troops to overrun Swedish Pomerania also.

Peter forced to surrender Azov to the Turks

For a moment disaster almost ruined Peter's plans. The Turks declared war upon Russia, and attempted to assist the fugitive Charles. In 1711 Peter led an army southwestward into Moldavia against the Turks. On the Pruth he incautiously allowed his forces to be surrounded by an Ottoman army, and was nearly brought to unconditional surrender. From this ruin he was saved by unexpected moderation on the part of the Turkish commander, who agreed to the Capitulation of the Pruth, by which Peter was to restore Azov to the Turks, cease to interfere in the affairs of the Cossacks, and recall his army from Poland.

The Baltic provinces conquered by Russia

Charles presently found his way back to Sweden by roundabout route, but his later operations in no wise affected the war. By 1713 nearly all of Finland had been conquered. Later on, the new Russian fleet got command of the Baltic, and Russian armies threatened Sweden itself. The struggle was brought to an end after Charles's death. By the Treaty of Nystad (1721) Russia restored most of Finland but kept Sweden's other eastern Baltic provinces—Ingria, Esthonia, Livonia. Nor did Peter's acquisitions stop here. During the war his troops had overrun the Polish province of Courland, to the south of Livonia, which Sweden for a moment had conquered from the Poles. Peter found excuse to keep this district also. Accordingly, from the Gulf of Finland down to East



40. GROWTH OF RUSSIA IN ASIA, 15TH TO 18TH CENTURIES

Prussia, all the Baltic seacoast was now held by Russia. She had become an important member of the European state system, and had her "window" opening on the sea.

The successors of Peter the Great

Peter the Great was succeeded by his wife, Catherine I (1725–1727). She was followed by Peter II (1727–1730), son of Alexis—that unfortunate son by a first wife, whom Peter the Great had put to death. Peter II dying without heirs, the Russian nobles now chose the niece of Peter the Great, who became the Empress Anna (1730–1740). During this period Russia again began war with the Turks. In 1736 the Russians under Münnich conquered the Crimea. Next year the Austrians joined against the Turks, but the Ottoman armies fought with success, and not very much was accomplished. Presently internal troubles in Russia and the imminence of dispute about the Austrian succession compelled the allies to make peace. Russia recovered Azov.

Azov recovered

Southern Finland acquired

Anna was succeeded by Ivan VI (1740–1741), an infant whom she had chosen as her successor. He was deposed almost immediately by a conspiracy that placed on the throne Elizabeth (1741–1762), daughter of Peter the Great and Catherine. Just before her accession the Swedes had declared war on Russia, hoping to recover what Peter the Great had conquered. Their military power was completely disorganized, however. The Russians conquered Finland again, and by the Treaty of Abo (1743), Russia restoring most of her conquests, retained the southern districts of Finland.

Russia now important in European affairs

Russia was constantly of greater moment in European affairs, and she now entered into the calculations of the rulers of western Europe much more than Poland had a century before. In the time of Peter the Great, Russian troops had been seen in Denmark (1716). They came into conflict with French troops in Poland during the War of the Polish Succession (1734); and during this struggle, Russian troops appeared on the Rhine. In that greater

conflict, the Seven Years' War, Russia was the principal ally of Austria against Frederick the Great of Prussia. In 1759 Russians and Austrians inflicted a terrible defeat upon Frederick at Kunersdorf, and next year the Russians occupied Berlin. Frederick was saved from destruction only by the death of Elizabeth, which at once brought a revolution in the foreign policy of Russia. Peter III (1762), a grandson of Peter the Great and a son of Anna, that monarch's daughter, had long been an ardent admirer of the Prussian king. Immediately on his accession the Russian troops were placed at Frederick's disposal. After a few months' reign, however, Peter was murdered, and his wife, Catherine, who had been an accomplice in this deed, ascended the throne. The Russian troops were now withdrawn from Frederick's service, but Russia did not resume war against him.

Russia in the Seven Years' War

Russia withdraws

Catherine II (1762–1796) was one of the most remarkable women in the history of Europe, and one of the ablest rulers of the eighteenth century. She possessed great strength of body and mind. Her habits were dissolute; her private life was a scandal; but her judgment was excellent, and she governed Russia wisely and well. She waged numerous successful wars against her neighbors, and conquered for Russia new dominions larger by far than those which Peter the Great had acquired. He and his successors had advanced the frontiers of Russia largely against Sweden. She acquired most of Poland, and conquered from the Turks great stretches of country in the south.

Catherine II

In her reign was brought to conclusion the long period of Russian advance against Poland, begun in the fifteenth century in the time of Ivan III. Gradually the eastern parts of Lithuania and the Ukraine had been absorbed. In the time of Peter the Great Russia had begun to exert great influence in Poland's internal affairs. Confusion and weakness in the Polish dominions steadily ren-

Russia dominates Poland

dered foreign influence stronger than anything that the Polish government could do. During the seventeenth century the unhappy country had become a field in which various foreign influences strove to win dominant power. Poland had been of great interest to France under Louis XIV and also to the emperor, but the conflict between east and west had been ended with the War of the Polish Succession, when Russia and Austria acquired the supremacy. The rise of Prussia made her influence also important. In the eighteenth century, however, Russia became paramount in Polish affairs, and the Polish government was the creature of Moscow. The end came now with successive partitions of Poland. In these divisions Russia received largest share. In 1772 she took all the eastern part of Poland. In 1793 a large area farther west was annexed. In 1795, when despite the valiant resistance of some of the more patriotic Poles their country was annihilated, Russia received all Polish territory as far west as the Bug and the Niemen. In consequence of these partitions, Russia's frontiers now adjoined those of Austria and Prussia.

Russia acquires most of Poland's remaining possessions

Great gains from the Turks in the south

Meanwhile, great gains had been made from the Turks. In 1768 Turkey, alarmed at Russian progress in Poland and irritated by aggressions, entered into war with Russia. During this conflict the Russians subdued all the southern country of the Tartars, and in the southwest went on beyond the Danube. In 1774, by the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, Russia restored conquests she had made in Bessarabia, Moldavia, and Wallachia in the southwest, islands in the Ægean, which her fleet had conquered, and Georgia and Mingrelia, in the far southeast, in the Caucasus district. At the same time she retained Azov and various other districts in the south, and virtual hegemony over the Cossack and Tartar country. A little later Russia was able to annex the Crimea (1783) and some of the Cossack country. In 1787

The Crimea annexed

aggressions of Russia led Turkey again to make war, but by the Peace of Jassy (1792) Russia received Turkish territory as far as the Dniester. She was now recognized as the most formidable enemy of the Ottoman Empire.

Life of the peoples in Russia

During this period of expansion and greatness the condition of the peoples in the Russian Empire had improved very little. Agriculture was almost the sole occupation, and the masses lived as serfs in their *mirs* or village communities in the vast stretches of the Russian plain. The reforms of Peter the Great reached only the small upper class and the members of the Russian court. Most of the people clung to the simple customs and primitive ways of their Slavic fathers before them.

The government of Russia

The government was an autocracy, an absolute monarchy, with all functions of government in the hands of the tsar. He had all executive and legislative powers. He commanded the military forces, he assessed the taxes. He issued the ordinances or decrees of state. He was head of the church, which he controlled through the Holy Synod, established in the time of Peter the Great; and the Russian Church was completely under his will. There had once been a general assembly (*sobor*) representing the principal classes—something like the *états généraux* in France. In the seventeenth century the tsars had ceased to call it to assemble. There had also been an assembly or council of nobles (*duma*) something like the great council of the king in medieval England. This had been abolished, however, and replaced by a council of state assisting the tsar but completely subordinate to him—like the French council of state in the seventeenth century. During the eighteenth century local self-government, which had once flourished in Russia as in England and in Spain, was completely swept away, and everywhere the government of districts was rendered subordinate to agents of the tsar.

All power in the hands of the tsar

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CHAPTER XXII

POLITICAL, CONSTITUTIONAL, AND RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

> Let us suppose Burke, Johnson, and Gibbon sitting together at a dinner of The Club in 1769, the year when Napoleon and Wellington were born, and the talk falling on the politics of the European Continent. Did they have any presage of the future? The causes whence the American Revolution and the French Revolution were to spring . . . Men stood on the edge of stupendous changes, and had not a glimpse of even the outlines of those changes, not discerning the causes that were already in embryo beneath their feet. . .
>
> Viscount Bryce, *Modern Democracies* (1921), ii. 598.

> Not all the water in the rough rude sea
> Can wash the balm from an anointed king.
> The breath of worldly men cannot depose
> The deputy elected by the Lord.
>
> Shakespeare, *Richard II* (1597), iii. II.

> Quis non putet Christum aliquem esse Molochum aut eius generis aliquem Deum si sibi vivos homines immolari, comburique velit? Quis velit servire Christo ea conditione ut si in aliqua re inter tot contraversias ab iis dissideat, qui habent in alios potestatem, vivus comburatur ipsius Christi iussu crudelius quam in tauro Phalaridis. . .
>
> Sebastiano Castellion, preface to his Latin translation of the Bible (1551).

Vast complexity of the history of Europe

During the period from the end of the Middle Ages to the end of the Ancient Régime, from the Renaissance to the French Revolution, several great European states and a larger number of lesser ones went forward in career and carried on relation concerning which there remains an infinitude of data and detail. The barest outline of the history of the several peoples is apt to be intricate enough. Nor is it possible, perhaps, to achieve

two most important tasks at the same time. If attention be given principally to general considerations and large European movements, then the history of particular nations is apt to recede, until much is obscured or suppressed. If the history be given in manner satisfactory in respect of particular nations, then great movements and general results may but partly emerge from the mass of particular things.

European history and the history of European peoples

Several great movements concerned many nations: they were European rather than national; they affected wide areas, not merely particular districts; and they gave the dominant character to their time. The fifteenth century is characterized especially by the Renaissance, and by the emergence of strong nation states. The sixteenth is concerned very largely with the Reformation. The seventeenth has to do with wars of religion, with the rivalries of European states and groups of states. The eighteenth is concerned with dynastic rivalries and colonial struggles, and with rearrangement of the balance of power. During this time the history of government almost everywhere recorded the suppression of various older organs by which particular interests had expressed themselves, and increasing tendency to erect strong, symmetrical central governments embracing all power in the state. During this period the Catholic Christianity of Rome, once supreme in the western half of Europe, lost control of the northern peoples. Thereafter Catholicism ruled in the south and Protestantism in the north. Eastern Catholicism or Orthodox Christianity retained its hold almost untouched throughout most of the eastern half of Europe.

The larger developments and changes

Government and religion

About the middle of the fifteenth century there was no great strong state in Europe except for the Ottoman Empire. In western Europe, however, England, France, and Spain had partly completed consolidation of their territories and of strong central government. They had largely

The latter part of the fifteenth century

finished these tasks by 1500. Central Europe lagged far behind. Poland had developed some power. The states of eastern Europe still counted for little. Accordingly, the history of these years is much concerned with the advance of the Ottoman Empire in southeastern Europe, and the rivalries between strong nation states in the west, especially France and Spain. During this time the Ottoman Turks and some of their subjects developed a well-organized eastern empire. Some of the western countries were thrilled by geographical discoveries and quickened by the Renaissance.

The Turks in the east, France and Spain in the west

The sixteenth century: eastern Europe

During the sixteenth century the advance of the Ottomans continued. They overwhelmed Hungary and carried their dominion to the German frontiers, once nearly to the district of Vienna. Greater and stronger they became on the sea, until they contested with the Christian maritime powers for the mastery of the Mediterranean. Then, from various and complex causes, their vigor diminished and their strength declined. To the north the Poles continued to enlarge their influence and power. Eastward the foundations of Russia were being established; but this huge, remote inland country continued of little importance in the lives of most European nations.

Rivalry of France and Spain

Meanwhile, France and Spain strove for principal place in the west. France had better position and greater resources for permanent strength. For some time, however, Spain was much more important. She acquired an empire beyond the seas, got control of rich provinces in the Netherlands and important Italian districts, and worked in close association with the empire. For the most part during this contest England was unimportant and looked on from the side. France just managed to hold her own.

The Hapsburg power

Spain became the great power in Europe. Personal relations of sovereigns and the deeds of rulers were of great moment. The most important factor for some time had been the series of Hapsburg marriages. The most

striking things in the politics of the sixteenth century were the career of Charles V and the career of his son, Philip II.

The period of the Reformation

In the western and central countries men's minds and hearts were affected by changes far deeper and much more striking than anything produced by dynastic rivalries and national wars. Protestants revolted from the Church of Rome and the pope's authority. All over Europe, from Portugal to Poland, people searched their hearts: whether to keep that faith which generations before them had regarded as the only key to salvation, or accept changes which rulers were making and new doctrines produced by the spirit of the times. Political ambition, craft, greed, deep-lying economic causes, all had their part; but for some time the mainspring of motives and actions was religion. Compared with times later the sixteenth century was dominated by religious spirit simple, fanatical, and deep.

A religious age

Reformation and Counter-Reformation

A series of religious wars followed to overshadow the history of western Europe for more than a hundred years. After the beginning of the Lutheran movement in 1517, for some time the revolt carried all before it. The northernmost countries were soon irretrievably lost. Outwardly, at least, for some time it seemed that Poland, Hungary, and the German lands had forsaken allegiance to the pope. In France the movement was strong. The new doctrines were received by many of the upper class in Italy, in Portugal, and in Spain. About 1540, however, a reaction began. The Reformation continued, but soon it was checked by the Counter-Reformation. Intrinsic good qualities, excellence of the Roman organization, the work of the Jesuits, the inquisition, all combined to win back much of what had been lost. Portugal, Italy, Spain, were made entirely Catholic again. Then in a great struggle between Protestantism and the Church of Rome, fought out in a series of religious wars horrible and cruel,

The wars of religion

Austria, Poland, Hungary, some of the German lands, France, the Flemish Netherlands, and Ireland, were almost entirely won back. A great part of Germany, the Dutch Netherlands, England, Scotland, and the Scandinavian countries remained in the Protestant fold.

Political and religious considerations

By the middle of the seventeenth century, fanaticism, bigotry, and religious fervor had diminished in strength. Religious devotion continued almost universal. There were still many who would persecute and destroy for religion's sake. In course of time, however, large causes working imperceptibly had made politics more important to sovereigns than religion in politics was. Political considerations had all along had their part. Charles V wished the church to remain undivided, partly because it was the complement to the empire whose unity he desired to increase. Philip II would enlarge Spanish power and conquer other countries while stamping all heresy out. During the Thirty Years' War the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire desired to make all the people of that empire Catholic, but they also hoped to increase imperial authority and make greater their House of Hapsburg. Sweden wished, indeed, to preserve Protestantism from destruction, but she also greatly sought control of the Baltic shores. Eventually political considerations were stronger than religious factors even in the wars of religion. During the Thirty Years' War France, rapidly becoming the most important Catholic power, assisted Swedes and German Protestants in order to increase her own strength and abase the Hapsburgs of Spain and the empire.

Political considerations become stronger

Alterations in power

In the course of the period 1546–1648, in which religious and political motives were mingled, some states exhausted their resources while others advanced to be leaders in Europe. In the middle of the sixteenth century Spain was the strongest power. By the middle of the seventeenth century France was the leader. About 1550 the Hapsburgs seemed to menace all states near by. A

hundred years later the emperors had only nominal authority in the Holy Roman Empire, and the Hapsburgs of Spain ruled an exhausted dominion.

France dominates Europe

In the latter half of the seventeenth century the history of Europe was dominated by the power and the importance of France. England was rising but not yet great. Holland was active and strong, but too small to be a great power. Sweden ruled the Baltic, but her grasp was already relaxing. The foundations of Prussia were being laid, but only the foundations had been done. Russia was about to begin her larger career, but still she remained aloof. The empire was weak and dismembered. Italy lay partly in subjection. Spain had lost vigor and strength. France, rising to her greatest height, was now preëminent in Europe. Strong, compact, ably governed, with aggressive and aspiring rulers, she was easily the leader of Europe, and threatened to become master of Europe. As people feared Spain in the sixteenth century, as they feared the German Empire in this last generation, so during the latter part of the seventeenth century they dreaded the preponderance of France.

France in the seventeenth century, the German Empire in the twentieth

France becomes relatively less

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the superiority of France diminished. Not that her power was greatly lessened, though she was defeated in the struggle of the Spanish Succession, and lay exhausted at the end of that conflict. Rather her decline was relative. A generation before, her principal rivals had been Sweden—friendly and distant; the Dutch Netherlands—strong but unable to be formidable alone; Austria—large but not yet well organized, and England—not yet embarked upon her larger career. Among such rivals France had an easy predominance. During the eighteenth century other, greater states became stronger and constantly more ambitious. It was no longer, as a rule, any question of one great power opposed by most of the others, but rivalry between one and another, or between opposing combina-

Several powerful states

tions of states. Moreover, old rivalries gave place to new. Once wars had been waged for dynastic or religious reasons. In the eighteenth century ambitious rulers sought enlargement of territories by seizing possessions of their neighbors, or they entered into contests for commercial gain and acquisition of colonies abroad.

Western Europe in the eighteenth century

In western Europe the Netherlands were no longer important. The Italian states continued in subjection or decay. Spain was recovering, but she had much more to recover from her fearful decline. In western Europe the strong states were the kingdoms of France and Great Britain. During the remainder of the eighteenth century, with some conspicuous intervals of peace, singly against each other, or in combination with followers and allies, they fought for primacy in Europe, and for possessions in America or Asia. Largely from favorable position and superior power on the sea, Great Britain had victory in the earlier stage of this struggle. Then France, reviving her power on the sea, assisted the disruption of the British Empire. A more terrible stage in this duel was to come still later on.

Great Britain and France

Central Europe

In central Europe the power of Sweden had waned and the strength of Poland had been nearly destroyed. The greatness of Austria had increased and she was no longer threatened, as of old, by the Turks. But meanwhile a new rival had arisen to dispute her supremacy. After Austria, Prussia had become the principal German state, and was already bidding fair to be the strongest of all. Presently there was a mortal struggle between them, each at different times assisted by various allies. Despite all the efforts of Austria, Prussia maintained herself. By the end of the eighteenth century she was one of the principal states in Europe.

Austria and Prussia

Eastern Europe

In the eighteenth century all eastern Europe came under the sway of a great new power. The Russian state was brought westward into contact with the German coun-

tries. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Muscovite state was hemmed in and bordered on the west by Sweden, by Poland, and by the Ottoman Empire. By the end of the eighteenth century all the outlying eastern possessions of Sweden were lost except Finland; most of Poland had been taken by the Russians; in the south and southwest great districts had been wrested from the Turks. Russia had become a member of the European family, and a great European state. In many respects, however, she remained as remote and aloof as ever. The Renaissance had not affected her in the least. Neither Reformation nor Counter-Reformation had touched her. Russians had, indeed, made journeys of exploration and conquest over into Asia, and all Siberia had been taken; but Russians had not voyaged on the oceans to discover new islands and realms. Beyond the seas they held no colonies or possessions save Alaska, that part of North America a little way beyond their extreme Siberian possessions.

Russia never linked closely with the western half of Europe

During the period from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century political conceptions had been altered profoundly. In the Middle Ages the ideal of many of the best minds had been peace, unity, brotherhood, under one universal empire. In spiritual matters one church, with its complement, one temporal government. Such was the basis of the Holy Roman Empire of Charlemagne and of Otto the Great. But this empire had never ruled all the peoples even of western Europe, and constantly its authority diminished. Medieval Europe was divided into many separate feudal jurisdictions, and communications were so poor, and separatism so strong, that no one was able to bring Europe's people all under one dominion.

Political conceptions

An empire

By the end of the Middle Ages it was evident that the idea of one empire would not be made good. Already nations were rising differing markedly one from another, and leaders were constructing for them strong states. In earlier times these words had had very different meanings.

European nations and states

By "state" was meant condition or rank of a body of people having a certain status or standing. By "nation" was meant at first those who were related by birth, and presently at medieval universities a group of students from the same country or district. In other words, in the Middle Ages both "state" and "nation" referred to small groups or classes of people. In the sixteenth century, however, "nation" had come to mean a great body of people bound together by common ties of language and customs, and "state" the corporation or community or whole body of people living within territory recognized as theirs under a stable government, or the territory under a particular government or jurisdiction, or even the government itself.

Nationalism supersedes the idea of one empire and one church

In the period of the Renaissance, the idea of states and nationality, with the inevitable division and dissension they entailed, had superseded the older ideal of an empire comprehending the various peoples of Europe. Similarly, after the beginning of the Reformation, the ideal of a single church under headship of the pope, comprehending all of the faithful, was superseded by the conception of various churches in different places for the several groups of people. Nationalism and national separatism, not unity and comprehension in one organization, prevailed after this time, and continued and long increased. From the fifteenth to the eighteenth century rulers and monarchs in Europe made their own nation states, and within these jurisdictions national consciousness and national feeling developed ever more strongly. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the conqueror Napoleon, reviving Charlemagne's ambition, attempted to subdue all the nations of Europe and unite them, as he said, in the amity and concord of one empire. At the beginning of the twentieth century, also, leaders of the German Empire seem to have cherished a similar ambition: to conquer a great part of Europe, uniting the peoples under *Pax Germanica*

Development of nationalism

in a greater German empire. Both of these schemes were resisted and overthrown by nationalism growing ever stronger.

Tendencies in governmental development

In government and in the development of political institutions the tendency during all of this time almost everywhere in Europe was away from feudalism and disorganization toward centralization and erection of strong government, from personal relationship toward bureaucracy and the idea of a state, from estates of the realm and local corporate interests toward absolutism and divine right of kings.

Medieval local jurisdictions

In medieval times there were in western and central Europe numerous separate jurisdictions, some lay—such as duchies, counties, marches, and fees of knights; some ecclesiastical—such as bishoprics, and monastic holdings; while other jurisdictions—such as cities, boroughs, and towns, were developing also. In most of them to a greater or less extent were local rulers, local officials, local courts, privileges, customs. By consolidation of groups of these jurisdictions were built up the states that developed during the later Middle Ages. In the consolidation of a state like France or England of the fifteenth century it had seemed well to bring, so far as possible, the local courts under royal control; supersede the law of local, manor, and borough courts; and cause the king's law to be the law of the land. By the end of the Middle Ages this was by no means completely achieved. There were still many courts of lords, boroughs, or church, and some of them continued in their particular localities for a long time after. Generally speaking, however, the courts of the king had come to be superior to the courts of corporations or lords; and such local court jurisdictions tended to disappear slowly. The local law and customs of courts, however, maintained themselves longer. Down to the time of the French Revolution, in France there were numerous systems of law and procedure.

Royal courts and the king's law supersede local courts

Power of particular classes or vested interests in the state

While the power of the central government increased in the states that were being built up, many of the rights of vested and corporate interests and of great ecclesiastics and nobles were long maintained. This was seen in the local authority and privileges which they preserved. It was also seen in the great assemblies assistant to the king, in which they had part or representation. In England a great feudal council, composed in practice of the higher nobles and the principal ecclesiastics, assisted and advised the king. In course of time the lesser nobility and citizens of the towns were in some fashion represented in these assemblies. In England during the fourteenth century this developed into a parliament of two houses. In France during the fourteenth century an assembly for the three principal orders or estates—nobles, clergy, and boroughs—likewise developed. In the various Spanish kingdoms there were assemblies for the various orders in *cortes*. In the Netherlands, in the German lands, in the Scandinavian countries there were assemblies of estates. There was a less well-developed assembly or council in Poland. In Muscovy there was a *sobor* or national consultative assembly, consisting of principal nobles, greater clergy, and representatives of other classes. Wherever these bodies existed they acted as a check on the monarch. In some places their consent was necessary for the validity of laws and especially for the granting of taxes. In most places at least their formal approval was desired.

Parliament, *états généraux*, *cortes*, *sobor*

Decline of assemblies and estates

There was in most places a tendency for royal power to increase at the expense of the power of the assembly or the estates. In France, the central government was made stronger as a result of the growth of the power of the king. During the sixteenth century the *états généraux* were of constantly less importance, and after 1614 they were not summoned again until the eve of the French Revolution. In Spain the various *cortes* were more and more disregarded, and during the eighteenth century became as

obsolete in Spain as the states general were in France. In Sweden and in Denmark in the seventeenth century the monarchy became absolute, as did the central power in Brandenburg and other of the German states during that time. The last Russian *sobor* assembled in 1653. In the Dutch Netherlands the states general held their own, though tendency increased to give the chief power to an hereditary ruler. In Poland the power of the diet held its own, and the importance of the king diminished; but that was because in Poland there was an increase of anarchy rather than any governmental growth. The principal exception was England. During the seventeenth century in England, as in other European states then, a strong tendency existed to concentrate all effective power of the state in the hands of the monarch. There, however, the power of parliament began to increase. By the end of the seventeenth century, after a prolonged conflict with the crown, the superiority of parliament had been certainly established. During the eighteenth century parliament and the ministers who depended upon it steadily became the masters of government and state. In this development, as in political development much earlier, England was far in advance of what prevailed in most other parts of Europe.

In England parliament increased in importance

The possibility of erecting a unified state out of small feudal districts and creating strong central rule depended at first almost entirely upon increasing the power of the king. This had long before been accomplished in England. By the end of the twelfth century, at a time when Italy and France and Spain were in fragments, distant emperors reigning or kings with not very much power, monarchy had been made strong in England. There the Norman-Angevin kings presided over an effective organization that strongly governed and actually reached most parts of their realm. For some time there was nothing comparable in western Europe. Then during the fifteenth and sixteenth

Enhancement of the sovereign's power

Absolute monarchs

centuries the same result was achieved in Spain and in France. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries absolute monarchies became the rule throughout Europe, from Portugal to Russia, while in lesser states, like the smaller German domains, smaller potentates lorded it like great kings. Now, however, when centralization and absolutism prevailed almost everywhere else, in England an excellent system of vigorous local government was being maintained, and strong tendency asserted itself to limit royal authority and transfer to parliament the power of the king. During the nineteenth century, the results achieved in England would be copied in many other states.

The power and authority of rulers

During these centuries in most places all authority was drawn to the central government, and concentrated in the hands of the king. Executive, legislative, judicial, military power, and statecraft in general resided in his hands, or under his control were managed by officials whom he appointed and who depended upon him completely. During this aggrandizement men's ideas about rulers greatly altered. Under the Roman Empire sovereigns had gradually taken to themselves all power in the state. They were worshipped as divinities. It was the maxim of Roman lawyers that what pleased the prince had the force of law. When Roman government decayed, however, and new kingdoms arose from its ruins, the kings had at first much less power. In origin they were chieftains

Medieval rulers

and tribal leaders, especially in time of war. Gradually they acquired greater powers, assisted by the church, and imitating Roman examples. Before much could be accomplished, however, western Europe was on all sides assailed, and in the terror and confusion of the following times, rulers lost much of the power that they had been winning. The feudal period followed, in which a king was merely head of a hierarchy of lords bound together in personal and contractual relations. In this time the

popes strove for power similar to that wielded by the Roman emperors once, and at the head of holy church declared themselves representatives of God on earth. Medieval emperors striving to build up a great temporal power also wished to appear as ruling by divine right.

The divine right of kings

Before the end of the Middle Ages the greatness of the emperor had vanished. After the Renaissance and Reformation, in many parts of Europe the supremacy of the pope was destroyed. Sovereigns in the national states now strove to arrogate to themselves pretensions asserted formerly by emperor or pope. Wherever the Reformation prevailed, particularly was this the case; but it tended to be as completely so in Catholic countries likewise. Kings and princes, said James I, king of England, in a proclamation of 1610, "are gods upon earth." Monarchs were now said to rule by divine right. Especially in Protestant countries the clergy taught that it was sinful for subjects to resist them on any account.

"A King is a mortall god"

The state and its rulers

Such belief was strictly in accordance with some of the best thought of the time. Philosophers and ecclesiastics united in teaching the doctrines of state supremacy, divine right, and non-resistance. Luther and his followers had exalted the prerogative of sovereigns and counselled complete submission on the part of their subjects. Thomas Hobbes in his *Leviathan* (1651) maintained that the state was "a mortal god who, like the Deity, governs according to his pleasure, and gives peace and security to his subjects." In 1688, when James II had grievously offended all the most powerful classes in England, it was with the utmost difficulty that many of his opponents could be brought to the view that derelictions on the part of a monarch justified subjects in attempting to resist him. The deposition of James was made possible only because he himself fled from his kingdom, and was then assumed to have abdicated. Some of the principal ecclesiastics, greatly as they detested James's efforts to subvert their

Non-resistance

Protestant faith, did not cease, while he lived, to regard him as their sovereign divinely appointed.

Absolutism and divine right

Absolutism and divine right, established during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, continued to flourish in the greater part of Europe until the end of the Old Régime, and then, overthrown for a moment, were revived and lasted in many places much longer. There remained no effective check upon the absolute power of Philip V of Spain, or of Frederick II of Prussia, of Charles VI of Austria, or of Catherine II of Russia; just as earlier there had been none upon Louis XIV, and as James I had maintained there was none upon a monarch in England.

Jesuits deny the divine right of kings

In some parts of Europe, however, this doctrine had been overthrown; and during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries contrary doctrines increased in importance. During the Counter-Reformation, the Jesuits, warring against heretic monarchs, asserted that a king was the minister, not the master, of his people. They said that his authority sprang from the community that had delegated to him his power, which might properly be withdrawn if the king ceased to use it well. They maintained the divine right of the pope and the pope's authority over all men; but everywhere they impugned the doctrine of divine right of kings; and their ideas taken up by others had great consequence a little later on. Directly as a result of their teachings Henry III, king of France, was killed by an assassin.

Kings responsible to their people

Meanwhile, the same principle had been developed by the Dutch, and somewhat later was maintained in England. When the Netherlanders rose against Spain, they proclaimed themselves loyal subjects of their lord, the king of Spain, merely protesting against grievances for which they wanted redress. After a long conflict, however, the Dutch proclaimed independence. In 1581 they declared that inasmuch as a prince was put over his subjects to protect them, whenever he did not do this he

ICELAND
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
NORWAY
(Ruled by Denmark)
Christiania
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
WALES
ENGLAND
London
Amsterdam
Brussels
KM. OF DENMARK
Wismar
Hamburg
MECKLENB.
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
HANOVER
Cologne
Leipzig
SAXONY
HESSE
THE EMPIRE
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
AUSTRIA
Vienna
TYROL
SWITZERLAND
Le Havre
Brest
Paris
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
Bordeaux
Avignon
Venice
Trieste
VENETIAN REPUBLIC
Genoa
Marseilles
CORSICA (To Genoa)
KINGDOM OF SPAIN
KM. OF PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Madrid
Rome
Naples
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES (To Spain)
BALEARIC IS.
SARDINIA (To Spain)
MEDITERRANEAN
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Dnieper R.
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Prieth R.
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Tiflis
Kura R.
Aras R.
Constantinople
EMPIRE
Smyrna
Euphrates
Tigris R.
CYPRUS

need no longer be regarded as prince. Therefore, in accordance with the law of nature, they now renounced their allegiance. This doctrine was taken up in England a little while later. About 1640 the resistance that the Puritans and others had been making to Charles I greatly increased, and parliament assumed the principal power in the state. Presently civil war resulted, in which the king was defeated. Thereupon the extremists among his opponents caused him to be put upon trial for treason to the people of England. He was condemned and beheaded, and England became for a while a republic. The execution of Charles horrified most of Europe; but it was only the logical outcome of teachings concerning what might be done to a king, not holding by divine right but responsible to his people, who had abused his trust and done to them grievous harm. "The power of kings and magistrates," said Milton, writing in the year when Charles was beheaded, "is nothing else but what is only derivative, transferred, and committed to them in trust from the people to the common good of them all."

English radicals put Charles I to death

Monarchy was restored in England, but the king's power there was never so great again. "Vox Populi, Vox Dei," ran a paper addressed to Charles II about 1682. "We the People of England (finding our Parliaments dissolved) do, in the name of God, demand of Thee Charles Stewart, Quo Warranto art thou King of England?" The Revolution of 1688 completed the work begun in the earlier Puritan revolution. After that time in England the superiority of parliament was not again questioned, and monarchy was held to be limited and responsible to the state. These ideas were definitely expounded by John Locke and others, and copied and admired abroad. In France, after some time, the development of ideas obtained from English political and philosophical writers, and from study of English government were among the factors that brought on the French Revolution.

Limited monarchy in England

Study of English ideas

The American Declaration of Independence, 1776

Meanwhile, in the New England colonies of Great Britain in North America, settled partly by Puritans and political extremists, the more radical doctrines were cherished and enlarged. There the colonial assemblies took most of the effective power, and men maintained that government was responsible to the people from whom it was derived. "We hold these truths to be self-evident," said the authors of the Declaration of Independence in 1776, "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. . . That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it."

The mass of the people without any part in government

Limitation of royal power and decay of the doctrine of divine right in some places affected the political status of most people scarcely at all. The Swiss Cantons and the Dutch Netherlands were virtually republics. In Great Britain by 1760 the effective power of the government had very largely passed to ministers who worked more in connection with parliament than with the king. In none of these places, however, was political power in the hands of many of the people. Some of the smaller and less important Swiss communities were virtually democracies, but nowhere else in Europe did the mass of the people have any part in the governments that ruled them. In the Dutch Netherlands the states general rested almost entirely upon a small upper class of wealthy men and aristocrats, who guarded privileges and power with most jealous care. In Great Britain parliament did control the government, and the house of commons—the more powerful part of parliament now—was composed of representative members chosen by electors. But while the commons represented the people of Britain in theory, they were either the appointees of certain magnates, or else they

Only a small upper class shared political power—where it was shared

were chosen by an electorate that embraced less than one tenth of the men. Nowhere was there much disposition even to consider extending political rights to the mass of the people. The prevailing theory was that government, if representative at all, should represent property and the upper classes. The people were held in contempt and distrust. Writers in England about 1680 referred to the *mobile vulgus* (fickle crowd), and by 1692 the poet Dryden wrote of the *mob*, and others referred to them as "the Ordinary Sort of People." Aristocrats in France, Spain, and the German countries, nobles in Poland and in Russia, looked down across a great gulf at the mass of the people beneath them. In 1793 a British judge asserted that "the rabble" ought to have no part in the government of the country.

Distrust of the "mob"

Meanwhile, a very different theory was arising, without much effect for some time, but destined in the nineteenth century to bring results of the utmost importance. During the seventeenth century Calvinists and certain others, who had first asserted that all men in the church were equal in the sight of God, began to extend this doctrine to the field of politics, and maintain that people had equal rights in the state. Such a doctrine was partly incorporated in the Puritan constitution, the *Instrument of Government* (1653), which provided for a parliament whose members should be elected by all men possessing property of the value of £200. This constitution was abrogated shortly after. During this same time, however, the rank and file of Cromwell's army, upon which he entirely depended, came near to accepting ideas of complete democracy. They asserted that all men were equal in the state, from the equal citizens came the authority of government, to its citizens this authority was responsible. They also soon passed in England, but some of their friends perpetuated these ideas in North America, while philosophers and radical thinkers expounded them further in Europe.

Calvinist ideas concerning government

Ideas of democracy in Cromwell's army

During the eighteenth century, a group of French writers, following, apparently, teachings developed during the revolutionary period in England, taught doctrines of equality and democracy, and carried them further yet. "In the state of nature," said Montesquieu in his *Esprit des Lois* (1748), "men are born equal." Greatest of these writers, in respect of his influence. was Rousseau, who learned partly from earlier French writers, partly from still earlier teachings in England, and partly, perhaps, from the example of equality and democracy in the forest cantons of Switzerland. Rousseau proclaimed that in the original state of nature all men had been equal and free, and that all people then were happy.

Frenchmen teach that all men are equal

In the latter eighteenth century certain French writers, especially Voltaire, were renowned throughout Europe for brilliant and skilful attacks on old laws and old customs, established church and state, on cherished beliefs and traditions. Rousseau and others now less renowned were suggesting a new order like that first society in which, so they said, all were equal and free. In the French Revolution the more radical leaders proposed to put democracy and equality into effect. In 1792 the government of France was committed to a national assembly elected by manhood suffrage. This setting up of democracy was premature, however, and soon passed away. In England John Cartwright had declared that property had nothing to do with representation in government, that men should be given the vote because they were men. This ideal was not substantially realized in Great Britain for a hundred years more. In 1776 the American Declaration of Independence asserted "all men are created equal"; but not many more than a tenth of the men in the colonies had the franchise then, and when a federal constitution was made some years later it sanctioned slavery in the United States.

Attacks on the old order

Attempts to realize democracy and equality

Long after, when the consequences of the French Revo-

tion had been pondered upon more fully, it seemed that great causes had led long and inevitably to the year 1789. Investigators found old prophecies and old forebodings, and much that appeared to lead unmistakably to what had occurred. It is probable, however, that just before the end of what we now call the Old Régime not many were aware that any large alterations impended, and that not a great many people wanted such changes to come. There were then, as now, liberals and radicals who hoped more for a different future than for continuance of the present they knew. There were some, as always, who detected grave wrongs in their time. But for the most part men and women expected no radical change. The masses of people continued, as for all recorded time in the past, to have no part in the government, to expect none, and to desire none. The radical doctrines then taught were so little feared that the classes in power accepted them as fashionable things, and found entertainment in them. To students a hundred years after it may have seemed that in the decades before 1789 many were alive with sense of innovation, coming revolution, and impending doom; but few contemporaries seem to have had any such feelings. Most of the intellectuals of the time were considering quite different matters. The classes who governed and controlled were preoccupied with such questions as the plundering of Poland, the growth of the power of Russia, Austrian schemes, continued rivalry between Britain and France, alteration of the balance of power in case the Austrian Netherlands should be drawn to France.

The end of the Old Régime

No general expectation of an end

Things now forgot seemed important then

During all this time religion continued to be the greatest intellectual interest of most of the people. In the history of European religion from the end of the Middle Ages to the French Revolution the principal incidents were the Protestant revolt, the Catholic recovery, and the following religious wars. Then came a time of quiescence. This was partly the result and partly a symptom of in-

Religion

difference and scepticism among the governing and intellectual classes, which were presently a formidable danger to churches in all western Europe.

The Eastern Catholic faith

The religion of the eastern half of Europe continued to be the Orthodox faith, established in the eastern half of the Roman Empire in the earlier centuries, and afterward spread to the Balkans and the north shores of the Black Sea. This church had extended its sway over most of the South Slavs and most of the East and North Slavs. Among West Slavs the Poles, the Bohemians, the Slovaks, the Croatians had been won to the Western Christianity of Rome. Among the Balkan peoples there were now as many Mohammedans as there were among the Tartars along the Black Sea. Elsewhere in eastern Europe—from Constantinople as far north as Finland, and from the borders of Poland to the Ural Mountains—nearly all the population gave allegiance to the Orthodox Church.

The religion of the Slavs

The Eastern Catholic Church less striking than the Roman Catholic

The history of this church had been much less important than that of the Church of Rome. Owing to their distance from any strong temporal authority the Roman popes had been able to make themselves virtually independent of temporal authority and assert superiority over earthly rulers. In the Eastern Church the patriarchs of Constantinople were always as strictly subordinate to the emperors there as were ecclesiastics in England and in Lutheran countries to their rulers after the Reformation. When, in the fifteenth century, Constantinople was taken by the Turks, the patriarchs came under the authority of Mohammedan conquerors, who merely tolerated the Christian faith. For some time, however, the patriarch of Constantinople continued to be head of the Orthodox Church.

The church in Russia

Meanwhile, however, with the development of the Muscovite state, the principal domain of Eastern Christianity was Russia. Hitherto the head of the Russian Church had been the metropolitan of Moscow. In 1589, during the

time of the influence of Boris Godunov, it was agreed that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Russian Church should be independent of Constantinople, under the patriarch of Moscow. As Russia expanded, the patriarch of Moscow became the principal figure in the Eastern Catholic Church. During this later period, however, he had little more authority than the patriarch of Constantinople had had long before, since the Muscovite tsars made themselves supreme over their church. In 1701, Peter the Great abolished the patriarchate, entrusting the control of the church to a council, the Holy Synod, whose head, the procurator, was a layman entirely subordinate to himself. For the most part, the history of this church is without significance except to the Russians themselves. A measure of toleration was allowed to other faiths. Here there was no great revolt as in the west. About the middle of the seventeenth century, indeed, the *raskol* or great schism in the Russian Church developed. The *raskolniki* (schismatics), who principally flourished in Great Russia, and who came to embrace a large part of the population there, differed from their Orthodox fellows only with respect to such matters as the method of signing the cross and spelling the name of Jesus. Far from being innovators, they represented extreme Russian conservatism in religion and hostility to innovations by others.

The Holy Synod established

The *raskolniki*

In the western half of Europe when the religious struggles were finally ended, though the Roman Church had won back some of its losses, yet substantially half its old dominion was gone. It never recovered the position that it had held in the Middle Ages, but it presently became again one of the principal forces in the world. The disasters of the Reformation period were taken to heart, and a Catholic reformation removed much of the discontent that had once existed in the church. At the same time organization was purged and strengthened, until the church recovered the strength and vigor of former times.

Recovery of the Roman Catholic Church

New dominions acquired

Furthermore, the losses in Europe were largely compensated by extension in great new domains. In the colonies founded by Spain, by Portugal, and by France the Roman Catholic religion was established. Everywhere throngs of new converts were won among distant peoples by Jesuits and other missionaries whom the church sent all over the world. By the end of the eighteenth century Rome was the capital of an ecclesiastical empire more extensive than that which Luther had attacked.

Decline in the eighteenth century

In the eighteenth century the Catholic Church entered another period of decline and disaster. This time it was not beset by enemies from without or by hostile princes. Rather it was affected by gradual intellectual change that came to many among the upper and middle classes of western and central Europe. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was progress in science, which gradually produced large effects. With many now the old bigotry and the fervent devotion to theological dogma were superseded by indifference resulting from greater interest taken in other things. Scepticism increased. There was a spirit of inquiry and investigation, a desire to be convinced by proofs rather than give credence from faith. Increasing apathy and tolerance resulted from indifference and enlightened doubt.

Indifference and scepticism

Worldliness in the church

In many instances the church itself now suffered from decay. Members of religious orders again became prosperous and slothful. Important churchmen were now as much men of the world and as little interested in religion as their Italian predecessors had been early in the Renaissance. Sceptics and philosophers assailed the church as a relic from very different times, and heaped upon old observances mockery or brilliant abuse. Especially did such writers arise in France; but they flourished in most other countries. Most striking of them all was Voltaire (1694–1778). What he considered to be shams, things outworn, or useless, he assailed; and his attacks upon

Voltaire

what he believed to be ecclesiastical tyranny and priestcraft were followed all over Europe. "I die adoring God and detesting superstition," he declared at the end. During the eighteenth century the Jesuits, once the very bulwark of the church, were relentlessly attacked in most of the Catholic countries. The Church of Rome did maintain its hold undiminished upon the mass of the people; but it was regarded with contempt by many of the wealthy and enlightened, while its power and its wealth made it hated by the radicals, who were becoming much more prominent all the time. Attacks by philosophers, radicals, and sceptics in the eighteenth century caused the influence of the church to diminish, and prepared for the great assault made during the French Revolution.

Diminishing influence of the church

Meanwhile, new differences within the church attracted attention. In the Dutch Netherlands, a Roman Catholic theologian, Cornelis Jansen (1585–1638), desired, as his followers maintained, to restore the ancient doctrine and discipline of the church, and especially to emphasize doctrines of Saint Augustine. His book, *Augustinus, seu Doctrina St. Augustini*, was published in 1640. His teaching that the human will was unable to secure salvation, which was not to be attained unless grace descended from God, seemed to many Catholics essentially Calvin's doctrine of predestination. Hence, his followers, the Jansenists, were bitterly assailed. Certain French Jansenists presently established themselves as a company in connection with the Cistercian abbey for nuns, Port-Royal in Paris. They were soon attacked with all the forces that the Jesuits could command, and the Jesuits having the ear of Louis XIV, Port-Royal was suppressed (1709). Later on, in 1713, by the bull *Unigenitus Dei*, all the Jansenist doctrines were condemned as heretical by Pope Clement XI. Meanwhile, however, they had defended themselves with much skill, and they had been defended with great eloquence and zeal by their celebrated

Jansenism

Port-Royal

convert, Pascal, in his *Lettres Provinciales* (1656–7). From this controversy the Jesuits never entirely recovered; and not a few Catholics were displeased even with the papal bull.

Ultramontanism

The Jesuits and many others continued, as before, to support the pope utterly and in all respects. By themselves and by their opponents they were conceived as looking beyond the mountains (*ultra montes*), that guarded Italy's frontier, to the pope at Rome, in respect of all things that concerned religion. This was called *ultramontanism*. Complete and absolute authority in all matters religious the ultramontanes wished to see vested in the pope. In the nineteenth century, at the Council of the Vatican (1869–70), ultramontanist doctrines would triumph completely.

Gallicanism

In the meantime, however, there continued to be much criticism and much opposition. The French clergy, as previously, were disposed to maintain their "liberties" and some independence, so that *Gallicanism* remained potent in France, as for a long time before. In 1682 the Declaration of the Clergy, concerning the liberties of the Gallican Church, composed by Bossuet, enounced as principles that a general council of the church was above the pope, and that the pope had no right to interfere with temporal rulers in temporal affairs.

Febronianism

Among German Catholics a similar movement appeared in the eighteenth century. Johann von Hontheim, suffragan or assistant bishop of Trier, attempted to revive support of the conciliar movement. In 1763 under the pseudonym, Febronius, he published a treatise, *De Statu Ecclesiæ et Legitima Potestate Romani Pontificis* (Concerning the Organization of the Church and the Lawful Power of the Pope). Febronius won the attention of many German and Austrian statesmen, and probably was not without influence in respect of the reforms that Joseph II attempted to make. His teachings caused much disquiet in Rome.

Protestantism divided

Protestantism seemed to grow in importance, since the preponderance of wealth and power, once in the southern countries—still Catholic, shifted steadily to the northern that had accepted the Protestant creeds. Yet, the history of the Protestant churches is of less importance than that of the Catholic Church during this time. Catholicism continued united and well organized. Protestantism had soon divided up into several principal sects, and afterward there were numerous secessions from these parts. Moreover, the papal organization maintained its independence of temporal rule. The Protestant ecclesiastical organizations, in England and in the Lutheran countries especially, were very strictly subordinated to the temporal power. Whether in England or in Prussia, the sovereign was head of church as well as of state—as he was in Russia. Finally, the indifference, the scepticism, the spirit of rationalism, that so much diminished the power of the Catholic Church in these times, affected Protestant churches also; while during the eighteenth century they fell into decline much as did the Church of Rome.

Protestant churches generally subordinate to the state

John Wesley, 1703–91

In England religious decay, neglect of functions, absence of interest and zeal, were responsible for the secession from the established Church of England which resulted in the Methodist Church. John Wesley, founder of this sect, who began his preaching about 1739, developed doctrines not very different from those of the Anglican Church, of which at first he was a member. He and his followers were filled with zeal, however. Their strictness, the regularity and method of their lives, caused opponents to decry them as "methodists." Just as Dominican friars had striven to reach the peasants and poorer townsmen in the thirteenth century, so the Methodists now labored to reach the poorer classes in England. Their success was prodigious, and the Church of England was weakened by secession larger than the Puritans once had threatened.

The Methodists

Anti-Trinitarians

Many other sects and religious bodies appeared, some of which continue important, while of others little more than the name recalls what their doctrines long ago inspired. From the beginning certain Christians had insisted on the unity of God, or had refused to receive the doctrine of the trinity which the Christian Church accepted. Under various names these Unitarians or Anti-Trinitarians appeared and reappeared long before the sixteenth century as well as during the Reformation, and sometimes they survived the fierce persecution directed against them. In the early centuries the Arians had asserted the divinity of Christ but denied his equality with God the Father. The so-called Humanitarians denied the divinity of Christ altogether.

The Socinians

In the sixteenth century followers of the Italian theologians, Fausto and Lelio Sozzini, who found refuge especially in Poland, taught that Christ was a man, but divinely endowed. Servetus, burned by the Calvinists at Geneva, was the author of an anti-trinitarian treatise.

The Anabaptists

From early times also there were Christians who believed that baptism had no efficacy unless the candidate made personal profession of his faith; hence, that adult baptism was necessary, that infant baptism was invalid, that a person baptised in infancy must be baptised again (ἀνὰ, ana). By their enemies they were called Anabaptists. As religious radicals they attracted much attention in the period of the Reformation. In 1525 a body of Anabaptists took part in the Peasants' War in Germany. Ten years later another group tried to establish a communist state in Münster. After much obloquy and persecution the Baptists survived as a flourishing Protestant sect.

The Presbyterians

In Scotland the Calvinist Presbyterians held their own after the introduction of Protestantism in that country, and eventually Presbyterianism was established as the state Church of Scotland (1592), and guaranteed in understandings with England (1690 and 1707). For a moment in the seventeenth century it had tried to capture the

organization of the Church of England; but this attempt failed altogether; and English Presbyterians long continued under the disabilities that pertained to dissenters.

The Independents

The Independents, of whom Cromwell was one, believed that each church congregation should, if it so desired, manage its affairs as an independent organization. They likewise were soon overthrown. They lingered on, however, especially in New England, to be the forerunners of Congregationalism. In England also arose a sect that soon gained reputation far beyond the small number of its own adherents. George Fox (1624–91), the son of a Puritan, founded the Society of Friends about the middle of the seventeenth century. In addition to doctrines held by many of the Protestant sects, the Friends condemned all taking of oaths and any participation in war. By their enemies they were soon called Quakers (tremblers or shakers). One of their most noted adherents was William Penn. By their oddities and simplicity of manner they often aroused derision; but through sobriety, industry, and intelligence they obtained considerable standing and power. They were among the earliest advocates of the equality of women with men; and they were long the principal and most ardent opponents of slavery and the slave-trade.

The Society of Friends

Erastians and Arminians

Certain religious ideas were more important than any sects that developed therefrom. Out of the teachings of the German theologian, Thomas Lieber or Erastus (1524–83), followers erroneously deduced but strongly maintained the so-called Erastian doctrine of state supremacy over the church. The Dutch theologian, Jakobus Harmensen or Arminius (1560–1609), inspired the Arminians or Remonstrants, who rejected the Calvinist teaching of predestination, and believed that Christ's atonement was for all mankind. Various bodies of mystics appeared —as in all ages before—who would penetrate the mysteries of transcendental things and attain to God and salva-

The Quietists

tion. The Quietists believed that Heaven might best be reached by abandoning all active exercise of will and meditating on spiritual things. In the seventeenth century the Spaniard, Miguel Molinos, and the French woman, Jeanne de la Motte-Guyon, had many followers.

The Pietists

Akin to them were the Pietists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who laid stress upon practical piety, zeal in spiritual work, study of the Bible, and charity toward heretics. Their most important leader was Philipp Spener (1635–1705), court chaplain first at Dresden and then at Berlin.

The Latitudinarians

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Latitudinarians preached tolerance, forbearance, and a certain latitude with respect to religious dogmas and opinions. In England they desired to unite the Protestant dissenters with the Church of England.

The Deists

During the eighteenth century especially, in various parts of Europe, there were many who rejected most of the old teachings of Christianity, scorned the superstitions which, they said, priests taught to people, and denied the divinity of Christ. In God (*deus*) or a Supreme Being they believed, and hence they were known as Deists. Hume, Gibbon, Voltaire, Frederick the Great, and many others thought of themselves as Deists; and deism was accepted especially by followers of the science and philosophy of the time.

Religious freedom

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries especially witnessed the development of religious freedom. Among the Greeks and the Romans there had been no question of intolerance or religious liberty, since in the absence of dogma, and in the belief that religious cults were a proper appurtenance to the people who possessed them, various worships existed easily side by side. When there was persecution, it was a matter of politics and civil rule. Christians were persecuted by the Roman authorities not for worshipping Christ, but from refusal to acknowledge the deities of other peoples in the empire, and because

often their actions and some of their teachings seemed subversive of the government of the state.

Christian intolerance

Among Christians themselves religious exclusiveness and intolerance were strongly developed. They believed that they knew the one true God; that worship of any other was idolatry; that doctrines other than the true ones which they accepted led to damnation; that for the good of mankind idolatry and false doctrines ought to be ended. When they had gained the power, there was much persecution of heretics by Christians. In 1157 a certain Martin was burned alive by the Orthodox Catholics of the east because he denied the human nature of Christ. With fire, with sword, with torture, the Albigeneses were exterminated by Catholics in the west. During the thirteenth century certain heretics uttering their belief in Burgundy were burned, and the pious chronicler records that from the body of the arch heretic loathsome toads came forth. In the fifteenth century Lollards were burned in England, as John Hus was at Constance (1415). Against the Hussites of Bohemia there were successive German crusades.

Persecution of heretics

During the Reformation

The Reformation gave larger opportunity for religious persecution than ever before. The sterner Catholic rulers soon undertook to destroy all heresy within their dominions. At the beginning of his reign Philip II of Spain declared that rather than rule over heretics he would choose not to reign at all; and he is reported to have said that if his own son were tainted, he would burn him alive. In such countries as Spain, Portugal, and Italy, where the Reformation never attained much power and could easily be dealt with, heretics were extirpated. In other countries where Catholicism regained control as a result of the Counter Reformation many people were persecuted, tortured, or slain. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Ottoman authorities, in respect of religion, were much more liberal than the governments

Roman Catholics more intolerant than Turks

of Roman Catholic countries. The Turks asserted that Mohammed's teaching was the only true faith, but they permitted Christians and others to keep their religion, subject to political and civil discriminations. Catholics strove to destroy heresy and dissent altogether. During the seventeenth century there were times when the Protestants in Hungary and Transylvania much preferred to be subject to the Turks rather than the empire; and as Turkish power in these lands declined and the empire was extended southward, the condition of these Protestants changed for the worse.

Catholicism aimed to exclude other faiths

Generally speaking, in Catholic countries during this time no other religion was permitted to exist. In some places, where it was impossible to destroy Protestantism entirely, Protestants were entirely debarred from political office and preferment, they were subjected to discriminations and harsh laws, and they survived only as a despised and submerged part of the population. In France there was a notable exception. There the long religious wars resulted in compromise: Huguenots were allowed freedom of worship. Yet a century later the Edict of Nantes was withdrawn, and after 1685, with some small exceptions, only the Catholic religion was permitted in France.

Intolerance of Protestants

Afterward it was asserted that modern religious liberty resulted from the Reformation. This was only indirectly so, and the result was far from the intentions of the Protestant reformers. With respect to religious liberty their contention was substantially what Catholics held. Roman pontiffs, following the dictum of St. Augustine, proclaimed that so-called religious liberty was actually opportunity for perdition (*libertatem perditionis*). Protestants seceded not for the purpose of securing religious freedom, but to secure freedom for themselves alone. They asserted that they, not the Catholics, held the true Christian doctrines. Once having set up their churches, they desired, as ardently as Catholics, to make all men accept

their tenets. In Denmark and in Sweden Lutheranism only was permitted. In the German states long religious wars made necessary a compromise with respect to the relations of the states: it was agreed that in some there should be Catholicism, in others Protestantism, in others both, but this was to be in accordance with the decision of the prince who ruled. Within any state, at the will of the prince, all subjects must conform to the religion established by the ruler. In England a Protestant church was set up which all the people were bidden to accept; and Catholics were burned, just as Protestants were in the brief time of the Catholic reaction. The English government passed a series of penal laws against Catholics, and generally, while they were not enforced very severely, Catholics continued to live under them in an inferior position through all this period. Nor were Protestants less stern with respect to other Protestants and dissenters. In England Anglicans persecuted Presbyterians. In Scotland Presbyterians persecuted Episcopalians. Luther had no patience with Zwingli. In Germany Lutherans thought Calvinists worse than papists. It is well known that Calvin himself approved when the anti-trinitarian, Servetus, was burned at Geneva. In England in 1611 an Arian, who denied the divinity of Christ, was burned at the stake. Only in indirect way did the Reformation bring religious liberty: Protestants established their right to secede from Rome and to worship as seemed to them best; others, thus encouraged, seceded from them, and established, contrary to their wishes, the right of secession and freedom still further.

Protestant churches exclusive

Protestants persecute Protestants

What principally established freedom of religion was religious indifference and shifting of interest, a different outlook, growth of rationalism and of humanitarian feelings. So long as either Catholics or Protestants were earnestly convinced that their doctrines were the only true ones, it was proper enough for them to try to sup-

Religious liberty resulted largely from indifference

plant error by the truth that they held. While the ruling classes were more interested in religion than any other thing, inevitably persecution and religious wars followed. By the middle of the seventeenth century it was evident, however, that neither party could destroy the other. By that time, also, the ruling classes and the upper intellectual classes had become more indifferent to the spread of their faith by force. Many people had become more humane. Some could no longer conceive that a merciful God would assent to the killing and torturing of people in his name. Politic rulers contesting with each other sought assistance from various sects and protected them all. Everywhere the mass of the people continued to be blindly and completely attached to their creed, but meanwhile the attacks of sceptics and the teachings of philosophers caused increasing numbers to doubt whether any religion was entirely true and any completely wrong. Some would tolerate; others would leave religious affairs entirely to each individual or each congregation.

Increasing humaneness

Growth of religious toleration

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries toleration and religious freedom slowly gained ground. William the Silent desired toleration for the various sects in the Netherlands. About that time the *Politiques* in France would have left religion to individuals and given attention to government matters. Henry IV of France was indifferent and tolerant; so was Elizabeth in England. The emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II were tolerant likewise. During the period of the Puritan civil wars it was the ideal of Cromwell and his fellow Independents that all Protestants in England should have complete freedom in religion. Catholics they would debar, since Catholics were considered a political menace. Just before this time, however, Lord Baltimore, a Catholic noble, had founded Maryland in North America, where he allowed complete liberty of conscience to all sects (1634). When, a little later, Puritans took control of Maryland,

Lord Baltimore

this freedom was abolished. In England Charles II and afterward his brother, James II, strove to abolish religious discriminations; but this apparently liberal policy was suspected to arise from their favor for Catholics, and the Protestant majority opposed successful resistance. When William III came to the throne he strongly favored toleration. "I do not know precisely what one means by 'heretic,'" he said, "I know that I shall never permit any one to be persecuted for his religion." In the early part of the eighteenth century Frederick William I of Prussia tolerated Catholics, though he strongly disliked them.

William III of England

Gradually political considerations, indifference, and increasing humaneness brought wider liberty and toleration. In Spain and in Portugal the inquisition continued to search out heretics and burn them. In Poland and in the Hapsburg dominions ineffective repression continued. Throughout the eighteenth century the Catholic population of Ireland was kept in degradation by laws discriminating against them because of their faith. For the most part, however, conditions slowly were altered. In England by the Toleration Act of 1689 Protestant dissenters were allowed freedom of worship, and during the eighteenth century the penal laws against Catholics were very seldom invoked. In France there were some notable instances of persecution of Protestants, but the authorities were increasingly indifferent and neglectful. Great writers contributed their part. In England John Locke in his *Letters on Toleration* (1689) asserted that the state had no right to interfere with men's worship. In France Montesquieu, Turgot, Voltaire, and Rousseau, in Germany Lessing, all strongly favored freedom of religion. In 1781 Joseph II proclaimed an edict of tolerance for all of the Hapsburg dominions. Throughout his long reign Frederick II of Prussia was indulgent to all of the various faiths in his realm. A much larger measure of religious toleration than had for a long time been allowed

Continued increase of toleration

England

Advocates of toleration

there was granted in France just before the French Revolution.

Persistence of primitive religious ideas

Meanwhile, the masses of the people in most parts of Europe not only clung to the faith handed down from their fathers, but also to much old superstition and primitive belief. Conceptions of God and the Devil remained entirely anthropomorphic. Heaven and especially Hell continued to be realized vividly and clearly. Belief in witchcraft died very slowly. In Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667), God, Satan, Paradise, the angels, Heaven, and Hell, were all portrayed with the loftiness of a Hebrew prophet, but with an exactness of imagery that Greeks would have used in describing their gods on Olympus.

Allegory and anthropomorphism

One of the most important books was John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678–84), in which sin, temptation, the devil, the perils that beset a Christian's journey through life, were described in the simplest and most vivid way, in terms of ordinary human experience. This book was translated into most of the languages of Europe, and sold broadcast in cheap editions. God was often conceived in a very personal way. Reverent people regarded him as a stern judge or a merciful father. The irreverent hesitated not to indulge in familiarity rude and simple. "O God, O God," said a Puritan in 1642, "many are the hands that are lift up against us, but . . . it is thou thyself, O Father, who does us more mischief than they all."

God conceived in a personal way

Heaven and Hell

With many, religion was little a matter of doctrine or dogma, but of obeying the minister or priest, to win salvation in Heaven, or avoid eternal damnation. Hell and its torments continued to be as vivid as they had been to Dante five centuries before. In Catholic countries priests ruled their flocks with stories of the fearful punishments to come to the wicked. In the *Louvre* there is still shown a picture of such torments as to chill the blood. The tortures meted out to the lost have affrighted many a

one beholding the sculptures or the frescoes made in days gone by: the *Campo Santo* in Pisa, the cathedral portal at Bourges, the door of the cathedral of Orvieto. In Protestant countries gloomy ecclesiastics dilated upon the punishments prepared by a merciful God for sinners. Some Protestants asserted that ages before people were born it was already certain that many had been condemned to eternal and hopeless woe. In an English writing of the seventeenth century, *Contemplations on the State of Man*, once attributed to Jeremy Taylor, the author detailed the most terrible torments: "What comparison will there be," he said in conclusion, "between burning for a hundred years' space, and to be burning without interruption as long as God is God?"

Predestination

Belief in spirits and witches

Belief in evil spirits, witches, incantations, and charms lingered on. There were local stories of fairies, ghosts, werewolves, of witches who had sold themselves to the devil, who rode through the air by night on their sticks with evil power to do harm from their master. Especially in Protestant countries, and particularly where Calvinists had the ascendant, there was abiding horror of witches, and many an old woman, half crazed or ugly, was tortured until she confessed, and then burned alive or drowned. Curses and imprecations were still uttered with ancient fervor. "We anathematize, cut off, curse, and execrate Baruch Spinoza," said the Jews of the Portuguese synagogue at Amsterdam in 1656. "Cursed be he by day, and cursed by night . . . the Lord pardon him never. . . . There shall no man speak to him, no man write to him, no man show him any kindness, no man stay under the same roof with him, no man come nigh him."

Curses

Astrology

Many simple and naïve explanations of phenomena were accepted generally by the ordinary and to a less extent by the great. Wallenstein and many of his contemporaries placed the utmost faith in calculations of astrolo-

gers—as much as Greek generals and Irish kings had done ages before. "The stars and comets," writes a friar to one of the Spanish ambassadors in 1619, "have produced most remarkable results, for the empress, the Archduke Maximilian, the emperor, and the queen of England all have died." In the latter part of the seventeenth century, a pamphlet, *Strange and Terrible News from Ireland*, relates how a maid of Dublin wished that the devil might take her if she spoke not the truth. "Whereupon, next night she was found with her Flesh Burnt off her Arms, and lying by her black like burnt Leather, yet no visible fire near her. And still she continues burning . . . a woful spectacle of Amazment to the whole City."

Belief in strange occurrences

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CHAPTER XXIII

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

The means to enrich the Kingdom, and to encrease our Treasure.

. . . The ordinary means . . . to encrease our wealth and treasure is by *Forraign Trade*, wherein wee must ever observe this rule; to sell more to strangers yearly than wee consume of theirs in value.

THOMAS MUN, *Englands Treasure by Forraign Trade* (London, 1664), chapter II.

Io ho veduto molte cose dell'Indie, ed ho havuto di quelle radici che chiamano BUTATAS, e le ho mangiate; sono di sapor di castagne.

Letter of ANDREA NAVAIERO, Seville, May 12, 1526: *Opera Omnia* (Venice 1754), p. 277.

The Judgement of the Law is, and this High Court doth award:

That you, *William* Earl of *Kilmarnock*, *George* Earl of *Cromertie*, and *Arthur* Lord *Balmerino* . . . return to the Prison of *The Tower* from whence you came; from thence you must be drawn to the Place of Execution; when you come there, you must be hanged by the Neck; but not till you are dead, for you must be cut down alive; then your Bowels must be taken out, and burnt before your Faces; then your Heads must be severed from your Bodies, and your Bodies must be divided into Four Quarters, and these must be at the King's Disposal.

And GOD ALMIGHTY be merciful to your Souls!

Judgment of the House of Lords of Great Britain, August 1, 1746: *Lords' Journals*, xxvi. 630.

Agriculture the support of people

DURING all this period the principal support of nearly all people remained agriculture. A century after the French Revolution a considerable part of the population of industrial countries like the German Empire, Belgium, and Great Britain would be supported by importations of food purchased abroad and paid for by the sale of manufactured products or by such service as transportation of goods in ships. In the period before the Industrial Revo-

lution, however, there was nothing like this, save only, to some extent, with respect to the Dutch Netherlands, which, with scanty resources on land, developed their commerce and fisheries so greatly during the seventeenth century that they were able to increase their wealth and support a large population.

Simple and scanty

In general, agriculture continued to be primitive and simple. The yield from the soil was not much increased. Hence it was that between the Reformation and the French Revolution there did not take place such an increase in the population of Europe as occurred there in the nineteenth century alone. In France, where the soil was fertile and crops were generally good, a large population appeared during the Middle Ages, and probably did not increase much thereafter before the end of the Old Régime.

Population increased very slowly

In England, during the nineteenth century, the population increased from 8,500,000 to 32,000,000; but in all the centuries from the time of the Norman Conquest to the end of the eighteenth century it had increased only from 2,000,000 to 8,500,000. There are no means of making reliable estimates of population in earlier times, but it has been conjectured that the population of Europe about 1750 was 127,000,000. At present it is probably more than 450,000,000.

Continuance of communal agriculture

In many parts of Europe, especially in the central and eastern regions, agriculture was carried on in the *mirs* or upon the manors, according to the old communal system that had come down through the Middle Ages from earlier times. Still the villagers labored together upon lands held collectively by them, and after harvest received the proceeds from the strips previously assigned them by lot. They continued to give a portion to the lord of the manor, and still labored part of the time on his domain lands. Where serfdom had decayed, the peasant rented the land as an individual holding, and cultivated or held it of the owner on condition of paying a share of the crops. In

France the portion paid was one half, hence the cultivator was known as a *métayer* (*medietas*, half). In France, however, for some time before 1789 an increasing number of cultivators had been able to purchase their holdings. This wider distribution of property among a larger number of proprietors was afterward a steadying influence in the French Revolution, when no lay property was confiscated save what had been abandoned by *émigrés*.

The *métayer*

In England also there were more numerous holdings than before. There, however, the tendency had generally been for the peasants to lose their interest in the village lands once held partly by them in common. With the decay of the English villein system peasants had been employed to work for the lords for wages, still retaining their interest in the common lands. In course of time, from various causes, the smaller holders were driven to dispose of their rights; while there was steadily a tendency for the wealthy man of the neighborhood to buy or by other means acquire the common and enclose it for his private estate. Gradual improvements in methods of cultivation and larger returns to be derived from sheep-raising made it more profitable to work large estates than small ones, so that constantly small holders were driven to lower economic level or forced away to the towns.

Enclosure

Disappearance of small holders in England

Generally speaking, throughout Europe old methods of cultivation continued. Most of the cultivators labored hard with the rude, clumsy tools that their fathers had used long before them. For most agricultural laborers life was unremunerative and hard. In the Middle Ages irrigation and careful cultivation had been employed in Italy and in southern Spain, but in both of these countries agriculture slowly decayed. In the seventeenth century improved agricultural methods had been worked out in the German countries, and from the Palatinate Englishmen learned the device of planting clover or turnips instead of letting the land recover by lying fallow. During

Gradual improvement

Turnips and clover

the seventeenth century also more careful and intensive methods were developed in the Dutch Netherlands. In England during the eighteenth century considerable progress was made. A certain Jethro Tull especially brought his countrymen to see the advantage of raising turnips upon the land formerly allowed to rest fallow; with the turnips feed cattle, which could formerly not be kept through the winter months; and from the cattle obtain larger quantities of manure for fertilizer to restore the land. He also invented the seed drill by which better planting could be done. These improvements were thoroughly established upon some of the great English estates. At the same time in England and in other places the breeding of cattle was carefully studied and better cattle produced. Generally, however, European agriculture was not greatly altered during this time. The large changes were to come in the nineteenth century, as the result of discoveries in chemistry and using labor-saving devices.

The seed drill

Commerce and industry

In the economic history of this period commerce and industry have more of interest, since in them larger changes were made, and these alterations led to greater change in the culture of Europe. In the earlier Middle Ages European commerce was neither important nor extensive. With great difficulty was it carried on at all. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when conditions had become more settled, and during a period of great intellectual development and political activity, commerce and industry expanded especially in Italy and in the Low Countries.

Capitalism

This period was one of the earlier stages of European capitalism. Many considerable fortunes were amassed. Usury, or the lending of money at interest, condemned by the church as sinful, hitherto done only by Jews, now began to flourish among the Lombards and the Flemings, and presently Florence and Bruges became great centers of exchange and commerce.

The commerce of this early period was the commerce

of urban communities or city states. In the south, trade was developed by the Italian cities Amalfi, Pisa, Genoa, Florence, and Venice; in the north by Bruges, Ghent, Ypres, and other cities in the western Netherlands. Where greater power and strength were needed against marauders and greedy noblemen, such strength was derived not from nations or states, but from combinations of cities. Especially notable were the German leagues. The Confederacy of the Rhine, which numbered fifty or more cities especially in the south German lands, flourished during the fourteenth century until its power was broken by the German nobles (1388).

The commerce of cities

Leagues of city states

Meanwhile, beginning with a compact between Hamburg and Lübeck (1241), a powerful association of cities had arisen in the north. During the fourteenth century the *Hanse* (association of merchants) or Hanseatic League embraced some ninety members, with other affiliated cities scattered all over Europe. Among its principal members were Brunswick, Cologne, Danzig, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Königsberg. It had factories or communities, with their own government and special privileges, in many foreign cities, such as Bergen, Bruges, London, Novgorod, and Wisby. During the fourteenth century the *Hanse* was one of the principal powers in Europe, waging war successfully with kings and princes. By the Treaty of Stralsund (1370) Denmark was compelled to agree that thereafter no one should mount the Danish throne unless approved by the league. In many places, by war or by threats, it secured commercial privileges or particular rights, and it had for a time almost entire control of the commerce of northern Europe. At the end of the Middle Ages its power began to decay through the operation of large general causes. In the period that followed its wealth was exhausted and its power broken in contests with the rising nation states, England, Holland, and Sweden. The principal seat of the *Hanse* had been

The Hanseatic League

One of the principal European powers

Decline of the *Hanse*

Lübeck, where meetings of the members were held every three years. The last assembly, at which only six cities were represented, was held in 1669.

Great changes

About the end of the fifteenth century occurred an immense alteration in commerce and commercial methods. Medieval organization gave way before the rise of national states. Old commercial centers declined and new ones rose to importance. New commercial routes were opened, and vast new regions brought within reach of merchants. Hitherto Venice, Genoa, Bruges, and the Hanseatic cities had been the principal commercial places in Europe. Now Lisbon became the center of the spice trade, and Antwerp the commercial metropolis of the Netherlands, though in less than a century Antwerp's primacy was yielded to Amsterdam. The particular privileges which Venice, Genoa, the *Hanse*, and Bruges had once had in various countries were now withdrawn one after the other, as the vigorous Ottoman power superseded the Byzantine Empire and other weak Levantine states, and as strong governments were developed in England and in France. In the midst of the uncertainty and confusion and the transference of power, all resultant, the older capitalist class that had managed the commerce of the period preceding was pushed aside by a new class of capitalists who arose in the changing times.

New centers of trade and new leaders

Decay of the old city commerce

In the previous period commerce had been under the control of cities or associations of cities, managed by their merchant princes. During the Middle Ages the commerce of Denmark, France, and England had been largely in the hands of Italian or German traders. In medieval England much of the larger trade of the kingdom was carried on by merchants of Florence or Venice, while the *Hanse*'s position in its *Steelyard* in London was of such importance in commercial life that the money of these Easterlings or eastern merchants—the pound sterling—became the standard coin of England. Now, as kings consolidated well-

National commerce

organized and powerful states, and entered into rivalry with other rulers, they had need of more power and more money. So they strove to develop the industry and commerce of their own dominions, and keep the profits in the hands of their subjects. Hence they abrogated the privileges of foreigners, and strove to build up national industry and commerce.

Rulers develop the commerce of their states

Where formerly merchants had opposed the difficulties that beset trading by combining with other merchants of the same place in a guild merchant, and gained greater power against their enemies by having the merchants of various cities combine, when necessary, in leagues, now they found assistance and protection from their monarchs. Kings of England, France, or Spain now gave exclusive rights or commercial privileges to their own subjects. For them national governments passed restrictive legislation, such as the English "navigation laws", intended to drive foreigners out of English trade and restrict, as far as possible, English commerce to English merchants. To their own merchants governments granted monopolies of trade in the colonial dominions that the nation states were acquiring. Governments soon began to wage wars, to uphold or extend the monopolies granted. So it was that commerce began to depend largely upon national power, and commercial greatness rapidly deserted the old cities and went to Holland and England, with their rising sea power, or to Spain and France and Turkey, the principal powers in Europe.

Commercial privileges supported by governments

Commercial companies

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries appeared great new merchant princes—Jacques Cœur in France, the Fugger and the Seiler in Germany, Usselinx and Moucheron in Holland. These men rose by new methods in changing times. Gradually, however, the organization of commerce was largely altered. Merchants or associations of merchants of the same family in partnership had carried on medieval commerce. Now larger organizations

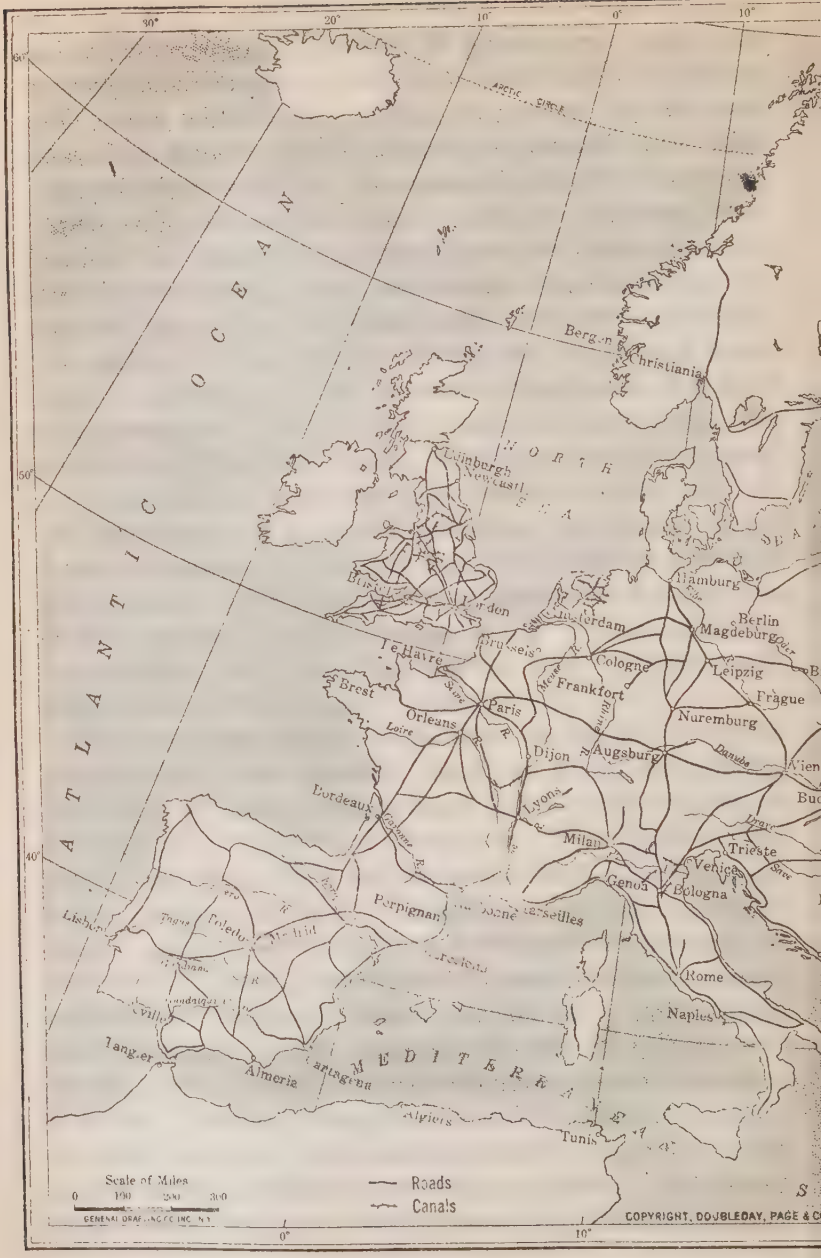
or companies were formed. For distant enterprises or great undertakings, especially in distant lands and in the new colonial dominions, merchants combined in an association under which each member carried on his own business, but subject to the company's general rules, while each member contributed to a general fund of the company expended for the benefit of all. In these "regulated companies" the organization speedily proved to be too loose for effective management, and within them members frequently acted for individual profit without considering the rights of the others. From the "regulated company", accordingly, was presently developed the joint stock company, a corporation—that is to say, in the eyes of the law, a fictitious person, like the medieval chartered town government, representing a collective interest. In the joint-stock company the enterprise was carried on by a general management in the interests of the members of the company. The members contributed to the expenses of the company by purchasing "stock" or a part in the organization, and from the profits they received gain proportional to their stock or investment.

Stock companies

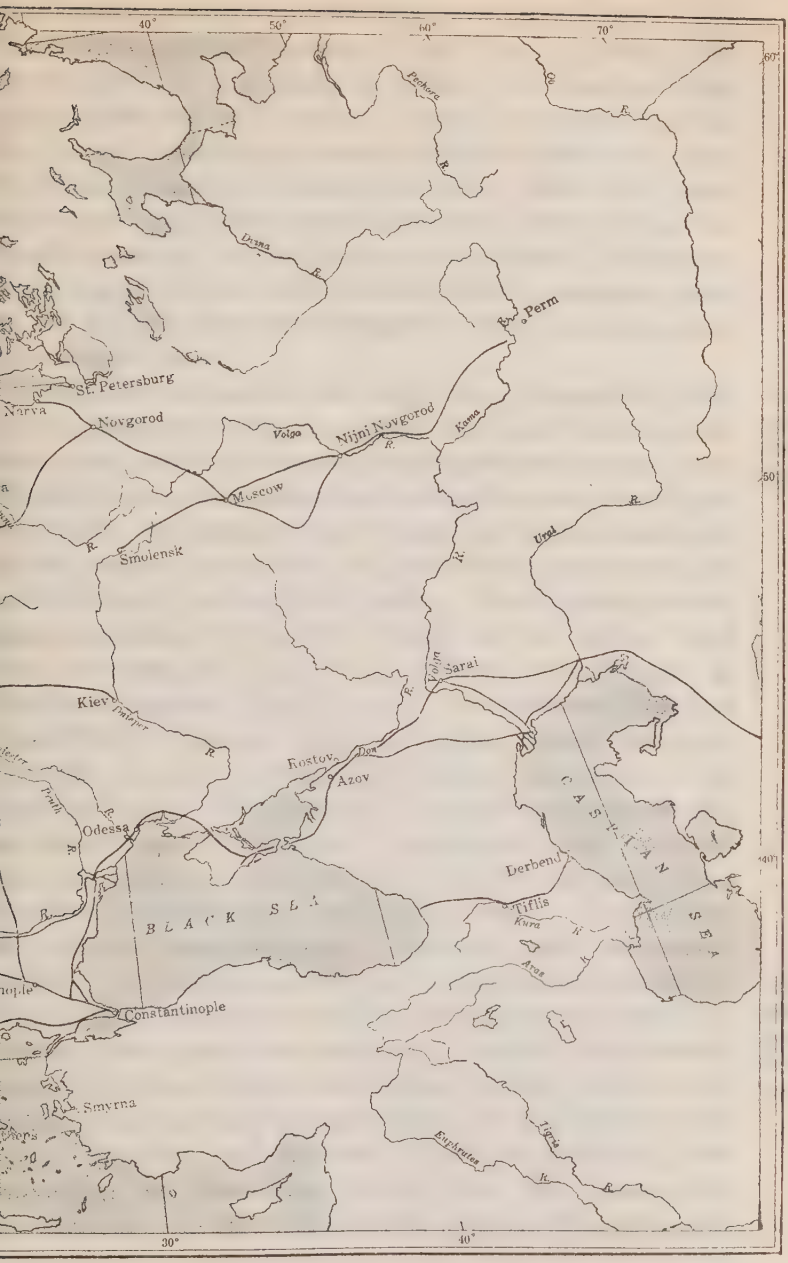
Great trading companies

Numerous companies, established or chartered by the governments, were founded, many of them monopolies, and some of them of great importance in the history of colonization as well as of commerce. The English East India Company (1600) had exclusive right, so far as Englishmen were concerned, to engage in the Indian and far eastern trade. It established forts and settlements on the coasts of India, developed the trade of these regions, extended its influence inland, and, as the result of England's triumphs in the contests with the French and the Dutch, gained virtual control and monopoly of commerce in India. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it carried on many wars, and gradually acquired a great empire in India which it governed until 1858. The Dutch East India Company (1602) gained for Holland a large

Acquire colonies and empires



42. MAP OF EUROPE, SHOWING THE PRINCIPAL RIVERS, A



CIPAL ROADS AND CANALS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

and lucrative empire in the islands of the far east. The French East India Company (1604) long contested with the English for supremacy in India. The London Company (1606) and the Plymouth Company (1606) had much to do with founding the early English settlements along the Atlantic coast of North America. Some fifty great chartered companies were established during the seventeenth century by Englishmen, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Danes, and Swedes; while several other companies, such as the English Muscovy Company (1554), had been chartered earlier still.

Governments foster trade

Medieval sovereigns had taken some interest in commerce, since one of the recognized sources of royal revenue was from customs duties imposed on exports and imports. With the growth of commerce during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries greater interest developed, and some of the foremost statesmen and rulers tried to increase the activities and profits of merchants. The Spanish government established a special "council of the Indies" and also the *Casa de Contratacion* (House of Commerce) at Seville to regulate Spanish trade. The Stuart kings and also Oliver Cromwell took particular interest in every possible measure for fostering English commerce. Colbert told Louis XIV that in all ways Frenchmen should be encouraged and assisted in agriculture and trade, so that war upon sea and upon land might be supported, and the French king be the "head of the earth." The increasing yield of commerce was a splendid prize well worth seeking. It was because of commercial greatness that the Dutch Netherlands were able to defy Spain and establish independence; and it was because of wealth derived mostly from trade that Holland maintained herself as one of the great powers of Europe throughout the seventeenth century. England had hitherto been comparatively unimportant in European affairs, but her commercial development in the seventeenth century brought con-

National power supported by commerce

stantly increasing power and wealth; and her continued commercial and colonial expansion during the eighteenth century made her the chief power in Europe.

The Mercantile System

From the care and ambition of rulers and statesmen the Mercantile System was developed in government and political economy. For national greatness large wealth was needed. This must come mostly from the taxes paid by the subjects of the state. If agriculture, commerce, and industry flourished and the subjects were prosperous, they could pay all the greater revenue for support of the state. Hence, by every possible device, rulers should endeavor to assist agriculture and foster the activities of merchants. Wealth would accrue to a nation if it sold to other nations more than it bought, and thus had a "favorable balance of trade." So, the government encouraged, by all means in its power, domestic manufactures, protecting them, as Colbert did in France, by tariffs and prohibitive duties, or by forbidding importation altogether. Hence, also, it granted monopolies and strove to reserve all the trade with its colonies, that raw materials might be obtained for industry or sale to other nations. Especially also did the government strive to increase the stock of its money by stimulating importation of gold and silver and prohibiting the export of bullion.

Favorable balance of trade

Mercantilist doctrines

Mercantilism embraced many fundamental errors, which were gradually perceived and decried by writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In England Thomas Mun, a mercantilist, defended the export of gold and silver in his *Englands Treasure by Forraign Trade* (1664). Sir Josiah Child in his *New Discourse of Trade* (1665) declared that gold and silver were merely commodities used to measure the value of other commodities. In the latter part of the seventeenth century Sir William Petty exposed the fallacies of mercantilism in various treatises, as did Nicholas Barbon in more striking fashion. In France during the eighteenth century the Physiocrats—

Quesnay, Turgot, and others—denied that money was wealth, and advocated abandoning the restrictions by which governments had striven to stimulate trade. The classic denunciation, however, was made by a Scotsman, Adam Smith, whose *Wealth of Nations* (1776) expounded with great force and much additional information the earlier arguments of Barbon and Hume and the doctrines of the Physiocrats. He declared that governments should abandon restrictions and interference with trade; they were actually not conducive to the wealth of nations, and only in the interest of a privileged few. During the nineteenth century the doctrine of *laissez-faire* (non-interference) superseded in many places the old mercantilist system of government regulation and assistance, and the older doctrines were often remembered with ridicule and with disgust. None the less, many of the practices of the mercantilists, which had come down from still earlier times, still continued to be employed; and in the nineteenth century not a few governments strove for national greatness by subsidies, regulation, navigation laws, and prohibitive tariffs.

Decried by Adam Smith and others

Mercantilist doctrines not completely abandoned

Meanwhile, there was great increase in the amount of money in circulation, much development in banking, and the beginning of modern methods of speculation. During the fifteenth century the quantity of gold and silver in Europe was small, as it long had been. Constantly there was tendency for the supply of precious metals to diminish, as payment was made for commodities imported from the east. A small supply was obtained by mining in Europe, especially in Germany, but not very much was ever acquired in this way. After the opening of the mines of Mexico and of Peru great quantities of silver, especially, were brought to Spain. It has been estimated, though on evidence insufficient, that during the century following the discovery of America the amount of coin in Europe quadrupled. Alexander Humboldt conjectured the

Increase in quantity of money

amount imported annually during the middle years of the sixteenth century at a sum nearly the equal of half the entire capital of the Medici a hundred years before. In accordance with mercantilist principles the Spaniards strove to retain their gold and silver, but the decay of their industry and the decline of their commerce made it necessary to exchange their money for products sold by the English, the French, and the Dutch. Accordingly, there was soon a much greater amount of money circulating in Europe, with consequent inflation and rise in prices.

Inflation and rise in prices

Exchange and banking

The business of exchange and banking greatly increased. Goldsmiths and others received deposits or borrowed money on which they paid interest, lending then at higher interest. It was now possible to get capital much more easily than before. New enterprises and new stock companies were established in increasing numbers. Exchanges were instituted, such as the Royal Exchange in London, the *Bourse* in Paris, and the *Beurs* in Amsterdam, where the stock of companies was bought and sold. From time to time there was wild speculation—the Mississippi Bubble in France (1720), and the South Sea Bubble in England (1720)—followed by financial panic and ruinous loss. Then, as afterward, speculators were deluded and cheated by dishonest promoters. During the South Sea speculation in London a company was organized "for a wheel for perpetual motion." There was also one "for carrying on an undertaking of great advantage, but nobody to know what it is. Every subscriber who deposits £2 per share to be entitled to £100 per annum." Its advertiser is said to have received £2,000 in less than five hours.

Speculation

In manufacturing the great changes came later

Manufacturing expanded less and was less transformed in this time than commerce. The great alteration in manufacturing and in transportation, upon which manufacturing so largely depended, began, indeed, during the eighteenth century. The immense changes of the Industrial Revolution, however, came at a later time, and

can be studied better in connection with the history of the nineteenth century. In the greater part of Europe there was little manufacturing. In most places the larger part of what was done was carried on, as for generations before: done by hand with simple tools, in the homes of the workers, in the villages, or on the manors where the workers lived. There were, as before, some industrial areas where the principal or entire support of the inhabitants came from manufacturing, and exchange of manufactured articles for food and other necessary things. In most towns and cities there was some of this, though generally in Europe urban communities were the capitals of their rural districts, seats of administration, exchange, and culture, rather than industrial centers.

Manufacturing not yet greatly changed

Manufacturing gradually passed from some districts to others during this time. In the Middle Ages the principal industrial districts had been Germany, the western Netherlands, and northern Italy. After the fifteenth century the industrial prosperity of the Italian states declined —rapidly in some places, more slowly in Venice and Milan. After the sixteenth century the greatness of Flanders decayed, and was never restored until the nineteenth century. Presently, however, when the Dutch Netherlands increased so greatly in commerce and wealth, manufactures were also developed, and Amsterdam, the commercial metropolis of Europe, became also the center of numerous flourishing trades and crafts. During the seventeenth century, especially in the period of the Thirty Years' War, the admirable manufactures and skilled work for which Germans had long been renowned were annihilated along with German prosperity and commerce. Meanwhile, since the end of the fifteenth century, the rulers of England had been striving to build up native manufactures, especially to work up the wool formerly exported to Flanders. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the English greatly developed manu-

New industrial districts

Decay of German industry

Development of English manufactures

factures, though less notably than commerce, in which they were presently first in Europe. During the sixteenth century Spanish industry flourished and expanded, but oppressive taxation, the expulsion of the Jews and the Moors, and various other causes, made Spanish manufactures decay and decline. During the seventeenth century French administrators, especially Colbert, endeavored by every possible means to stimulate French manufactures. For some time there was a great expansion, and, although heavy taxation and the flight of the Huguenots brought some disaster, France remained one of the principal industrial countries in the Europe of the Old Régime.

French industrial increase

In many places manufacturing was carried on under regulation of craft guilds, which, as formerly, consisted of a certain number of members, who were masters. These guilds were exclusive organizations into which it was difficult to procure admission, while the cost of admission itself debarred many who would have liked to be members. Masters carried on their craft in their own houses, assisted by apprentices who were learning the trade, and sometimes by journeymen, to whom they paid wages. By every means in its power a guild would try to monopolize its craft, and prevent the particular manufacture from being done by workers not of the "mystery" or guild. In many places guild restrictions and old privileges strictly maintained fettered industry, and excluded workers capable of carrying on the craft from engaging in such occupation. This continued to be the case in France throughout the eighteenth century, though in France there had been larger industrial progress than in some other countries. Generally, however, the guilds were in decay, and had long been declining. Where industry was expanding rapidly, as it was in England throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, control and monopoly by the guilds relaxed more and more. Since the muni-

Guild restrictions

Decay of the craft guilds

cipal authorities usually favored the guilds, workers moved from the old industrial centers to new ones. In Flanders and in England this tendency was evident during the sixteenth century, when Armentières, Birmingham, and Sheffield began to rise to importance. In new centers new associations of workers, free from guild regulations, established themselves; and in some places manufacturing passed very largely to their control.

New manufacturing centers rise outside the power of the guilds

In course of time, larger capitalism and new organization appeared in industry as they did in commerce. In some places, as in England, the capitalist was no longer the guild master, but one who bought a stock of materials which he distributed among cottage workers, taking from them afterward the wrought product, for work upon which he paid them. The next step was for these subordinate workers to be assembled together in some factory or place of manufacture belonging to the man of capital, who then became an employer directing workers for wages. There had been some beginning of this in England at the end of the Middle Ages, but for the most part guild work and domestic manufacture were the bases of industrial organization there until the eighteenth century, when the Industrial Revolution began. During that time, in England especially, labor-saving devices were invented by which skilful workers could produce much more than before. At first these devices, while not to be obtained by all workers, could be bought by the more prosperous ones and used in their houses. Presently, however, larger machines were invented, too costly to be bought by artisans, and meanwhile inventors strove to make still larger machines which could be operated by water power, and later by steam. Manufacturing now tended to be done in factories specially built for the large machines, by workers operating the machines for the capitalists who owned them, the workers receiving from the employers wages in return. By 1789 there was little of

Beginning of the factory system

Beginning of the Industrial Revolution in England

Modern industrial capitalism

this in Europe, save in Great Britain. By that time, however, Britain was in the midst of the Industrial Revolution. Her manufacturing was increasing vastly, and her industry was in process of complete transformation.

Governmental regulation

There were combinations of masters or employers; but, as far as possible, combinations or unions of workers were forbidden. In the Middle Ages industry was supervised by the authorities of the town where it was done, these authorities often being the masters of the guilds. As national governments were developed more strongly, control of industry and of the workers passed to the state. The central government, as in England, desired to protect the workers for the good of the state, but measures undertaken by workers to better their own position it frowned upon and strove to prevent. Laws were passed to compel certain wages to be paid by employers both to agricultural laborers and industrial workers. From time to time the authorities strove to assess these wages so that a proper minimum should be given. On the other hand, workers who tried to alter conditions themselves were considered to be plotters against the government, and resultant disorder was treated as riot. In England in the Middle Ages had appeared combinations of workers, especially among the stone-masons and builders, to increase wages and secure better conditions. Forerunners of the modern trade unions, they were held by the courts to be conspiracies, and sternly forbidden. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were "conspiracies" or unions among the miners and weavers, but always after some resistance and some disorder these unions were suppressed. Generally speaking, wages were low, hours of labor were long, conditions were hard. Of all this, low productive capacity was the primary cause.

Assessment of wages

Unions of workers forbidden

Living conditions remained for most of the population much as they had been, but for the upper classes—and the upper classes constantly increased their numbers—

there was constant improvement. The great mass of the agricultural population of Europe, whether in Portugal, Prussia, Italy, or the Ukraine, continued to live in little cottages or hovels like those of their fathers and mothers of many generations preceding. For the more prosperous classes, however, many improvements had come, and a well-to-do merchant or burgher of the eighteenth century lived more comfortably than a Saxon lord of the eleventh century or a French *seigneur* of the twelfth. About the end of the Middle Ages chimneys came into general use among the people of western Europe. Gradually glass was used for windows in many houses and the better houses had many more windows than before. A larger part of the population, especially in the western countries, had houses that contained several rooms and much more furniture than previously. The poorer peasants continued to sleep on the ground, but more and more families had beds. In England toward the end of the Middle Ages the older generation was beginning to lament the introduction of the luxury of pillows. Most houses were heated little better than before, with not much heat in winter. Generally reliance was put upon firewood; but an Italian noted in the fifteenth century that among the Scots there were those who burned black stones, and during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was considerable traffic in coals brought from north England to London and parts of the south. Water supply remained much as it had been. The larger houses had cisterns, hence to some extent their own supply. Poorer folk went to the wells or pumps in the streets or market place.

Some improvement in living conditions

Increase in comfort

Heating and water supply

With respect to clothing the principal factors continued much the same in the eighteenth century as in the fifteenth. Then as now styles changed rapidly and greatly. Old pictures and prints of successive generations show many different costumes, whether for lord and great lady, soldier or lawyer, merchant and merchant's wife. For clothing

Clothing

the great staple material continued to be wool; no large quantities of cotton were used in Europe until the nineteenth century. Many peasants wore wooden shoes—as some continue to do; but leather had long been used, and more and more people could obtain leather shoes.

Smaller production then

Under the old system of manufacturing clothing could never be obtained in great quantities. For most people clothes were expensive and had to be worn a long time. Nobles and the wealthy indulged in splendid finery and raiment. Men who could afford it dressed in silks with brocade and laces. Men as well as women decked themselves then in striking and brilliant colors.

Food more varied

Food became more varied and more abundant. Nearly all the food raised was consumed near where it was produced. Communication and means of transportation were generally such that it was uneconomic to transport heavy commodities any long distance. During all this period, however, transport by sea and river became better and cheaper, as ships were improved and made larger. During the eighteenth century many roads were improved and canals constructed, especially in France, England, Holland, and Prussia. So it was increasingly possible to move bulky cargoes of grain and meat. Furthermore, there were many new things available. Crops were now more varied in Europe. More vegetables were raised. Sugar and spices were much cheaper, and fairly abundant. The wines of Portugal, Spain, and France were carried to all parts of Europe. From the new lands some important contributions had been made. The potato had been brought from America. In some districts of Europe by the end of the eighteenth century it had come to be the staple food.

Increased transportation of food

The church and education

The principal intellectual influence in the lives of most people continued to be the church, and the principal teachers and leaders were the ministers and parish priests. Education had once been a monopoly of the church and

the priestly class. It continued during all these centuries to be very largely in their control. Many of the schools were church or convent schools. Many of the best teachers were Jesuits or other ecclesiastics. Nowhere was there any national system of education. It was not considered a duty of the state to teach its subjects to read and write. Rather, education was a luxury or desirable possession for the upper classes, for those who could afford to obtain it. Where instruction was not under the control of the church, it was given by private teachers or in schools founded by the philanthropy or enterprise of some individual. In Holland and in Scotland education was better and more general than in other parts of Europe. Generally speaking, it is probable that not a quarter of the population of Europe was literate, though in some communities of the west the proportion was larger. Education was less general for women than for men, and almost no women, except through private teaching, ever received higher education. Many believed that education was useless for women, that it lessened their good qualities and charm. In various parts of Europe there were schools renowned for excellence of teaching. The old universities continued to be the centers of higher learning. In the course of three centuries many of these universities had changed but little. Some of them, as Oxford and Cambridge, in England, had during the eighteenth century entered upon a time of quiescence and decay. Certain new universities had been founded: Göttingen (1737), Bonn (1777), Brussels (1781), and, in the New World, Harvard (1636), Yale (1701), Princeton (1746).

Education a thing to be bought

Schools and universities

What was to be the foremost educational and informative agent for most people at the end of the nineteenth century had not yet become very important. Regular dissemination of news was, indeed, very old. In the Roman Empire the authorities were wont to post up in public places written accounts, known as *acta diurna* (daily

Dissemination of news

events). From them copies were made, and Juvenal refers to a Roman lady reading her paper. Such was also the custom at Venice in the sixteenth century, where written official bulletins, *gazetti* (γάζα, treasury, that is, of news), were posted up. Here and elsewhere for those who desired them "news letters" written out by hand, sometimes in several copies, were dispatched from the cities into the country, and sometimes passed on from hand to hand for many weeks after arrival. Among the Italians such a sheet was a *coranto*, among the French a *courant*, that is an account of the running or current news. Among English family papers long after the invention of printing many manuscript news letters still remained.

News letters

Pamphlets

After the invention of printing for some time attempts to instruct or give information or news were made through books or pamphlets—little books unbound. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the pamphlet still held the place that the newspaper afterward had. During the Puritan revolutionary period in England it is said that more than 40,000 pamphlets were published. In course of time small pamphlets or sheets, giving news, were printed periodically—once a week or twice. Perhaps the earliest were the *Frankfurter Journal* (Daily—*diurnalis*) in 1615, the Antwerp *Nieuwe Tijdinghen* (New Tidings) in 1616, the London *Weekly News* (1622). In Sweden the Stockholm *Ordinarie Post-Tidende* (Ordinary Post News) began in 1643. At St. Petersburg the *Viedomosti* (Gazette) appeared in 1702, two years earlier than the Boston *News Letter* in New England. The first Italian newspaper was the *Diario di Roma* (Roman Daily) in 1716; the first paper in Spain the *Gaceta de Madrid* (1726). Generally political conditions were such that newspapers could have no effect upon political life. In England, however, in the first half of the eighteenth century, *The Craftsman* and *The Examiner* had some influence on the course of events. The best newspapers then were much like some of the

Newspapers

Small effect on political affairs

papers in Italy or in Spain at present: small in size, dingy in appearance, with little recent news, but with poems and essays, and many advertisements of remedies and nostrums.

Broadsides

Innumerable pamphlets continued to be published down into the nineteenth century—as they are still. There was also a great number of single sheets or broadsides, ballads and songs, often illustrated with rude woodcuts—for the art of printing pictures had been developed along with the using of type. The making of books steadily improved. The eighteenth century saw some of the finest illustrating and printing ever done. The art of fine engraving had been magnificently developed, and the sumptuously engraved and pictured editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and La Fontaine's *Fables* done at this time have never been excelled. Books were often larger than now—tall folios and massive quartos. The finer books had admirable paper and were bound in calf or morocco. Some of the best of the later printing was done by the Englishman, Baskerville, at Birmingham and Cambridge, and by the Italian, Bodoni, at Parma.

Sumptuous books

Cruelty

There was much harshness and cruelty in manners and customs. Punishments were savage and dreadful. Torture was in most parts of Europe often employed. Fearful punishment was ever and again meted out to some notable offender. John of Leyden, who with others led the religious-radical revolution at Münster (1535), was crowned with a red-hot crown after his body had everywhere been torn with red-hot pincers. When Gerard murdered William the Silent (1581), it was decreed that his right hand should be burned off with a red-hot iron, that with pincers his flesh should be torn from the bone in six places, that he should be disembowelled and quartered, his heart torn from his bosom, and his head stricken off. Damiens, who tried to assassinate Louis XV (1757), had his flesh torn open with red-hot pincers, melted lead

Punishment with torture

poured into the wounds, and his body pulled asunder by horses. An Italian contemporary relates how throngs of highborn women in their carriages crowded in among the rabble to watch during the hours that the spectacle endured. For high treason in England the punishment was to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and the ghastly proceedings, witnessed by multitudes, have been described in detail by contemporary writers. For smuggling, and defrauding the king of his revenue the punishment in France was breaking on the wheel. The condemned was bound on a large wheel, with arms and legs outstretched. Then all the bones were crushed at the joints by blows with a heavy hammer, and death came after an infinite delay of lingering torment. Sometimes, in addition, the broken wretch was scourged with whips of metal.

Torture to obtain confession

Torture was employed not merely for punishment but in order to extort confession. Many an old stronghold or prison of state preserves fearful engines once used for this purpose. On the rack Anne Askew's joints were so broken that she could not walk to the stake to be burned (1546). After the Gunpowder Plot in England (1605) Guy Fawkes was stretched on the rack until he confessed; and on a letter still preserved is the trembling signature to his confession. When Ravaillac, assassin of Henry IV, king of France, was put to the question to make him discover his accomplices (1610), it is said that first all his teeth were drawn and his nails pulled out, lest in extremity of torture he bite off his tongue or else tear it out, and thus avoid a confession.

Torture a spectacle for amusement

Torture was a spectacle to which visitors at prisons were admitted. John Evelyn, English diarist of the seventeenth century, narrates that during his travels he was allowed to see a suspect stretched and then filled with water. About the same time Racine, in his *Plaideurs* (1668), has one of his characters invite another to witness a torture: "So one can always while away an hour or so." Many an innocent one, driven by pain to

confess crime which he had not committed, was sentenced to death. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries nearly all classes in church and state approved of this method, though some condemned it as cruel and unjust. During the eighteenth century increase of humaneness gradually brought some diminution. Toward the end of this period the writings of the Italian jurist and philanthropist, Beccaria, had much to do with causing men to desire other methods. In his book *Dei Delitti e delle Pene* (Crimes and Punishments) published 1764, he advocated abolition of death penalty as well as of torture. In most parts of Europe, however, torture was employed to the end of the Old Régime. England was an honorable exception. There during the Middle Ages torture was abandoned in the procedure of the common law courts, and it was gradually also brought to an end in the king's prerogative courts.

Influence of Beccaria

Punishments were very severe. There was much crime, and a great deal of it went unpunished, since there was nowhere an adequate police, and the organization and machinery for detecting and capturing malefactors were in most places quite insufficient. When punished, criminals were usually punished with death or mutilation. There were not many prisons, since the community could not afford to support them. Used mostly for confining state offenders or debtors, they were generally horrible places, where prisoners lingered in filth, hunger, and disease, supported largely by contributions from the charitable or from friends. In Mediterranean countries condemned malefactors were sent to the galleys; but for the most part in the case of graver crimes prisoners were sentenced to death, if they were not acquitted. For lesser crimes lesser punishments—whipping, branding, the pillory, mutilation. Culprits were marked on the forehead or cheeks with some letter or sign imprinted with glowing iron. Some had the ears cropped. Some had nose or

Punishment of ordinary crime

Prisons

Lesser punishments

tongue slit. For minor offenses men or women were put in the stocks or the pillory, exposed to the gaze of the town. Sometimes an unpopular malefactor put up in the pillory was pelted to death by the mob. Titus Oates, false witness in the Popish Plot (1678), was afterward condemned to be beaten from Aldgate to Newgate and from Newgate to Tyburn—all the way across London. In Russia the son of Peter the Great is said by some to have expired under scourging with the knout (1718). In Great Britain during the eighteenth century more than a hundred crimes were punished with death, though in most cases the offender could on the first occasion escape through receiving "benefit of clergy", that is, the privilege which the medieval clergy had had of being punished lightly, not with death.

Whipping

Warfare

During this period there was much development in the art of war by land and by sea. At the end of the Middle Ages cavalry had, as long before in classical times, become subordinate to infantry. In the earlier Middle Ages battles were decided by the charge of heavy-armed, mail-clad mounted knights. With the thrust of long spears and with the momentum and shock of their chargers, usually they could break any opposing infantry line. Thus the Battle of Hastings (1066) was won by the Normans. In course of time infantry became important again. Masses of Scots spearmen in dense array defeated the badly handled English at Bannockburn (1314), and the phalanx of Swiss pikemen ruined the armies of Charles the Bold at Granson and at Morat (1476). Meanwhile, English archers supported by spearmen and cavalry shattered much more numerous hosts of Frenchmen at Crécy (1346) and Agincourt (1415). In course of time, the correct combination, worked out by tacticians, was a strong body of infantry, defending itself with swords or spears, supported and protected by artillery and by cavalry. Neither infantry, nor artillery, nor cavalry, as a rule, had

Infantry becomes important again

Infantry, cavalry, and artillery

any chance singly against such combination. Infantry in line—even the densest mass of spearmen—unsupported, could usually be struck in the rear or the flanks, and broken before they could wheel to meet the new danger. Infantry in circles or squares might stand against cavalry charges but could be broken by artillery at a distance; whereupon the cavalry would charge through the break and cut them to pieces. On the other hand, artillery unsupported by cavalry and unprotected by infantry could be destroyed by the horsemen. For a long time during the Middle Ages the English were nearly irresistible in battle, since they developed a good combination of the three forces, and since their artillery—archers with the dreaded long bows of England—was the best by far. After the introduction of gunpowder into the northern countries about the middle of the fourteenth century the French cannon became superior to any other. Of infantry, the Swiss and the German preferred long spears, the Spaniards often chose the short sword.

English tactics

Ravenna, Pavia, Breitenfeld

At the Battle of Ravenna (1512) the Spanish troops hewed their way through opposing pikemen; but the artillery in the French service wrought havoc among them; and finally the French horsemen drove them from the field. At the Battle of Pavia (1525) the French artillery was badly handled, while the Spanish and German pikemen overwhelmed their opponents. At Breitenfeld (1631) the superior artillery of Gustavus Adolphus played upon the dense masses of the Catholic League, after which the Swedish cavalry struck and the Swedish infantry closed. At Rocroy (1643) the ranks of Spanish pikemen drew up in bristling array. Upon them the French artillery played until breaks were made, into which the French infantry were hurled to cut the Spaniards to pieces—as they had dealt with the French and their mercenaries at Ravenna a long time before. At Marston Moor (1644) the forces of Charles I, infantry in the center protected

Rocroy, Marston Moor

by cavalry on each wing, confronted the army of parliament, marshalled in similar manner. Cromwell, commanding the cavalry of parliament on one wing, drove the opposing cavalry away. At the other end the king's commander routed the Roundhead horsemen and pursued them far from the field. But Cromwell at once outflanked the royalist infantry and got to their rear, while parliament's infantry advanced. Unsupported by cavalry the king's forces were compelled to surrender.

Muskets

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries muskets, or hand cannon, were not important. They were often so heavy that they must be supported on a rest when fired. The bullet and charge must be rammed down the barrel, after which the powder was ignited with a match. Musketeers, unsupported by pikemen and not guarded by cavalry, could fire only a few rounds before the enemy's horsemen were upon them to cut them to pieces. In the Thirty Years' War musketeers were drawn up behind pikemen, between whose spears they fired, when the enemy's horsemen charged.

Careful and laborious campaigns

Since under many conditions infantry was helpless or at great disadvantage without cavalry, movements were frequently cautious and slow. In the latter part of the seventeenth century all campaigns were conducted with utmost circumspection, with respect to fortresses upon which the armies were based, and with constant regard to lines of communication. Campaigns were conceived in respect of tactics, or proper movements upon the field of battle, rather than strategy—the large, daring movements through which brilliant commanders have often decided campaigns. After the time of Turenne there were able and careful generals—Luxembourg, Montecuculi, William III, but no great military genius until Marlborough, whose rapid movements and far-reaching strategy anticipated what Frederick the Great of Prussia would do, and what Napoleon did somewhat later.

Decline of strategy

Artillery

During the seventeenth century artillery declined in excellence and value. The artillery of Wallenstein and even of Louis XIV was less good than that which Francis I had at Marignano and at Pavia. Cannon were heavy and costly, and came to be used more and more in siege operations, for which they were, indeed, much improved.

Fortification

During the latter part of the seventeenth century the art of fortification also was advanced, especially by the work of the French master, Vauban, and by his Dutch rival, Coehorn. During this time defense became superior to offense. This was altered during the eighteenth century by a great new school of stategists, of whom Marlborough was the first, and by the gradual improvement of arms. Artillery again became more effective, and firearms were much improved.

Increased rapidity of fire

The excellence of the Prussian small arms and the rapidity of the Prussian fire had much to do with the victories of Frederick the Great. Numerous improvements were made in France. A flat dagger was affixed to the end of the musket, thus allowing an infantryman to combine the offensive power of small artillery with the defensive power that the swordsman or pikeman had had.

The bayonet

This is said to have been done first at Bayonne, in south France, whence the device was called bayonet (*baionette*). Successive inventions and improvements made muskets lighter and increased rapidity of fire, until infantry were no longer dependent on cavalry protection, as they had been in the time of Gustavus and Cromwell. Pikemen had disappeared altogether. So had the archers; though some bowmen are said to have served on English ships in the fighting with the Spanish Armada (1588).

War at sea

Naval warfare also underwent alteration. In medieval sea fights the war vessels attempted to ram each other or tried to close, whereupon the combatants, armed much as they would have fought upon land, engaged in combat. In such operations seamanship and sailing qualities, while

important, were not necessarily decisive. At Lepanto (1571) the rival fleets were driven at each other by sails, and even more by rowers, and the Turks were crushed in the hand-to-hand fighting that followed. During the contest with the Spanish Armada, however, the English ships, with superior sailing qualities, saved themselves from their larger antagonists, not permitting the Spaniards to close, and inflicting damage with their greatly superior cannon at a distance. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, more and more, sea fights were decided by expert sailing and cannon fire at short range, though sometimes ships closed and were held together by grappling-irons, after which the issue followed fighting with musket and cutlass. Toward the end of the seventeenth century there were in the service of the king of France warships carrying a hundred cannon. In the eighteenth century war vessels were rated by gun power: the largest and most heavily armed—with three decks and from sixty to a hundred guns or more—were called "ships of the line", those with two decks and a smaller number of cannon—from thirty to sixty—were known as "frigates." In the naval combats of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the various units of the fleets usually engaged in duel with single antagonists. In the latter part of the eighteenth century strategists were working out the grand maneuver of "breaking the line": a fleet would strive for position to strike through the line of the fleet opposing, and then surround and crush one of the parts. This was carried out by the British against the French at Les Saintes in the West Indies (1782) with decisive success.

Fighting with ships supersedes combats of soldiers at sea

Ships of the line and frigates

Naval tactics

Usage in war

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries conduct and practice of war were cruel and hard. Troops lived on the country and often respected no rights of the inhabitants as they passed through. Rome was miserably plundered in 1525. Antwerp was ruined by the Spanish sol-

diery in 1576. The horrible sack of Magdeburg by Tilly's troops (1631) was long mourned in Protestant Europe. Hostages were taken, requisitions were levied, and savage reprisals were made. If a town did not yield on summons to surrender all of its inhabitants might be slain when the place was taken. Thus Cromwell massacred the Irish garrison at Drogheda (1649). Gradual amelioration was made. Armies were supported by their governments, and war carried on in accordance with a body of rules. For a while warfare was milder and less baneful to the mass of the population than it came to be after the middle of the nineteenth century. In connection with codifying and explaining the rules of war, international law had its beginning. Preëminent among those who codified the rules and deduced from them general laws was the Dutchman, Hugo de Groot (1583–1645), regarded as the founder of international law. Grotius's work *De Jure Belli et Pacis* (Concerning the Law of War and Peace) was published in 1625.

Amelioration

Grotius and international law

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CHAPTER XXIV

SCIENCE, INVENTION, AND PHILOSOPHY

Homo, naturæ minister et interpres, tantum facit et intelligit, quantum, de naturæ ordine, re vel mente observaverit; nec amplius scit, aut potest.

FRANCIS BACON, *Novum Organum* (1620), aphorism i.

Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night:
God said, "Let Newton be!" and all was light.

ALEXANDER POPE (1688–1744), epitaph intended for SIR ISAAC NEWTON.

Mais, aussitost aprés, ie pris garde que, pendant que ie voulois ainsi penser que tout estoit faux, il falloit necessairement que moy, qui le pensois, fusse quelque chose. Et remarquant que cete verité: *ie pense, donc ie suis*, estoit si ferme & si assurée, que toutes les plus extravagantes suppositions des Sceptiques n'estoient pas capable de l'esbranler, ie iugay que ie pouuois la receuoir, sans scrupule, pour le premier principe de la Philosophie, que ie cherchois.

RENÉ DESCARTES, *Discours de la Méthode* (1637): *Œuvres* (1897–1908), vi. 32.

Science and knowledge

FROM the end of the Middle Ages to the eve of the French Revolution there was much greater progress in science and widening the fields of knowledge than there had been in all the thousand preceding years. Early medieval conditions were unfavorable to advancement of learning; and when, after the eleventh century, better times came, predominance of the study of theology, attitude of the church, prevalence of deductive method, disregard of experimental work, were obstacles in the way of progress. That investigators did do excellent work is probable enough. The researches and success of Roger Bacon, the English friar, have long been well known. In re-

Some advance in the Middle Ages

spect of some matters there was evidently much advance. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries appeared the mariner's compass, the ship's rudder, gunpowder, chimneys, lead pipes or plumbing for conducting water to towns, eye-glasses or magnifying lenses to assist the sight, mechanical clocks, and the staining of glass. Many of the military and siege operations, while inferior to those of the Romans, yet involved knowledge of mechanics and mechanical appliance. Furthermore, in constructing the great cathedrals, principles were worked out and methods employed that constitute one of the greatest achievements in the development of architecture.

The Renaissance

During the Renaissance and after there was great progress in science as in many other fields. Most men were at first interested in revival of the old learning, in studying the Bible, or in the religious questions that arose; but there was presently also eager curiosity in studying the mysteries of nature.

Symbols for counting

For a long time mathematics had been slowly enlarging. One of the great underlying achievements of European civilization, the adoption of the Hindu-Arabic numerals, was already accomplished in part before the end of medieval times. Originally, it would seem, most primitive people represented to themselves the number of things by telling them on the fingers of the hands or even upon the separate toes. This still continues to be the elementary and most widely used mathematics in the world. As advancement was made and larger calculations attempted, signs were used to represent different numbers of things, thus transferring numerical ideas away from the hands and the feet. For example, the Greeks used the accented letters of their alphabet ($\acute{\alpha} = 1$, $\theta' = 9$, $\tau' = 300$); the Latins those signs which are still familiar as the Roman numerals (I, II, V, X). Some of the Hindus used a set of signs, no more significant, but now familiar all over the world, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and many more. A difficulty

Meaningless symbols for larger numbers

was evidently apparent, however, to all early mathematicians: symbols that represent numbers mean nothing to the mind if the number signified is a large one. The Greek χ′ (600) must have meant very little as a rule, while the Hindu τγ (4000) must have represented as little to most minds then as the figures for a trillion do now.

The abacus or counting machine

Various devices were invented to assist the mind, the most important a counting machine known to many as the *abacus*, still the means of higher calculation for half the people of the world. The device was nothing more than several columns or compartments, in which counters might be placed, or several wires upon which movable beads might be strung, the fundamental idea being that those upon one wire or in one column were so many times the value of those of another. Sometimes the proportion was twenty, and there is still a trace of this from the Celtic in the French word for eighty (*quatre-vingts*—four twenties). Sometimes the proportion was twelve, and the idea of a dozen still widely persists, while there is a remnant of the usage in the English *eleven* and *twelve* instead of *ten-one*, *ten-two*, after the manner of *twenty-one*, *thirty-two*, and so on. Generally, however, the proportion was ten, for the reason, doubtless, that most people had usually counted on the ten fingers of their two hands.

The decimal system

Computation on the abacus

Where the decimal system was adopted, the digits in the column farthest to the right had their ordinary value, those in the column next to the left, ten times those values; those next farthest left, ten times ten, or a hundred times the ordinary value; and so on. In a computation on the counting board—for example, the exchequer table employed in medieval England for computing the revenue of the king—if 5 counters were placed in the column farthest to the right, 6 in the one next left, and 3 in the one next farther left, it was understood that there were then represented three hundreds, six tens, and five. Presently more skilful computators attempted to get the

Difficulty with respect to representing "nothing"

same result by writing their digits in positions similar to those they would have had on the respective wires of the abacus or columns of the counting board. Then three hundreds and six tens and five would be put down 365. But now a difficulty arose. If in a computation there were the 5 units but not any tens and then 3 hundreds, if the two digits occurring were written down side by side they would appear as 35, a result far from what had been intended. To meet this difficulty the Hindus invented a symbol for nothing (. or 0), probably the greatest advance ever made in mathematical science. When this symbol had been added, one could write down three hundreds and five units as 305. It now became possible, with the first nine of the Hindu digits and the zero, to make immense calculations and very complicated calculations, something that neither Greeks nor Romans nor any of those who followed the old systems had ever been able to do. Accordingly *1*, *2*, *3*, with the seven other Hindu symbols, began slowly to displace the Greek ά, β′, γ′ and the Latin I, II, III.

A symbol for zero or nothing

The Arabs bring the Hindu-Arabic symbols over the Mediterranean

It was the Saracens, some of whom had invaded India, who first borrowed the Hindu system and spread it about to the west. Because it was from Arab traders that the people of Europe learned these figures, it was as Arabic numerals that they were for a long time known. During the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries they were being introduced into the Mediterranean seaports and towns. It was not the mathematicians and learned who adopted them at first, but the traders and merchants. Gradually they occur in the manuscripts of scholars, and treatises appear about them. In the thirteenth century Leonardo Fibonacci of Pisa explained their use in his *Liber Abaci* or Book of Number (1202). In the latter part of the thirteenth century they came into fairly general use in Italy, and slowly spread to other places. In the sixteenth century they largely superseded the Roman characters in

Gradually adopted in Europe

Germany. Meanwhile, they had spread to France and from there to England. In the fifteenth century they were used for dating coins and for numbering the pages of books.

Development of arithmetic

These symbols were soon employed in developing a mathematics far beyond anything done in the days of the Greeks or the Romans. In arithmetic much better methods of multiplication and of division were now worked out, and decimal fractions introduced. In 1494 Luca Pacioli published at Venice a treatise in which rules were given for the fundamental processes in arithmetic, and the extraction of square root was explained. In 1540 Robert Recorde published his *Grounde of Artes* in which he used the sign + for plus and — for minus. In another writing he employed = to represent equality. Somewhat later the Englishman, John Napier, greatly impressed at the enormous calculations made by Kepler and other astronomers of his time, developed a system for rapid computation of very large numbers. In his *Mirifici Logarithmorum Canonis Descriptio* (Treatise of the Wondrous Rule of Number Ratio) published in 1614 he gave a list of logarithms and the theory that underlay them. Logarithms were perfected by his contemporaries, Henry Briggs of Oxford, and Adriaan Vlacq of Leyden. The discovery was joyously acclaimed by Kepler. Until the time when modern counting machines were invented, logarithms remained the indispensable instrument in dealing with numerous computations and larger numbers.

Logarithms

Algebra

During the same time algebra, a higher and more symbolic science of number, developed among the Greeks and afterward by the Saracens, but never greatly developed for lack of sufficient and suitable symbols, was carried far forward. During the sixteenth century certain Italians, especially Niccolò Tartaglia and Girolamo Cardan, developed the solution of equations of third and of fourth degree, while François Viète or Vieta, especially

improved the algebraic symbols. During the eighteenth century, a Swiss, Leonhard Euler, carried on the work of Vieta, developing further the symbols by which algebra has been made a rapid process of arithmetic. His *Anleitung zur Algebra* (Introduction to Algebra) published in 1771 left an abiding impress upon all later elementary treatises on the subject.

Geometry

Geometry, carried far by the Greeks, but afterward suffered to decay, was revived and enormously extended now. During the sixteenth century, trigonometry, one of its principal subsidiary branches, was advanced by the labors of various mathematicians, especially Georg Joachim. The great modern contributions, however, came after progress had been made in the simpler branches of mathematics. In 1637 René Descartes (1596–1650) published his *Discours de la Méthode*, so famous in philosophic thought. An appendix or supplementary essay in this work was entitled *La Géométrie*. In this treatise the author with remarkable brilliance and power laid the foundations of analytic geometry. About the same time an Italian, Buonaventura Cavalieri, enounced the method of indivisibles, concerning the measurement and value of curves, from which calculus was afterward developed. Meanwhile, the Frenchman, Fermat, did work in analytic geometry, and made contributions to the theory of probability and of number.

Analytic geometry

Calculus

Toward the end of the century mathematical science was forwarded by the labors of two of the most powerful intellects that ever concerned themselves with it. The Englishman, Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727), and the German, Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibnitz (1646–1716), long busied themselves with many problems in philosophy and science. From the work of earlier mathematical laborers they developed that branch of mathematics once known as fluxions—since it dealt with numbers whose value constantly flowed or changed—but later on known better

Leibnitz and Newton

as calculus. Leibnitz discovered the principles of calculus (1684), and invented for it a superior notation. Newton's independent discovery was embodied in his *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (1687).

Pierre Simon, Marquis de Laplace, 1749–1827

During the latter part of the eighteenth century mathematics was further enriched. The Italian Lagrange, the Frenchmen d'Alembert and Laplace, achieved the solution of many problems until then insoluble, extended the work of Newton and Leibnitz, and established new general principles of the utmost importance. Laplace, in his *Mécanique Céleste* (1799–1825), brought the mathematics of this period to its highest point. During this time, however, there were already some who were considering the problem of non-Euclidean geometry, which would later on bring vast new conceptions in mathematical science.

Astronomy

Advance in mathematics was largely responsible for immense extension of astronomical knowledge. For more than a thousand years no substantial progress had been made in this field. In the second century Claudius Ptolemy had published his *Syntaxis* (System) at Alexandria. This book, presently known as the great system or construction (*ἡ μεγίστη σύνταξις*), was translated in the ninth century by the Arabs under the title *Al Magisthi*, and was known to medieval men as *Almagest*. Throughout the Middle Ages it had been the standard and all-important compendium of astronomical lore. Greater Greek astronomers had appeared before Ptolemy, especially Aristarchus of Samos, who in the third century B. C. anticipated to some extent the Copernican theory, but his work and that of others were overshadowed by what the renowned Alexandrians taught.

The Ptolemaic System

According to Ptolemy, the earth was the center of the universe. Around the earth revolved the moon, Mercury, Venus, the sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn—as the Babylonian astronomers had expounded it long before. What seemed then the very complicated motions of the planets—

The earth a globe the center of the universe

wandering stars, Ptolemy explained by a complicated system of epicycles, or circles imposed upon circles. In a very important work upon geography, Ptolemy calculated the circumference of the earth, which he understood to be a globe within one sixteenth of its true dimension. He believed the inhabited and known world to be surrounded on all sides by vaster waste lands that barred the progress of man. The contrary ideas of Pomponius Mela and of Strabo—that the inhabited world was surrounded by oceans, beyond which lay other lands—were accepted by the Portuguese and the Spanish mariners who attempted the great voyages of discovery.

Copernicus

Ptolemy's notions about the universe prevailed down to the sixteenth century, when the work of astronomers and mathematicians revolutionized men's ideas. Nikolaus Koppernigk or Copernicus (1473–1543), a German of Thorn, in what was then Polish Prussia, studied again the works of the ancients, and concluded that the motions of the heavenly bodies could be better explained with reference to a motion of the earth first assumed. His conclusions were embodied in his work, *De Orbium Cœlestium Revolutionibus* (On the Motions of the Heavenly Globes), the printing of which was finished as he lay on his death bed. According to the Copernican theory the sun was the center of the universe, the earth and other planets revolving about it.

The sun the center of the universe

Tycho Brahe makes many accurate observations

"In the system of Copernicus there are many and grave difficulties," said the Englishman, Francis Bacon, somewhat later. These difficulties were soon considered and dealt with. Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), a Dane, became interested in astronomy, and under patronage of Frederick II established the observatory of *Uranienborg* (Castle of Heaven). Here, after exhaustive observations, made with the best instruments then to be procured, he made many astronomical calculations and discoveries. He never accepted the Copernican theory, however. A little

43. MAP TO SHOW THE MORE IMPORTANT AREAS C

LTURE AND OF INDUSTRY IN EUROPE ABOUT 1600

later, Johann Kepler (1571–1630), a German of Würtemberg, for a time Tycho Brahe's assistant, carried forward elaborate and prolonged researches, making vast numbers of calculations. The result of his study was to confirm the theory of Copernicus, and give it adequate mathematical foundation. In 1609, in his work *De Motibus Stellae Martis* (The Motions of Mars), he announced the first two of the planetary laws upon which his scientific reputation was afterward especially founded. According to Kepler, the orbits of the planets were ellipses having the sun at one focus. After his time the Copernican system was accepted by well-informed people.

Kepler confirms the Copernican theory

Astronomical science was carried further by the work of Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), descended from a noble Florentine family, but born at Pisa. Like his contemporary, Bacon, in England, he was interested in many branches of science. He eagerly carried on experiments, in the course of which he made numerous contributions to astronomy and physics. In 1609 Galileo perfected the telescope, which now became the principal instrument used in study of the heavens. In Holland the making of glass lenses for spectacles had already been much developed. According to a story long current, the children of a spectacle-maker held two lenses so that objects seen through them appeared much larger. The father then combined lenses and sold the new wonder as a toy. Galileo hearing of the novelty realized its importance, and presently was able to construct a telescope that magnified the diameter of objects eight times. With this he discovered mountains on the moon, satellites or moons revolving about the planet *Jupiter*, and spots on a sun revolving. His discoveries also greatly confirmed the Copernican theory, which he accepted, but which the inquisition compelled him to abjure in 1633. "*E pur' si muove*" (and yet it does move), he is reported to have muttered about the earth, when allowed to depart. He pub-

Galileo

Uses a telescope

lished his *Dialoghi delle Nuove Scienze* (Dialogues concerning the New Sciences) in 1638.

Newton propounds a theory of the universe

The work of these earlier masters was taken forward by Sir Isaac Newton. With a reflecting telescope—using a concave instead of a convex lens—he succeeded in eliminating chromatic aberration, caused by unequal refraction of the different colors, theretofore an obstacle in telescopic study. Accepting the Copernican System, studying the planetary laws of Kepler, and using the measurement of a degree of the earth's surface determined by the Frenchman, Picard (1671), Newton elaborated laws concerning the universe, especially his theory of

Gravitation

gravitation. He was able to demonstrate that the attraction of the sun exerted upon the planets varied inversely as the squares of the distances respectively between them. By 1685 he had elaborated his universal law of gravitation. Newton's deductions, taken up with enthusiasm by Voltaire, and disseminated by a host of followers and admirers, became now the fundamental explanation of the universe, and so remained almost unchallenged until partly displaced by the theories of Einstein and his followers a short time ago.

Halley's Comet

The knowledge thus obtained was extended by others. Edmund Halley (1656–1742), a friend of Newton, applying the Newtonian principles, inferred that the appearance of comets in 1531, 1607, 1682, resulted from recurring visits of one comet that revolved about the sun in a mighty ellipse. He predicted a return in 1758. This prediction was verified, and the comet, since known as Halley's, has reappeared at predicted intervals since then. Later on he demonstrated that there had been changes in the apparent relative positions of the fixed stars, *Sirius*, *Arcturus*, *Aldebaran*. The German, Sir William Herschel (1738–1822), who did most of his work in England, carried forward observation of the heavens beyond anything done before, and perfected telescopes of much greater power.

Sir William Herschel

In 1773 he observed the *Orion* nebula. In 1781 he discovered a new planet, afterward called *Uranus*. With more powerful telescopes he then discovered satellites of *Uranus* and of *Saturn*. In his study of the heavens he catalogued a multitude of double stars and nebulas. He presently concluded that the entire solar system, now recognized as merely a small thing in the vastness of the universe, was moving through space in the direction of the remote constellation *Hercules*.

Measurement of time

The progress of mathematics and astronomy, together with other scientific work, gradually made possible more accurate measurement of time, and brought reforms in the calendar or system of reckoning time. Among primitive men time was measured by recurring darkness and light, behavior or phases of the moon, by appearance of the planets, and with reference to the changing seasons. Most important of divisions was the day—a period of light (day) and one of darkness (night)—caused, as was then believed, by one revolution of the sun about the earth, and as was understood very much later, by one revolution of the earth on its axis. Time of the day was determined roughly by the sun dial, in which reckoning depended on the sun's position marked by the dial's shadow. For the most part it was told roughly by darkness or light, especially by position of the sun in the heavens. The Babylonians divided the day into twenty-four parts, hours. Hours and short intervals of time were in ancient days and in the Middle Ages measured by hour-glasses or by water-clocks, in which determination resulted from a certain quantity of sand or of water running slowly out of a vessel.

Time of the day

The mechanical clock

A change in habits and attitude of mind of many people—greater than can easily be conceived now—came in the seventeenth century with clocks and watches. The mechanical clock or the *horologium* (hour-teller) appeared in the Middle Ages, and one was sent as a present by the sultan of Egypt to the Emperor Frederick II in 1232.

A great advance was made when the mechanism of the clock was regulated by the pendulum. In 1582 Galileo, observing the slowly swinging lamp in the cathedral of Pisa, discovered that when a hanging body (*pendulum*) moved from side to side, its vibrations occurred in equal time. This device for accurate measurement of time was presently applied to clocks. Long before, Ptolemy, following the Babylonians, had established division of certain units of measurement into sixty parts, known presently as *partes minutæ primæ* (first small parts), and each one of these into sixty parts, presently called *partes minutæ secundæ* (secondary small parts). These divisions were applied to measurement of time, and in medieval England Chaucer writes of the "minutes of an houre."

Smaller divisions of time

The pendulum clock

In 1656 Christian Huyghens, the Dutch physicist and astronomer, invented a pendulum clock, in which the pendulum regulated the equality of these divisions. Sixty equal second strokes made a minute, while the mechanism gave sixty of the larger, or minute, divisions to each hour. He obtained the same result for smaller timepieces by utilizing the spiral spring for watches. As such clocks and watches came into use during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, habits of accuracy and punctuality gradually arose previously not conceived of.

Watches

The month

Meanwhile, in measuring longer periods, greater difficulties had been encountered. From an early period the succession of phases of the moon caused by its revolution about the earth—new moon, full moon, and the various aspects of crescent and waning moon—established in men's minds a definite sequence and a period very well marked. Such was the origin of the month—from new moon to succeeding new moon. A longer period was established by the successive seasons of the year, ascribed to various causes, but afterward ascertained to result from the earth revolving with axis inclined round the sun. Such was the origin of the year, the time from one spring—

The year

which was probably the original meaning of *year*—to the spring succeeding. Within these periods the day was used as a measure.

Difficulties pertaining to a calendar

Difficulties long beset all attempts to establish a calendar. Astronomers have now for some time known that the month contains twenty-nine and a fraction days, and that the year contains three hundred and sixty-five days and a part of a day. Neither number could for a long time be exactly ascertained, and the larger number never can be evenly divided by the smaller. In very ancient times the year was made to consist of twelve months. The Babylonians reckoned 365 days to a year; the Egyptians twelve months of thirty days each, afterward trying to correct the error by affixing five days more at the end of the year. In 238 B. C. a further correction was made by giving an additional day to each fourth year, but this innovation was later forgotten. The Greeks, after various earlier reckonings, came close to the truth. Meton, the Athenian, about 400 B. C., arranged a scheme in which the year was made only thirty minutes too long.

Year, month, and day

The Julian Calendar, 45 B. C.

The assumption that the year contains 365 days—that is, six hours too short—involved an error of 24 days in a hundred years. The Roman Calendar, based on this reckoning, had by the time of Julius Cæsar accumulated an error of 85 days; and festivals once held in the autumn had now receded to the hotter months of the summer. With advice of the Alexandrian astronomer, Sosigenes, Cæsar made the Roman Calendar entirely independent of lunar months, and ordained that the year should consist of 365 days with an extra day for each fourth or "leap" year. This Julian Calendar, which involved an error of only eleven minutes yearly, held its own in western Europe from the time of its establishment (45 B. C.) all through the Middle Ages.

Accumulated error caused the Julian Calendar to exceed proper reckoning one day in 128 years. Accordingly, by

The Gregorian Calendar, 1582

the sixteenth century an error of ten days had come. The calendar was now further reformed under the auspices of Pope Gregory XIII. In 1582 he caused ten days to be omitted from the year. Then, since the error had been approximately a gain of three days in four hundred years, for such time in the future three days would be dropped. As before, each fourth year—the year whose number was exactly divisible by four—was to be a leap year of 366 days, except that of the century years, such as 1600, 1700, 1800, 1900, only those divisible by 400 were to be leap years, thus dropping out three leap year days in each four hundred years. The Gregorian Calendar, roughly correct, involving an error of only one day in 3,000 years, was accepted at once in some countries. In the year of its promulgation it was adopted in the Papal States, Denmark and Norway, France, Holland, the Spanish Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain. It was then accepted by Catholic Switzerland (1583–4), the Catholic states of the empire (1584), Poland (1586), Hungary (1587). Religious objections long kept it out of some Protestant countries, but it was taken by the Protestant states of the empire (1699), the remaining Dutch Netherlands (1700), Protestant Switzerland (1701), Great Britain (1752), and Sweden (1753). It was not accepted in Tuscany until 1751. In countries of the Orthodox Church, the Julian Calendar continued to be used on through the nineteenth century. The Julian Calendar had only been adopted in Russia in 1700.

Acceptance of the Gregorian Calendar

Days of the week

Among Jews and Christians a shorter division, a week, or group of seven days, had been used. Of this, men said the origin came from the circumstances of creation. In six days God had created the earth and man, and rested on the seventh day. The seventh day was the Lord's. Astrologers named them all by assigning each to a particular heavenly body: the sun, the moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn. Such was the origin

of the names of the week days in the Romance languages. In French, for example; *dimanche* (*dominus*, lord), *lundi* (*lune*, moon), *mardi* (Mars), *mercredi* (Mercury), *jeudi* (Zeus, Jupiter), *vendredi* (Venus), *samedi* (Saturn). When this usage spread to Teutonic peoples, they made rough substitution of the names of their equivalent deities: as the English Sunday, Monday, Tuesday (*Tiu*, god of war—Zeus), Wednesday (Woden, king of the gods), Thursday (Thor, the hammer god), Friday (Freya, queen of the gods), Saturday (Saetere, Saturn). The pagan names were retained by Christian people.

Their names

In the natural sciences, or knowledge of nature, later distinctly divided into physics, chemistry, and other important branches, much progress was made. Here, during the medieval period, much less had been done than in classical times. At the beginning of the sixteenth century Leonardo da Vinci made notable contributions in various fields. He was the first great engineer of modern times, as he was one of the greatest of artists. The German, Georg Bauer, better known as Agricola, laid the foundations of the modern study of mineralogy. His treatise *De Re Metallica* (Metallurgy) was published in 1530. Somewhat later the English physician, William Gilbert, did important work in chemistry and in the study of magnetism. Gilbert's work *De Magnete* was published in 1600. From his term *vis electrica* the word "electricity" was taken. The Neapolitan, Della Porta, carried on researches in Naples and in Rome. His *Magia Naturalis* (Natural Science) appeared in 1569, but for more than a generation he continued to give out the results of his researches. He first described the *camera obscura*, with which much later photography would be developed. He had also the idea of the telescope, which his countryman Galileo perfected soon after.

The natural sciences

Metallurgy, chemistry, magnetism

In the seventeenth century Evangelista Torricelli (1608–47), who did most of his work at Florence, ascer-

Atmospheric pressure

tained the existence of atmospheric pressure, determined the weight of the atmosphere, and discovered the principle of the barometer (1643), long known as *Torricelli's Tube.* His experiments were carried forward by the Frenchman, Blaise Pascal (1623–62), who investigated the atmosphere at different altitudes. About the same time Otto von Guericke, a German of Magdeburg, invented a better air pump for creating a vacuum. The globe from which he pumped the air men called the *Magdeburg Hemispheres.* Meanwhile, the properties of atmosphere and various substances were studied by the Flemish chemist, Jan van Helmont (1578–1644). By him was invented the term "gas." "This vapor," he says, writing of one theretofore unknown, "I call by the new name gas" (*novo nomine gas voco*). The study of atmosphere, gases, and substances was carried forward by the Englishman, Robert Boyle (1627–91), afterward remembered especially for Boyle's Law: that gas varies with respect to its mass inversely as the pressure upon it (1662).

The barometer

The Magdeburg Hemispheres

Cas

Torricelli, Van Helmont, Boyle, and many others, exemplified well a great change in method. In the Middle Ages deduction rather than experiment had been employed. During the renaissance of scientific knowledge the method mostly used was one based upon experiment, and induction was the principal logical process—that is, establishing some general principle by reasoning back from a number of observations. The Englishman Francis Bacon (1561–1626), though not a great scientist himself, was keenly interested in experiment and scientific work, and was a very able popularizer and expounder of the knowledge of his time. He it was who first explained and emphasized the principles of induction; and in a long series of writings he insisted on the importance of experimental work. His principal treatises were the *Novum Organum* (New Instrument) published in 1620, and *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum* (Concern-

Scientific method: experiment, induction

Francis Bacon

ing the Dignity and Advancement of the Sciences) in 1623.

The thermometer

During the seventeenth century the foundations of modern chemistry and modern physics were laid. This was possible partly because new scientific instruments were invented. In 1597 Galileo made the first thermometer. He used water, afterward alcohol, in his tube. Mercury was substituted about 1670. Not until the end of the century was it definitely ascertained that neither the freezing point nor the boiling point varied. In 1639 an Englishman, William Gascoigne, invented the micrometer. With this an observer could adjust his telescope very precisely. Along with the telescope, the microscope now came into use. It was based upon the same principles of optics, but used the lenses in somewhat different arrangement. The compound microscope, with several lenses to produce one greatly magnified image, appeared about 1650. Van Leeuwenhoek, the Dutch naturalist, used this instrument between 1670 and 1680 in his discovery of minute animal organisms. Owing to certain defects, the microscope did not assume its later importance until after improvements at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1727 Stephen Hales wrote a description of his manometer, an instrument for measuring pressure.

The micrometer

The microscope

Learned societies

In the seventeenth century scientific work was greatly assisted by the founding of learned societies, which made possible discussion and coöperative work. After the Restoration, under patronage of Charles II, whose principal avocation was experiment and scientific work, England became the leader in European science. In 1662 was established the Royal Society of London. The French *Académie des Sciences* assembled in 1666. The *Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Royal Academy of Sciences) was founded at Berlin in 1700. In the far-off English settlements in North America, at Philadelphia,

the American Philosophical Society, proposed by Benjamin Franklin (1743), was founded in 1769.

Chemistry

Robert Boyle in his *Sceptical Chymist* (1661) laid down the true principles of chemical research and greatly advanced knowledge of the subject. Somewhat later the Dutchman, Hermann Boerhaave of Leyden (1668–1738), a physician and botanist, subjected organic matter to chemical processes, and so founded organic chemistry, thus adding this branch of the science to inorganic chemistry, developed by the medieval alchemists and concerned with things lacking life. Somewhat later, Dr. Joseph Black, a physician of Edinburgh, proved definitely that when limestone was burned a gas was given off, the weight of which added to the remaining lime equalled the weight of the limestone originally burned (1750). At the same time Bergmann, a Swedish student of chemistry, proved that the "air" so given off was an acid. These discoveries revolutionized the conceptions of heat and chemical decomposition theretofore held.

Quantitative chemistry

Elements

In the latter part of the eighteenth century knowledge of chemistry was immensely advanced. In 1766 Henry Cavendish reported his discovery of a new gas which he called "inflammable air", presently known as *hydrogen*. Somewhat later Cavendish produced water by synthesis of what were presently named *hydrogen and oxygen*. In 1772 Dr. Daniel Rutherford of Edinburgh discovered what was later called *nitrogen*. In 1774 Joseph Priestley, an English clergyman, after long interest in science and many contributions to it, discovered what he called "dephlogisticated air", what was afterward to be known as *oxygen*. Next year, quite independently, Karl Scheele, a Swedish apothecary, discovered the same substance, for which his name was "empyreal air."

Lavoisier

The crowning work in this period was done by a great French master, the founder of quantitative chemistry and reformer of chemical nomenclature. Antoine Lavoisier

(1743–94), the son of a tradesman, rose in the service of the French government to be farmer general of the revenue and afterward director general of the government powder mills. In the intervals of official duties he carried on chemical research with untiring zeal. His discoveries were made possible largely by unceasing measurement of the quantities with which he was dealing. By careful weighing he was able to prove that metals burned in air gave rise to substances having greater weight than the metals burned. Decomposing burnt mercury he found that the weight of the red powder resultant was less by exactly the weight of what Priestly had called the "dephlogisticated air" driven off. This air or gas, because the resultant compounds of it which he investigated were mostly acids, he renamed *oxygen* (acid producer). More precisely than Cavendish had done, Lavoisier made the synthesis of water by combining oxygen and what Cavendish had called "inflammable air", which he now called *hydrogen* (water producer). He made many other experiments of profound interest and importance then. In 1789 he published his *Traité Élémentaire de Chimie*. His brilliant career was cut short by the French Revolution. To the radicals he seemed one of the embodiments of the Ancient Régime, and he was put to death by guillotine in 1794. Through his work the older, so-called "phlogistic," chemistry was for ever destroyed.

Quantitative analysis

Oxygen and hydrogen

Meanwhile, great progress had been made in physics. To this branch of science Leonardo had made some contribution, and Galileo very much more. About the middle of the seventeenth century a German, Johann Becher, declared that three elements entered into the composition of metals, of which one was an *igneous principle*. This idea was taken up by another German, Georg Stahl (1660–1734), who taught that there was a substance, the principle of fire, given off in combustion. To it he gave the name *phlogiston* (φλώξ, flame). This entirely false

Physics

The phlogistic theory

theory of combustion and heat held its own, and was overthrown only by the quantitative researches of Lavoisier at the end of the eighteenth century.

Refraction of light

At this same time, however, was laid the foundation of the modern ideas of sound and of light. Early in the seventeenth century Willebrord Snell of Leyden discovered the law of refraction or breaking of light. Somewhat later Sir Isaac Newton described the decomposition of white light into its component elements or colors, and made vast contribution to the science of optics, which concerns the nature and properties of light. The German Olaus Römer attempted to ascertain the velocity of light. Huyghens, among his later discoveries, observed the polarization or variation under certain circumstances of properties of light; and presently developed the "wave theory" of light, the underlying theory afterward held. During the eighteenth century the Englishmen Hall and Dollond perfected achromatic lenses, and presently made the telescope a serviceable instrument for further scientific research.

The wave theory of light

Sound

With respect to sound no advance had been made in knowledge from the time of the Greeks until the Renaissance. Pythagoras in the sixth century before Christ discovered that the quality of sound caused by a vibrating string was related to the length of the string in vibration. Galileo understood that sound resulted from vibrations in the air falling upon the drum of the ear, and showed how to measure the vibrations. Joseph Sauveur (1653–1715) greatly advanced all knowledge relating to acoustics. He laid the foundations of scientific theory of music, and explained harmonics or overtones. His contributions were largely published in the *Mémoires* of the French Academy during the last years of the reign of Louis XIV. His work was carried far forward by the Prussian, Ernst Chladni (1756–1827), who devised a simple method to ascertain the number of vibrations of each note. His

Acoustics and harmonic theory

Entdeckungen über die Theorie des Klanges (Discoveries in the Theory of Sound) was published in 1802, and his principal work lies beyond the period of the Old Régime.

Heat

During the eighteenth century old ideas of heat were slowly discarded. In earlier times heat had been regarded as a material substance and was known as *caloric*. Early in the eighteenth century Stahl elaborated his theory of combustion, by which it was believed that burning was a chemical decomposition, in the process of which a substance, *phlogiston*, escaped. Francis Bacon had made interesting experiments about heat, but the older theories were shaken principally by the work of Black who discovered *latent* or hidden heat, showing that boiling water, for example, might be heated further without raising the temperature. If, as former authorities said, temperature were raised because a substance was added, application of more heat should have made boiling water hotter. The modern theory of heat, however, was not developed until the early part of the nineteenth century, when the American loyalist, Benjamin Thompson, who afterward became Count Rumford in the service of the Holy Roman Empire, showed that heat was motion or energy. But the experiments of Black led the Englishman Watt to develop an engine in which force was generated through a piston driven down a cylinder by expanding steam.

Latent heat

Heat energy or motion

Electricity

During the eighteenth century knowledge of electricity was first really established. In the seventeenth century Von Guericke made a rude electrical machine, which he described in 1672; but the electric spark given off from his apparatus was so small that it could be seen only in the dark. Early in the eighteenth century the Englishman, William Hawksbee, affirmed the likeness between certain electrical discharges and the phenomenon of lightning — for ages so portentous in the experience of man. In 1708 another Englishman also compared the electric spark to lightning, and its crackling to thunder. Somewhat later

Lightning and electricity from a machine

Stephen Gray made many experiments which led to the division of substances into conductors and non-conductors of electricity, and he discovered that bodies differed in conductivity (1729). The Frenchman C. F. de C. Dufay discovered that there were two kinds of electricity, which he called *vitreous* and *resinous*, later called *positive* and *negative*. Finally in 1752 Benjamin Franklin, an American, showed by means of his kite during a thunder-storm that lightning was atmospheric electricity and identical with electricity made by means of friction through a machine.

Positive and negative electricity

Changing conception of nature

These discoveries had immense influence upon intellectual development and upon the attitude of mind of a very large number of people. From times far remote men had looked upon natural phenomena with wonder and awe, and even in the most enlightened a great many things had continued to arouse strange curiosity and fear. In ancient days thunder and lightning were held to be the mighty bolts of Zeus from Olympus or the hammer hurled down by Thor. In the Middle Ages men struck by lightning were thought to be killed by God's wrath. Now Franklin and others showed that the long-dreaded heavenly fire was merely the force that man himself could obtain from a Leyden jar. Everywhere new wonders opened far new regions of knowledge. In very old times men seem to have believed that sight was a species of touch, a substance being projected from the eye out upon the object seen. In the time of Aristotle, in the fourth century B. C., there began to be developed the idea that light was a substance emitted from the object seen, and that this, striking the eye, made the object visible. Similarly, heat was long regarded as a substance emitted from the object hot. Now, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, men began to conceive of energy or force acting in myriad ways, as sound, as heat, as electricity, and as light. The old feelings of credulity, awe,

Scientific explanation of phenomena

New attitude of mind

and amazement were in more and more people replaced with what seemed understanding and real explanation.

Development of the earth

The religious attitude began to yield somewhat to scientific attitude of mind. For ages the biblical story of the creation of the world and the making of the heavens had been accepted in Europe without further question. In 1740 the Italian, Lazzaro Moro, gave account of the growth of strata of rocks in the surface of the earth and of the fossils contained within them. To some this seemed to open large new conception. Later on, James Hutton, a Scot, who published his *Theory of the Earth* in 1795, explained the changes in the earth's surface, declaring he saw no traces of a beginning nor any signs of an end. Fire, earthquakes, volcanoes, gases, all seemed now different and more intelligible than they had been. Ice, dew, fog, snow, steam, mist, all of them now were seen to be various aspects of water, and by the end of the eighteenth century water had been decomposed. Finally, Sir William Herschel, Laplace, and the German philosopher, Kant, developed a theory that the entire solar system had been gradually developed by slow changes over a very long period of time through condensation of a nebula by mutual gravitation of its parts. Men who accepted this theory looked upon things very otherwise than they who held the old account of creation. Miracles, wonders, accidents, and direct intervention by God or the saints seemed improbable to men who referred all phenomena to orderly development and general natural laws. So it was that the eighteenth century, building on foundations made in the seventeenth, became increasingly scientific, materialistic, and sceptical in all of its thought.

The nebular hypothesis

A sceptical and materialistic age

Dissemination of scientific knowledge

Among polite and educated people the new doctrines and discoveries were widely spread. Newton and Leibnitz were renowned all over Europe. Great numbers of people were zealous in carrying on experiment and making further researches. Still more attended meetings of

learned societies or read erudite publications with keenest interest; while a far wider audience was reached in popular treatises designed for the general reader. Of these the most famous was the *Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers* (Methodical Dictionary of the Sciences, Arts, and Trades) which appeared during the years from 1751 to 1772, and was followed by supplementary volumes. There had been earlier compendiums of information. The earliest in English was Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopedia* (1728), while the publication of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* was begun at Edinburgh in 1768. But in the latter part of the eighteenth century the great French compilation, known generally as the *Encyclopédie*, had much greater influence than any of the others. The latest ideas and knowledge were presented with admirable simplicity and clearness by a group of writers foremost among whom were the celebrated Jean d'Alembert and Denis Diderot. These men were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of science, scepticism, disbelief in old teachings and tradition, hostility to established government and church. Their work was one of the factors that helped destroy the old system of things.

Compendiums of the new knowledge

Dictionnaire Raisonné or *Encyclopédie*

Scepticism and spirit of innovation

As knowledge of the world and the universe about man—the *macrocosm* (great world)—was thus so largely expanded, likewise knowledge about man himself—the *microcosm* (little world) as the ancient philosophers had called him—was also immensely enlarged. Considerable understanding of the human body had been attained long before, especially by Aristotle and his followers, who dissected and studied corpses. In the Middle Ages, however, any tampering with the body was regarded as sinful; and knowledge of man's body, his health and his ills, sadly declined. It was now assumed that health was the gift of heaven; disease punishment by God, to be cured or averted, if at all, by penance and prayer. The best medical knowledge existing in the medieval Christian world was pos-

Knowledge of the human body

Medieval physicians

sessed by the Jews. Ideas about the human body and the forces affecting it were crude and simple. The course of the life, and hence the qualities and the character of a person were greatly influenced by the position of the stars at birth. Disposition and temperament were also largely determined by the quantity of the vital fluids or *humors* in the person's body. Of cardinal *humors* the physicians distinguished four: the blood—predominance of which made the subject of sanguine disposition; choler (the yellow bile)—much of which made one tenacious and easily angered; phlegm—which made one slow and not easily moved; melancholy (black bile)—which caused sadness, reticence, aloofness. Incantations and herbs made many a doctor's stock in trade. Bleeding was the principal remedy. The best recourse was thought to be prayer. Paracelsus (1493–1541), the great Swiss alchemist and physician, taught the spiritual origin of diseases, and believed that medical knowledge was best obtained through carefully scanning the heavens.

The humors

Herbs, incantations, bleeding

Modern knowledge of the human body begins with the work of Andreas Vesalius (1514–64), the great Belgian anatomist, physician to the emperor, Charles V, and afterward to Philip II of Spain. Much of his work was carried on at Madrid, where he diligently dissected corpses, and studied the parts of the body. Incurring the displeasure of the inquisition, he was condemned to death. His sentence was commuted by the king on condition that he make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; but returning he perished in shipwreck off the coast of Greece. He made many admirable drawings. His principal treatise, *De Corporis Humani Fabrica Libri Septem*, appeared in 1542.

Vesalius

His work was carried forward in Italy, where he had taught for a while. Bartolommeo Eustachio, professor of anatomy at Rome, and physician to the pope, was renowned in the sixteenth century; and the passage from the throat to the ear is still known as the *Eustachian tube.*

Additions to anatomical knowledge

From Gabriello Falloppio, professor at Ferrara, Pisa, and Padua, the *Fallopian tubes* in woman's body now have their name. Fabrizio, another Italian anatomist, discovered the valves in the veins. All these discoveries constituted the first great addition to knowledge of anatomy made since Hippocrates and Galen in ancient times. Many of the investigations were carried on with a great deal of hindrance, since it was unlawful to cut up dead bodies. Stolen corpses long afforded the means for most of the study.

The circulation of the blood

One of the disciples of Fabrizio was the Englishman, William Harvey (1578–1657). Taking up his master's discovery of the valves or flaps of tissue in the veins, and noticing that they checked the blood's movement only in one direction, he made exhaustive study of the movement of the blood. In his *Exercitatio de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis* (Essay on the Motion of the Heart and the Blood), published in 1628, he maintained that there was circulation of the blood through the body, sent out by beating of the heart. His work was carried further after the invention of the microscope. In 1661 the Italian Marcello Malpighi (1628–94) was able to see the passage of blood cells from arteries to veins. Malpighi was the founder of miscroscopic anatomy. Some further progress was made in the eighteenth century. In 1743 the Swiss physiologist, Albrecht von Haller, for the first time explained muscular contraction. He and the two brothers, John and William Hunter, through their researches into the structure of various animals, laid the foundations of comparative anatomy.

Microscopic anatomy

Failure to master disease

As a result of all these discoveries, the human body was no longer the unknown mystery that once it had been. During all this time, however, little progress was made in medicine and in the art of preventing or of curing diseases. Bleeding continued to be the sovereign remedy, and as late as 1799 George Washington was brought to his end, probably, by excessive bleeding. Pestilence, disease, high death rate continued as ever before.

Edward Jenner

One great advance was made at the very end of the eighteenth century. Previous to this time one of the most dreaded scourges afflicting mankind was the smallpox. In the Levant physicians had developed the practice of inoculation or the insertion into the body of a well person the virus (poison) of smallpox, to induce a light attack of the disease, it having been found that this usually prevented a more severe one. Inoculation was introduced into England in 1721 by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, whose husband had been ambassador at Constantinople. A much milder yet much more efficacious remedy was now discovered. Edward Jenner (1749–1823), an English physician, after studying in a London hospital, began to practise his calling in the country. There was in his vicinity the rustic tradition that dairymaids were not smitten by the dreaded smallpox, after they had been sick with a mild related disease, the cowpox, which sometimes afflicted their cattle. From empirical study, and quite without being able to explain why such result should follow, he concluded that cowpox made people immune from smallpox. In 1796 he vaccinated a young boy, that is, injected into his body lymph—the watery fluid of the human body—taken from the hand of a milkmaid previously infected with cowpox. Six weeks later he inoculated the boy with smallpox. No smallpox symptoms ensued. This process was called vaccination from its being accomplished by inoculation with virus from a cow (*vacca*). An account of this experiment was published in 1798. Immense consequences followed. Some people continued to doubt the validity of vaccination, but for the most part Jenner's conclusions were accepted. As his method came into general use, one of the most dreaded scourges of mankind was gradually banished. This was, moreover, the beginning of the science of preventive medicine, so vastly extended in the century succeeding. Thereafter, more and more, man was to become master of his

Vaccination

Preventive medicine

surroundings. Life was to be prolonged, health and well-being increased. Less and less would disease be considered an unavoidable punishment from heaven.

Obstetrics

In most of this period, as for countless ages before, little help could be given to women at the time of the birth of their children. The torment of childbirth was regarded as one of the punishments assessed upon woman for the first sin of Eve. Mortality in childbed was high. For a long time, even after the Renaissance, such progress as there was in anatomy and medicine gave little assistance here, for childbirth was considered a matter not for the physician but the midwife, a woman assistant. Toward the end of the sixteenth century some little advance was made. In 1663, it is said that Louis XIV ordered the court surgeon to attend the delivery of Mademoiselle de la Vallière, and during the seventeenth century surgeons and physicians began to give this matter attention. Considerable development was now made, especially by French authorities. Greater progress in midwifery came in the eighteenth century, when more advance was made than in all the time preceding; but the principal triumphs in obstetrics were to come at a still later time.

Midwives assisted by physicians

Zoölogy

Beyond the human body scientific exploration was carried on about other animals and concerning plants. In zoölogy no important modern work was done until the time of Georges Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707–88), whose vast work, *Histoire Naturelle* (1749–89), was the most important contribution to the subject since Aristotle's time. The work of Buffon was immensely popular and aroused enormous interest. During the eighteenth century also botany was established as a science by the work of the Swedish naturalist, Karl von Linné, better known as Linnæus (1707–78). His principal work, *Systema Naturæ*, was published in 1735.

Botany

Philosophy

Along with scientific progress went speculation in the deeper realms of philosophy, where man has ever sought

after fundamental laws and the conditions of human understanding—what he may know, why things are as they are. During the Middle Ages philosophy was closely identified with religion, its earlier form, and was mostly concerned with theological discussion. After the beginning of the Renaissance this came to be less and less so. The Italian scientist and philosopher, Giordano Bruno (1548–1600), affirmed that he would seek to find truth even if it led him to Hell. With daring imagination he extended the Copernican theory to all of the hosts of the heavens, at the same time that he declared the universe to stretch on to infinity, and to be of eternal duration. Within this universe was one vast, all-pervading principle or spirit that entered into all things alike. Denying transubstantiation and the immaculate conception of the Virgin, he was seized by the inquisition and presently burned as a heretic in Rome.

Giordano Bruno

The first great contribution of lasting importance to modern philosophy was made in the seventeenth century, by Descartes. In his *Discours de la Méthode* published at Leyden in 1637 he affirmed that man could be entirely certain at the start of only one thing—his own existence: *ie pense, donc ie suis* (I think, therefore I am). The rigid reasoning and definition in this treatise revolutionized the science of thought. Investigation of what man knew and what he did not know, hence the existence and nature of objects beyond his own consciousness, was carried farther by the Englishman, George Berkeley (1685–1753), in his later life bishop of Cloyne in Ireland. In 1713 he published *Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous.* In this work he denied the existence of matter independent of mind. He showed that the ordinary tests which seem to prove the existence of objects seen, felt, heard, or otherwise perceived through the senses, could not really prove that such objects existed. What seemed to be material objects were, he said, ideas in the mind of God, which could also be

Descartes

Berkeley

Idealism

perceived in the human mind. Denying materialism he was one of the principal founders of modern idealism, which denies the existence of matter as ordinarily conceived and affirms the existence only of mind or ideas. His great contemporary, the German Leibnitz, also denied the existence of matter. What appeared to be material objects, he said, were merely aggregations of rudimentary minds or ideas. The universe was made up of these ideas or existences, which he called *monads*, taking a term first used in describing substance by Bruno. Regulating these monads was a harmony preëstablished.

Empiricism

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with respect to the character and origin of knowledge, there were two principal philosophical schools: the empiricists and the rationalists. The empiricists (ἐμπειρία, experience) represented especially by certain British philosophers—Berkeley, Locke, and Hume, maintained that all human knowledge was derived from human experience or observation. John Locke (1632–1704), eminent in English political life in the latter part of the seventeenth century, made important contributions to various subjects. His *Essay Concerning Humane Understanding* appeared in 1690. In this he was the founder of the "sensational" school of philosophy and what was afterward developed as psychology. He believed experience through the senses to be the sole source of ideas and knowledge. His system was extended by the Scottish philosopher and historian, David Hume (1711–76), whose *Philosophical Essays Concerning Human Understanding* appeared in 1748. The rationalists, of whom Descartes and Leibnitz were most important, asserted that in addition to what was known by experience there were certain "innate ideas" and "innate principles," known independently of any experience. Substantially their contention has been accepted by later thinkers.

Experience the sole source of knowledge

Rationalism

Loftier and more daring was Baruch (Benedict) Spinoza

(1632–77), descended from Portuguese Jews who had settled in Holland. Condemned as a heretic and excommunicated by one of the Jewish synagogues of Amsterdam (1656), he supported himself in poverty and obscurity by grinding lenses, an industry then greatly developed in Holland. In loneliness and isolation his mind went forward far in bold and sublime speculations. These he developed with flawless and inevitable logic, so that his premises may be assailed but not his deductions. A disciple of Descartes, the great Frenchman's philosophy was the basis of his own. His principal work was *Ethica Ordine Geometrica Demonstrata* (Ethics Demonstrated in Geometrical Order) which he completed in 1674. His system was *pantheism* (πάν—all, Θέος—God). The universe was God. All its myriad objects manifestations of God, who contained all things, and of whom all things were part. In this mighty conception of God as a vast abstract idea, universal and all-comprehending, is the furthest development in man's conception of God—at an almost infinite distance from primitive anthropomorphic and animistic conceptions. **Spinoza**

Greatest, some think, since the time of Aristotle and Plato was the German, Immanuel Kant (1724–1804). He was the son of a saddle-maker, and lived all his life at Königsberg in East Prussia. In 1781 appeared his *Kritik der Reinen Vernunft* (Critical Judgment concerning Pure Reason). In this work he endeavored to ascertain the nature of general or transcendental ideas. By this and other writings he was the founder of critical philosophy. Assuming that there were various kinds of knowledge, he undertook to criticise and describe exactly the several kinds. He strove to determine how knowledge becomes possible to human understanding, he made many deductions concerning man and the nature of the world, and he wrestled with the eternal problem—"What is truth?" **Kant**

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CHAPTER XXV

LITERATURE

> But what is . . . passing in these very hours westward in the centre of England, at the Town of Stratford-on-Avon? . . . William Shakspeare in these hours is dying. Twenty-third of April, 1616. . . . Dim are now those once bright eyes, heavy with the long sleep; the radiant far-darting soul, now weary and fordone . . . far away in the heart of Spain . . . Miguel Cervantes . . . is just dead, after a brave and weary life,—precisely ten days ago . . . O my brave Miguel, when I think of thee fighting Turks at Lepanto, struggling like an unsubduable one, seven years against captivity among the Moors; struggling all thy years against poverty and misrecognition and hard luck; and writing at last *Don Quixote*. . . .
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> CARLYLE, *Historical Sketches* (London 1902), pp. 103, 104.

Medieval literature of Europe

MEDIEVAL literature was far less in excellence than what appeared after the beginning of the Renaissance. Dante, indeed, in the early years of the fourteenth century, was one of that small company whose work is preëminent in the history of letters. Chaucer wrote his *Canterbury Tales* at the end of the fourteenth century, and a little earlier Boccaccio his *Decamerone*. In England, in France, in Italy, in Germany, in Spain, and elsewhere there was a great deal of writing, some of it charming and quaint, but most of it interesting now to students and antiquarians only. Much of the writing—historical narrative, theology, formal documents—was done in Low Latin. Vernacular writing was frequently in a dialect that prevailed only in some particular locality or part of the country. Not much was done with finest literary finish and form, and little of it now has general importance or interest.

In western Europe during the sixteenth, seventeenth,

Modern European literature

and eighteenth centuries literatures developed more full and resplendent than any since the greatest days of the Greeks. At first, after the beginning of the Renaissance, the activity of literary men was largely given to admiring and following the ancients. Presently, in one country after another, there was glorious creative outburst and flowering forth, with full literary expression of the forces and spirit of the age. In this period—the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—the greatest masters were Shakespeare, Cervantes, Milton, Ariosto, Rabelais. Drama was the preëminent form of literary composition, with the epic and other poetical forms also finely developed. In the second half of the seventeenth century began a movement that predominated during most of the century succeeding. In France, especially, the classic style was consciously followed, and attempt made to bring back again the best usage of Greece and of Rome. The youthful ardor, the abundant energy of the period preceding, so often expressed so grandly, were now diminished and refined, repressed, even somewhat lost, as dignity, simplicity, and perfection of form were more striven for earnestly again. In this movement Racine in verse and Voltaire in prose were the greatest masters. The French developed a prose style as simple, charming, and clear, as the great Athenians had once displayed; and from France the art of modern prose writing presently spread over Europe. During this time were cultivated elegance, good form, and good sense rather than vivacity, originality, and strength. As the movement degenerated, the writing of this classical period became cold, artificial, and stiff. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, especially, was already beginning a reaction in Germany and in England. In the so-called "romantic" period that followed—a period mostly later than the Old Régime—there was conscious reversion to older and ruder forms, contempt, indeed, for mere elegance and restraint of style. Fresh, new, vital feelings—to ex-

The Renaissance

Classicism

Romanticism

press them vividly and strongly—was again the paramount purpose.

Italian literature

In Italy a resplendent literature had developed in that earlier renaissance of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The writings of Dante and of Petrarch had established a literary tongue for all cultured Italians before the revival of learning. In the fifteenth century nobles and scholars tried to imitate the ancient writings, conceiving them to embody the highest conceivable forms of literary expression. Angelo Poliziano or Politian (1454–94) made Latin translations from the Greek, and wrote fine Latin poems of his own, as the Englishman, John Milton, did two centuries later. Shortly, however, the spirit of the age was expressed better in Italian itself.

Machiavelli

Niccolò Machiavelli of Florence (1469–1527) was eminent as a diplomat, poet, historian, and theorist in the politics of his time. After active diplomatic career in the service of Florence he retired to literary work. His *Istorie Fiorentine* (History of Florence) is an admirable narrative, and his comedies, of which *Mandragola* is best remembered, are the finest written in Italian. His greatest work is *Il Principe* (The Prince), one of the most important of Renaissance books. Completed in 1513, this work was the fruit of Machiavelli's historical studies and his knowledge of Italian conditions. He explains the principles necessary for founding and maintaining a state, and discusses the character and policy of a successful despot or ruler. He portrays what was rather than what he desired. His motives were probably patriotic and high. He seems to have wished Italy to be saved from internal weakness and foreign aggression. But the evil conditions with which he deals cause him to lay down such maxims of unscrupulous guile, duplicity, and craft, that his name has become a byword. From him, it is said, English-speaking people called the Devil "Old Nick."

Il Principe

His character and his motives

During this time the literature of the Italian Renais-

Ariosto

sance flowered forth in a series of admirable epic, or long narrative poems. Lodovico Ariosto (1474–1533) was much in the service of Ferrara, where he did his principal writing. He was the author of comedies that rank next to Machiavelli's. His great work was *Orlando Furioso* (Roland Mad), a long, discursive metrical romance, about alleged events in the life of Roland—that peer of Charlemagne's court written of so much by medieval poets in a great cycle of romances. Ariosto's fluent and charming poem to some extent continues another famous Italian epic written a little earlier: Matteo Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* (Roland in Love), 1495. The burlesque epic, *Morgante Maggiore* (Morgan the Giant), by Luigi Pulci, which appeared in 1485, also deals with Ro-

Tasso

land and with Charlemagne. Most celebrated of these epics, however, was the *Gerusalemme Liberata* (Jerusalem Delivered) of Torquato Tasso (1544–95), born at Sorrento near Naples. He, like Ariosto, spent many years at Ferrara—from the princely patronage of the House of Este then chief literary center of Europe. His epic (1581) deals with the taking of Jerusalem in the First Crusade. Less rich and fanciful than *Orlando Furioso*, it is nobler and finer. It is one of the principal epics of the world, though far below the work of Dante and of Homer.

Italian poetry

Modern Italian literature reached culmination in the sixteenth century, when every species of writing was cultivated with success. The shorter poems and sonnets of Ariosto and of Tasso are models of their kind. Italian meters and poetical devices were copied throughout western Europe. Prose writing and historical composition attained high excellence, and even the *Relazioni* (Accounts) which the Venetian ambassadors for a long time regularly sent to their state, in addition to their value

Italian prose

as sources for historical study, are admirable examples of clear prose writing. The short stories (*novelle*) of this period were known in all countries near by, and from Ban-

dello and others many of Shakespeare's plots were taken. At this time Italian was understood by the well-educated people of western Europe, and Italian writers were admired and followed in England, in France, and in Spain.

Decline

With the political weakness and subservience of Italy the great period of her literature began to pass; and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were a time of decline and decay. Vincenzo da Filicaia (1642–1707) laments the degradation of his country. Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782), whose career was mostly spent in Vienna, was the author of pleasing poems and numerous lyric dramas, for which various composers wrote the music.

Alfieri

In the latter part of the eighteenth century Count Vittorio Alfieri (1749–1803) wrote numerous tragedies, mostly on classical subjects. Like the great French dramatists of the "classic" period, he had strict regard for the dramatic unities. His style was bold, vigorous, and lofty.

Spanish literature

In Spain the great period of modern literature was during the sixteenth century and the earlier part of the seventeenth, at the time of her expansion, preëminence, and power. From the fifteenth century the *Coplas* of Don Jorge Manrique, a poetical lament for the death of his father, have long been esteemed for their rude but grave and eloquent beauty. Alonso de Ercilla (1533–94), who took part in the South American wars of conquest, composed *La Araucana* (1569), concerning the wars with the Araucanian Indians of Chile—the one important epic that modern Spain has produced. Juan de Mariana (1536–1623) wrote what has continued to be the great classical history of Spain by a Spaniard. Published first in Latin, the Spanish version, *Historia General de España,* appeared in 1601.

The greatest of Spanish writers, and one of the most eminent in the history of letters, was Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547–1616). Of a poor but noble family he long lived an adventurous life. He lost his left hand at

Lepanto. Shortly after he was captured and sold as a slave in Algeria, and was held there for several years. In adversity and poverty he spent all the latter part of his life. It was then that his writing was done. His genius shone in everything he attempted. He wrote some of the best dramas, such as *La Numancia*, ever composed in his country. He was the author of several excellent short poems. His prose tales, of which the *Novelas Exemplares* (Exemplary Tales) and *Persiles y Sigismunda* are best remembered, were greatly admired. His masterpiece was the long prose romance *Don Quixote*, of which the first part appeared at Madrid in 1605 and the second in 1615. The book recounts adventures of a Spanish country gentleman. It finely ridicules the stories of chivalry then so much the vogue in Spain. It is one of the greatest books in the world, and has been many times translated, into most other tongues. Its richness of fancy, its fine humor are sustained without loss to the end—through the second part as well as the first. The adventures of the chivalrous, half-crazed knight, Don Quixote, and his simple but shrewd esquire, Sancho Panza, have brought laughter, pity, and delight to successive generations all over the world.

Cervantes

Don Quixote

In Spain, as in England at the same time, this was the great period of dramatic composition. About 1480 a certain Rodrigo Cota is thought to have composed the first act of the drama *Celestina*, to which another later on added twenty shorter acts or parts. It excels in delineation of character. By some it is deemed not only the greatest drama ever written in Spanish, but in all Spanish literature a work second to *Don Quixote* alone. Among many writers of plays two names stand forth. Lope de Vega (1562–1635), who served in the Spanish Armada, is for the fertility and copiousness of his work the most amazing figure in literary annals. His works have never been completely collected, and no one knows their number

The Spanish drama

exactly. Besides numerous poems he is said to have composed 1,800 *comedias* (plays) and 400 *autos* (religious dramas). Frequently he wrote a play within a few hours, and some say that altogether he composed twenty millions of verses. About three hundred of his plays have been printed and collected. One of the best known is *La Estrella de Sevilla* (The Star of Seville). Lope attained immense popularity. His comedies abound in intrigue and clever delineation of life. The language is sometimes elegant, sometimes vulgar and careless. A higher level was attained by Pedro Calderon de la Barca (1600–81), attached to the court of Philip IV, who wrote plays for the royal theatres. Far less fecund than Lope—though he himself was the author of more than a hundred *comedias* and more than seventy *autos*—his work was much more finely and elegantly finished. He also was exceedingly popular. Among his best known plays are *El Mágico Prodigioso* (The Great Magician) and *La Vida Es Sueño* (Life Is a Dream). Much of his writing is lofty, stately, and sombre, though sometimes artificial and cold. He was imbued with the religious spirit of Spain, which well appears in his work. Among his Spanish contemporaries and rivals the most eminent was Augustin Moreto (1618–69), whose *El Desden con el Desden* (Disdain [treated] with Disdain) is still performed, and remains one of the four greatest plays of Spain's classical era.

Lope de Vega

Calderon

Another species of writing was once celebrated in Spain and elsewhere. At the end of the sixteenth century appeared *La Vida y Hechos del Pícaro Guzman de Alfarache* (Life and Deeds of the Rogue Guzman de Alfarache) by Mateo Aleman, a contemporary of Cervantes. This was long the most celebrated example of the *picaresque* or rogue tales. Such also was some of the work of Francisco de Quevedo (1580–1645). During the eighteenth century the Spanish translation of the French *Gil Blas* portrayed innumerable aspects of Spanish life in recounting the ad-

The picaresque tales

ventures of a youthful rogue, the translation having a peculiar merit comparable to the original itself. After the great age Spanish literature, like Italian, long remained in decay.

Portuguese literature

The great period of Portugal's history produced one eminent writer, Luiz de Camões (1524–80), an epic writer who ranks with Tasso and Ariosto, though somewhat inferior to them. Of gentle birth, Camões was presently banished from Portugal. He served in many wars in the Portuguese possessions in the far east. Returning he spent his remaining years in poverty and lowly condition.

Camões's *Lusiad*

Os Lusiadas (The Lusitanians or Portuguese) published in 1572, celebrates the conquest of India and the east by his countrymen, Vasco da Gama being made the hero. It long had enormous popularity in Portugal and has frequently been translated. During the time when Portugal was held as a province of Spain, this book was the principal thing that prevented Castilian from becoming the language of the country.

French literature

One of the principal literatures of the world was being developed meanwhile in France. From the fifteenth century are now best remembered the poems of François Villon (1431–84) and the prose stories in the collection *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (Hundred New Tales) about the middle of the fifteenth century. The literature of the French Renaissance began in the century succeeding. Pierre de Ronsard (1524–85) was the father of lyric poetry in France. He was chief of a group of writers known as *La Pléïade* (The Pleiades), who represented the spirit of the classical revival and laid the foundations of the modern French language. The new spirit was well portrayed also in the collection of prose tales, the *Heptameron*

Montaigne

(Seven Days) of Margaret, queen of Navarre. It was best exemplified, however, in the writings of Montaigne and Rabelais. Michel Eyquem de Montaigne (1533–92) was the author of charming prose writings which had

large influence on readers in many lands, especially upon later generations of Frenchmen. His *Essais* (1580) make searching study of the men and conditions of his time. They are written in the new sceptical spirit that was developing from the Renaissance. "*Que sçais-je?*" (What do I know?) was his constant motto. François Rabelais (1495–1553) ranks with Cervantes; he is the other great humorist of the Renaissance. His fantastic tales *Pantagruel* (1533) and *Gargantua* (1535) with their sequels exhibit the mighty exuberance and upward surge of feelings that were filling the west. Narrating the story of a giant and his son and others, Rabelais with much grossness and buffoonery, but with virile humor and inimitable comic spirit, combats the medieval, and displays the spirit of the new. His language is often obscure and archaic.

Rabelais

During the seventeenth century manifold development continued. René Descartes (1596–1650) established the clear and simple style of philosophic composition for which France has since been renowned. Blaise Pascal (1623–62) was famous in the religious disputes of his time. The *Lettres Provinciales* defended his fellow Jansenists. His *Penéess* (Thoughts) championed religion. Another great moralist was the Duc de La Rochefoucauld, whose *Maximes* appeared in 1665. This period also saw some of the earlier of the *Mémoires* or personal histories and recollections, for which the French have been especially renowned. Those of the Cardinal de Retz give a remarkable picture of the middle of the seventeenth century, as later on those of the celebrated Duc de Saint-Simon do of the age of Louis XIV. Madame de Sévigné (1626–96) is remembered as one of the most charming and accomplished letter-writers in the world, as in the eighteenth century is the Englishman Horace Walpole. Jacques Bossuet, bishop of Meaux (1627–1704), brought the eloquence of the pulpit to its highest point in his sermons and in his magnificent *Oraisons Funèbres* (Funeral Orations); while his masterpiece,

Richness of French literature

Memoirs

Bossuet

Histoire des Variations des Églises Protestantes, written with the utmost grace and clearness, was one of the most important writings against enemies of the Catholic Church.

La Fontaine

Jean La Fontaine (1621–95) was the greatest writer of fables in modern times, and his reputation rivals that of Æsop, the Greek. His *Contes* (Stories, fables) are in charming verse. Nicholas Boileau–Despréaux (1636–1711), critic and poet, became finally the arbiter of literary taste and style in France, with influence widely felt elsewhere.

Boileau

Boileau defined the standard of the exact and classic writing that culminated in the era of Louis XIV, and was dominant during most of the century that followed.

The French drama

In France the drama developed later than in England or in Spain, but it developed grandly during the seventeenth century, reaching its zenith in the middle years of Louis XIV. Pierre Corneille (1606–84) composed numerous tragedies, of which *Le Cid* (1637) and *Polyeucte* (1640) are

Corneille

reckoned the greatest. His style was sometimes rugged, but generally spirited and noble. His genius would not submit to be hampered by the conventions and restrictions that were being learned from the Greeks and the Romans.

Racine

Jean Baptiste Racine (1639–99) carried French dramatic writing further. In his masterpieces the classic spirit reached its finest modern expression. For beauty, proportion, symmetry, for perfect restraint and good taste, his work is comparable to that of the Athenian, Sophocles. Among his best plays were *Andromaque* (1667), *Bérénice* (1670), and *Phèdre* (1677). Meanwhile, appeared one of

Molière

the greatest masters of comic writing. Jean Baptiste Poquelin, known since by his stage name, Molière (1622-73), at his best ranks with Aristophanes in ancient times and even with Shakespeare in modern. Among his numerous comedies, all of which have been translated often, were: *Le Misanthrope* (1666), *Tartuffe* (1667), *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (1670). During this time French drama was the best in Europe, and was imitated in many places.

During the eighteenth century it declined with Voltaire and with Marivaux.

Modern French prose

During the eighteenth century French literature was the most admired and influential in Europe. French prose had been developed into an instrument of expression clear, simple, attractive, more potent than prose had been since the days of masters at Athens. Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755), was the first of an eminent group. Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* (1721), a social satire, and his *Esprit des Lois* (Spirit of the Laws) published in 1748, began that critical examination and attempt at rational survey of history and conditions that were presently to exert such enormous influence in Europe. These and other writings attracted men by their charm and were understood without difficulty because of simplicity and excellence of expression. Greater and more important was François Marie Arouet, known mostly by his assumed name, Voltaire (1694–1778). He was the author of a vast number of works in prose and in verse, written with unfailing clearness and charm, and often sparkling with wit. He was the great sceptical and destructive critic of the eighteenth century. Against a decadent church, an inefficient government, against all shams, superstitions, and outworn or oppressive conventions, he waged relentless war. Indirectly he was one of the large influences that brought on the French Revolution. Among his many writings were: *Essai sur les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations* (Essay on the Customs and Character of Nations) and *Le Siècle de Louis XIV* (Age of Louis XIV). His admirable correspondence fills many volumes. Of greater influence upon social thought and scarcely less in the realm of letters was Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–78), born in the French-Swiss city Geneva. His eloquent writings, such as *Le Contrat Social* (1762) and *Émile, ou de l'Éducation* (1762), were widely read and considered. *La Nouvelle Héloïse* (The New Heloise) and *Les Confessions*

Montesquieu

Voltaire

Rousseau

contain passages of striking beauty. His work is alive with perception of the spiritual nature of man.

English literature

In England the great period of modern literature came later than in Italy or in Spain, as the Renaissance began there later. After Chaucer in the fourteenth century there was no great figure in poetry until Edmund Spenser (1552–99), who took part in the attempted English "plantation" of Ireland, and whose fortune was ruined in the Irish uprising of 1598. He was the author of numerous poems characterized by the utmost sweetness, beauty, and charm. Greatest of these was the *Faerie Queene* (1590–6), in which the excellence of England and the virtue of Elizabeth are represented in allegorical account. The *Arcadia* of Sir Philip Sidney appeared about the same time (1590).

Older English prose

In 1485 Caxton printed Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte Arthure* (Arthur's Death), finished fifteen years before. Based upon earlier French prose romances, and detailing simply but finely the adventures of Arthur and his knights, it is the first monument of modern English prose. English prose writing, however, was for some time largely connected with the religious movement that took place in the country. William Tyndale's translation of the New Testament was published in 1525. The English prayer books appeared in 1549 and 1552. Their grave and noble style had wide influence and importance. Richard Hooker (1553–1600) strove to reconcile the various factions and defend the Church of England. His *Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594) is written in prose rich, grave, and lofty.

King James's Translation of the Bible

The great translation of the Bible into English, known as the authorized version or the King James Translation, appeared in 1611. Simple, earnest, and noble, this prose was far more influential than any other writing ever done in English, and gradually became a part of the very life and thought of the people. Meanwhile, the *Voyages* of Richard Hakluyt (1598) recounted the great discoveries in distant lands. The writing of Francis Bacon (1561–

1626) was largely in Latin and for the most part related to science. His *Essays* (1625) showed him a master of concise, wise statement in English. In the first half of the seventeenth century the older prose style of modern English was adorned by the work of Robert Burton, whose *Anatomy of Melancholy* appeared in 1621, and Sir Thomas Browne, whose *Religio Medici* was published in 1642. It reached its culmination a little later in the prose writings of Milton, most of which were controversial, some of them defending the Puritan rebels against the crown. His *Eikonoklastes* (Image Breaker) appeared in 1649 to justify the treatment of Charles I. His *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649) maintained that it was lawful for subjects to depose wicked kings. Much of this older prose was high, grave, dignified, forcible, and lofty. Gorgeous passages and resplendent descriptions abound. On the other hand, much is involved and difficult and cumbrous. In many instances English prose was not yet an easy medium for communication of thought.

Bacon

Milton's prose writings

The greatness of English literature in the period of the Renaissance arose very largely from the drama, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there arrived at its zenith, exceeding even the Greek drama, many affirm. In modern times there has been nothing comparable to it save the drama of Spain at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the drama of France a little later, and the German drama about the end of the eighteenth century. All of these, in extent and excellence of their works, remain far below what was brought forth in England.

The English drama

In various places there had grown up during the Middle Ages—as there had among the early Greeks—a rude drama in connection with religious celebrations. Morality plays or mysteries were performed for the people's edification, the church desiring to teach in some vivid way religion or moral lesson. In course of time strolling companies of actors, performing in the yards of hostelries or inns, de-

Earlier development of the drama

veloped the drama to exhibit stories or histories of various kinds. During the sixteenth century, in England as in Spain, theaters were built for plays and dramatic writers prepared compositions intended to be represented. In the second half of this century dramatic literature, representing some story through the action of performers and their spoken words, developed grandly, as one of the highest achievements of the Renaissance. Greatest among a host of the earlier writers was Christopher Marlowe (1564–93), whose fine genius was cut short in a tavern brawl, before he reached the height he was approaching. His *Doctor Faustus* was performed in 1588; his *Edward II* five years later.

Marlowe

Marlowe was far excelled by the greatest dramatist in the world, one who was all in all the greatest figure in literary history. William Shakespeare (1564–1616) was born at Stratford-on-Avon, in western England. He spent most of his life in London, acted, wrote for the stage, became part proprietor of the *Globe Theater*, and spent his last few years in Stratford, to which he retired after a prosperous career. Of his life little is actually known; of the man himself, scarcely a thing. So, it has been possible for ingenious critics to maintain that the dramas ascribed to him were written by some one else—especially Francis Bacon; but the opinion prevails that such belief lacks proper foundation.

Shakespeare

Thirty-seven plays, mostly by him, are preserved. They were accurately printed, though often much against his will, in the "quartos" during his lifetime. The first collected, the "first folio", edition appeared in 1623, and commands now prodigious prices at auctions of books. His plays range from *Love's Labour's Lost* (1589) to *King Henry VIII* (1613). They include the finest body of historical drama in the world: *King John* (1596), *King Richard II* (1595), the two parts of *Henry IV* (1597–8), *Henry V* (1599), the three parts of *Henry VI* (1592–4), *King Richard III* (1594),

Shakespeare's plays

Histories

and *King Henry VIII* (1613). The so-called comedies include *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1595), *The Merchant of Venice* (1598), *As You Like It* (1599), *Twelfth Night* (1602), *The Tempest* (1611). The tragedies, where he reached his greatest height, include *Romeo and Juliet* (1591–6), *Julius Cæsar* (1600), *Hamlet* (1601), *Macbeth* (1601), *Othello* (1604), *King Lear* (1605), *Antony and Cleopatra* (1607), *Coriolanus* (1608). Some of his dramas were adaptations from earlier authors. Most of the stories were taken largely from other sources—from the biographies of Plutarch, from the *novelle* of Bandello and other Italians, from Holinshed's *Chronicles of England.*

Comedies

Tragedies

None of his plays had the unity, symmetry, and good proportions that Sophocles or Euripides had known so well, and that Racine would master later on. Some of the language is bombastic, not a little confused and obscure. Sometimes the wit is childish and silly. Many of the scenes are vulgar and coarse. Yet, Shakespeare at his best excels the best and the greatest. His work abounds in writing of the highest and finest beauty. All the passions and all the feelings—love, pathos, anger, horror, madness, and scorn—appear and appear again. Often his writing is very eloquent, stirring, and noble. In one respect he stands far above all the others, by himself: no writer has delineated character as he did, so much and so often. The men and women of his *dramatis personæ* are living people, whether prince of Denmark, outcast Jew, the nurse of Juliet, or the drunken porter in *Macbeth.* Into his characters he could by some preëminent ability breathe the very life in such way as most have never attained, and the greatest only rarely succeeded in doing.

His defects

Greatest of writers

His creation of characters

Shakespeare was accompanied and followed by a galaxy of eminent dramatic writers. The learned Ben Jonson (1573–1637) was the author of *Volpone* (1605) and *Catiline* (1611). Philip Massinger's *New Way to Pay Old Debts* (1632) is still on occasion performed. Francis Beaumont

Other English dramatists

and John Fletcher together wrote numerous plays, once very successful, which mark an evident decline. Their work includes: *The Maid's Tragedy* (1611) and *Philaster* (1611). John Webster's *Duchess of Malfi* (1616) rises almost to the level of Shakespeare's work, as does John Ford's *Perkin Warbeck* (1634). The drama, already in decay, now began to diminish still further under attacks by the Puritans, who presently closed the theaters altogether. After the Restoration (1660) a dramatic revival began. A little of the old spirit remained in Thomas Otway's *Venice Preserved* (1682). The comedies of Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar are witty, empty, and obscene. The greater John Dryden was the author of numerous plays, successful in his time, in which, however, little of the old qualities of the English drama survive. After the middle of the seventeenth century English literary genius sought expression in other forms. Something of the best reappeared for a moment in Shelley's *Cenci* (1819), but generally the former greatness was gone.

Decline of the drama in England

Restoration drama

In English literature the Renaissance found belated culmination in the poetry of John Milton (1608–74). Before he did controversial writing in the service of parliament and Cromwell, Milton composed the finest and most beautiful short poems in English: *Comus*, *Lycidas*, *L'Allegro* (The Joyous), *Il Penseroso* (The Pensive). After the downfall of the Puritans, in the midst of blindness and poverty, he wrote *Paradise Lost* (1667), the story of creation and the fall of man, the greatest epic in English and one of the greatest in any language. This was followed by *Paradise Regained* (1671), concerning the triumph of Christ—which he considered his masterpiece, and *Samson Agonistes* (1671), a tragedy in which the last struggle of the Hebrew champion is recounted in the manner of the Greek tragic writers. No other Englishman's poetry contains so much of the lofty, the noble, and the grand. In genius Milton was akin to Homer and Dante.

Milton

Paradise Lost

Dryden

In the second half of the seventeenth century writing of various kinds was carried to high perfection. John Dryden (1631–1700) excelled in many kinds of composition. His *Absalom and Achitophel* (1682) employed poetry for the highest development ever obtained in modern political satire.

Bunyan

John Bunyan (1628–88), the son of a tinker, himself a non-conformist preacher, for many years imprisoned in a jail, wrote *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), one of the finest prose allegories in the world. In very simple and earnest language it relates, from the lower Puritan point of view, the course of the life of man.

Classicism in England

By the beginning of the eighteenth century the influence in literature of France, potent throughout Europe, had become dominant in England also. In poetry the "classic" style, of which the doctrines had been expounded by Boileau, and which embodied especially good taste, fine form, conciseness, and restraint, reached in England its highest point in the writings of Alexander Pope (1688–1744). Pope's *Essay on Criticism* appeared in 1711, his *Rape of the Lock* three years later. As Dryden had translated Vergil's *Æneid*, so Pope rendered Homer's *Iliad*. Both these translations have great literary merit of their own, though neither of them renders very well the spirit of the original author.

Later English prose

From France also a new style of prose writing was gradually learned. The long, involved sentence now gave way to the short, clear statement. Something of grandeur, eloquence, and power was lost, but much charm, simplicity, and grace were gained. John Dryden, in his critical prefaces, was one of the first to master the new style. Jonathan Swift (1667–1745) was one of the greatest masters of satire and of humor, as well as of clear and forcible expression. His *Tale of a Tub* appeared in 1704; *Gulliver's Travels* in 1726. Joseph Addison (1672–1719) and Sir Richard Steele (1672–1729) with delightful charm and in clear, graceful fashion, developed the short essay,

especially in their daily periodical, *The Spectator* (1711–12).

Dr. Johnson

Somewhat later Samuel Johnson (1709–84) made himself the principal literary figure in England, and the center of a famous group. His numerous works were written in a style vigorous and clear, but stiff and lofty, and abound with words and expressions derived from the Latin. His *Dictionary*, one of the first good lexicons in Europe, appeared in 1755. He was the author of numerous prefaces and essays. His fame rests, however, very largely on the *Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791), by his friend and admirer James Boswell, sometimes considered the best biography in the world. In Johnson's circle were Oliver Goldsmith (1728–74), who wrote with ease and with charm an excellent novel, *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766), and one of the best modern comedies that has been written in English, *She Stoops to Conquer* (1774). Edmund Burke (1728–97) was a great master of constitutional and political criticism. His *Speech on Conciliation with America* (1775) and *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) were memorable in two of the great crises of his time. Edward Gibbon (1737–94) remains still, many think, the greatest historian of modern times. His *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–88) is stiff and ponderous, but with all the sonorous dignity that befits the greatness and scope of his subject.

Johnson's circle

Burke

Gibbon

The novel

At the beginning of the seventeenth century England was preëminent in the drama. During the eighteenth century she attained primacy in a new form of composition, the novel. As the dramatist had undertaken to recount by conversation, containing some description, and assisted by acting, writers now attempted to attain the same and greater results through narration and larger description. The greater length and the new devices made it possible to achieve much that was not to be accomplished before. Recently a critic declared that Shakespeare could

have done much more with Hamlet had he written a novel about him. For a long time there had been narrative tales, delineating certain actions barely. The shorter tales had been known as *fabliaux* or *novelle*—from which Italian word was borrowed now the term "novel" for the longer compositions in England. In earlier times the French had called their longer narratives *romances*, which name continued to be used later on in most countries, but in England was employed merely to denominate fiction dealing with extraordinary or extravagant adventures. In England a forerunner was Daniel Defoe (1661–1731), one of the ablest and most versatile masters of English prose. His *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) is merely a narrative tale, but there is admirable delineation of character in his numerous other novels. Samuel Richardson (1689–1761) was the virtual founder of the new school. In his lengthy *Clarissa Harlowe* (1750) there is extraordinarily skilful and delicate development of character. Henry Fielding (1707–54) wrote in manner coarser but more vigorous and robust. His *Tom Jones* was published in 1749. These men and others lesser, such as Sterne and Smollett, began the movement that was to dominate during the nineteenth century the literature of England, and also those of Russia, France, Germany, Italy, and Spain.

Novelle and *romances*

Defoe

Richardson

Fielding

During all this time the literature of Germany was slighter and less important. The medieval writings of the Germans were as rich and as varied as those of the Spaniards, the French, or the English; but decline came during the Reformation, when men's thoughts were given mostly to religion; and the ruin of the Thirty Years' War came on after. As the Spaniards had their *Cid*, so had the Germans their *Nibelungenlied* (Song of the Niblungs), an epic poem of the thirteenth century. As the French had their *trouvères* and *troubadours* so had the Germans their *Minnesänger* and *Meistersänger*, poets of love and poets competing for prizes. In the sixteenth century, how-

German literature

Long period of depression follows misfortunes

ever, no striking literary works appeared in German, while the seventeenth century was a period empty and barren. Indeed, by the middle of the eighteenth century French had obtained intellectual supremacy among the Germans. All cultured people used it and read it, and even Frederick the Great composed many of his numerous works in that language.

The Renaissance in German literature

Accordingly, in German literature the Renaissance came very late. When it came, during the second half of the eighteenth century, it was part of the classic movement predominating then in Europe. Shortly, however, it went forward into the "romantic" movement—which began about the same time also in England—destined to be the great literary movement after the French Revolution. The *Messias*, a sacred epic, by Friedrich Klopstock (1724–1803), was finished in 1773. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–81) was the greatest literary and art critic of the eighteenth century and one of the principal dramatists of his time. His *Laokoon*, an admirable treatise on the principles underlying appreciation of art, appeared in 1766. His drama *Nathan der Weise* (Nathan the Wise), important in the history of liberalism in religious attitude, was published in 1780. The earlier years and some of the work of both Goethe and Schiller, the two greatest names in German writing, belong to the end of this period, but they largely represent a new movement, and their achievements belong more properly to the period succeeding.

Lessing

Dutch literature

In the literatures of other countries not much of universal interest had appeared in this time. In Holland Joest van den Vondel (1587–1679) wrote many poems and numerous plays. He is the principal literary figure of the Netherlands, and has sometimes been called the "Dutch Shakespeare." In the Scandinavian and in the Balkan countries there was not a little of local interest—chronicles, folk songs, historical descriptions—but nothing of general importance. Nor was there in Poland or in Bohemia.

In Russia during the eighteenth century there was some poetry of distinction—by Lomonosov, Derzhavina, and others, but it was only a prelude to the larger achievements that would come at a later time. Russian literature

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The author was near to making no list for this chapter. The number of books on the subject is immense, and any biblio-

graphical note in a work such as this must be incomplete and scanty. The author himself has often had little benefit from manuals of criticism and histories of literature. The literature itself is the thing. Only the masters of criticism—there are not many—can give that greater insight and appreciation in respect of books which really justify critical and descriptive writing in this field. The foregoing chapter will be to small purpose if students find in it merely an assemblage of data. The author hopes that some of his readers may be tempted to explore a little further the fascinating fields it tells of. For this it might have been better had he merely called attention again to Palgrave's *Golden Treasury* and the *Oxford Books of Verse.*

CHAPTER XXVI

MUSIC AND THE FINE ARTS

Well, and it was graceful of them: they'd break talk off and afford
—She, to bite her mask's black velvet, he, to finger on his sword,
While you sat and played Toccatas, stately at the clavichord?
What? Those lesser thirds so plaintive, sixths diminished, sigh on sigh,
Told them something? Those suspensions, those solutions—"Must we die?"
Those commiserating sevenths—"Life might last! we can but try!"

. . . . . .

So, an octave struck the answer. Oh, they praised you, I dare say!
"Brave Galuppi! That was music! good alike at grave and gay!
I can always leave off talking when I hear a master play!"

ROBERT BROWNING, *A Toccata of Galuppi's* (1855).

Quanto largo e benigno si dimostri il cielo nell' accumulare in una persona sola l'infinite ricchezze dei suoi tesori e tutte quelle grazie e più rari doni che in lungo spazio di tempo suol compartire fra molti individui, chiaramente potè vedersi nel non meno eccelente che grazioso Raffael Sanzio da Urbino.

GIORGIO VASARI, *Le Vite de Più Eccellenti Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti: Vita di Raffaello* (1568).

Modern music and art

DURING the period of the Renaissance and after, in some countries of western Europe, architecture, sculpture, and painting were carried beyond anything that the ancient Romans achieved, even beyond much that the Greeks had done. In this period also music, little developed in antiquity but largely improved in medieval times, rose grandly almost to the highest point ever reached. For the most part, in the "humanities", this period far excelled the time after the Old Régime.

Ancient music: melody

In music little had been accomplished in ancient times, when there was no advance beyond employment of melody—simple succession of pleasing sounds—to instinctive

sense of rhythm or movement in time. Primitive music, therefore, was very simple. Among the Greeks it was probably little more than accompaniment to poetic recitation. Much later, large advance was made. One of the great contributions of the Middle Ages, along with the representative system in government, and the pointed style in architecture, was the development of richer and deeper music dependent, upon harmony—combination or blending of simultaneous tones, instead of single tones in melodic composition. Among the Greeks there had been some employment of a note together with the same note an octave higher, to be sung by high and low voices together; but in the tenth century Hucbald describes the simultaneous progression of two voices in parallel fifths—five tones of the scale apart—and in the next century Guido d'Arezzo—reputed inventor of the musical notation *ut, mi, sol, re, fa, la*—speaks of fourths and fifths. Other musical intervals were soon employed, so that during the Middle Ages, in place of the single tones and old melodic progression, was developed the chord and harmonic progression.

Medieval music: harmony

Music to be sung in two or more parts appeared presently, and afterward, by the labor of many generations, was wrought into great complexity and beauty. In France from the twelfth to the fourteenth century much music was composed. About 1100 some of the masters were writing compositions in two distinct simultaneous parts, adding to the melody or *cantus firmus* (fixed song) a descant (*discantus*), that is, a refrain or second part. Such was the beginning of counterpoint (note against note). By addition of several parts this was presently developed into polyphony (many voices) or music with a number of parts. Thus, a simultaneous progression of contrasted melodies was employed. In the Netherlands and in England also much progress was made, and the medieval music that accompanies the song "Sumer

The descant

Counterpoint and polyphony

is icumen in" (about 1226) is the oldest known *rota* or composition in harmony now remaining.

Instrumental music

The grand culmination of music came in the period of the Renaissance and the time that followed. About the middle of the fifteenth century a school of Flemish musicians began to devote themselves to instrumental music. Previously most of the compositions had been vocal works. Now pieces were composed especially for the organ, an instrument developed from early times and used in the Christian church throughout the Middle Ages. Of this Netherland school the most eminent of the earlier masters was Josquin des Près (1445–1521), the first great composer. His admirable *Miserere* (Have Pity) is an example of the earlier counterpoint at its highest and best. The principal composers of this school were the later Jan Sweelinck (1562–1621) and especially Roland Delattre or Orlando di Lasso (1530–94).

The Flemish school

The Venetian school

The Renaissance reached its zenith in Italy first, and Italians were for a long time foremost in music as in the other arts. At Venice during the sixteenth century a school of composers developed from the Flemish school. In the Netherland compositions for singing each voice had been nearly independent, without close relation to the chord. The Venetians made in their compositions a succession of chords. Vocal works with closely related instrumental accompaniment were composed.

The Roman school

Greater and more renowned was the school of Rome, which flourished during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was the work of the Roman masters especially that gave Italy her preëminence so long in the realm of music. Giovanni da Palestrina (1524–94) spent his life at Rome, in the service of the church. He was chapelmaster at the Lateran, and at the Vatican, and was composer for the choir of the pope. He wrote numerous masses and other religious pieces. Palestrina and the Fleming, Di Lasso, are the greatest composers of the six-

Palestrina

teenth century. Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583–1644), organist at St. Peter's, made instrumental music entirely free from the influence of vocal music, developing a distinct instrumental style, using the toccata, a composition for keyboard instruments, already developed by the masters of Venice.

The counterpoint of the Renaissance

The counterpoint or polyphonic music, developed from the work of medieval composers, and carried to such perfection by Di Lasso, Palestrina, and others, was by some long continued and cherished, and, indeed, reached its highest culmination in the work of a German, the elder Bach, in the eighteenth century. It was characterized by complexity, and, compared with later music, by absence of rhythmic stress or strongly accented time, and by absence of recurring melody. On the other hand, it was extraordinarily rich and flexible, very fine and noble, and capable of expressing every shade and variety of emotion.

Monody

At the beginning of the seventeenth century began a change that afterward appeared as a revolution in musical art. Several voices or many voices had been employed in the polyphonic compositions, and in these compositions each voice had had equal importance. For a long time, however, in popular songs and dances the singing had been done by one voice (monody). Now this style began to be cultivated by the composers. At Rome sacred dramatic musical compositions appeared in which to a considerable extent the music was designed to accompany singing by one voice at a time, while in some places groups of voices sang in chorus. Since this form of composition was first given in the oratory, or prayer chapel, of one of the churches, it was called an *oratorio.* Emilio del Cavalieri (1550–1602), attached to the court of the Medici at Florence, who greatly disliked the counterpoint of Palestrina's school, composed the first oratorio, *La Rappresentazione di Anima e di Corpo* (Drama

The oratorio

of Soul and Body) produced in 1600. In the change from the polyphonic to the monodic style the greatest master was Giacomo Carissimi (1604–74), chapel-master at Assisi and afterward at one of the churches in Rome.

The opera

Meanwhile, in the midst of the classical Renaissance still going forward at Florence, a school of composers developed the monodic form for another purpose. The Florentine masters also employed one voice to sing to instrumental accompaniment. In 1594 Jacopo Peri set Rinuccini's drama *Dafne* to music. This was the first *opera per musica* (work for music), or opera as such a composition soon came to be called. Operas were at once received with much favor. The greatest master of this school was Claudio Monteverde (1568–1643), whose work was done principally at Mantua and at Venice. His *Orfeo* was composed in 1608.

The orchestra

The Florentine masters greatly developed the orchestra, especially the use of stringed instruments. Until the beginning of the seventeenth century the organ had continued to be the principal means of developing instrumental music; but now stringed instruments, especially the violin, were perfected and much employed.

The school of Naples

In the latter part of the seventeenth century arose another great school of composers, at Naples. They borrowed from the older polyphonic style of the church, and also from the musical drama developed at Florence,

The aria

as well as from the oratorio perfected at Rome. They gave particular attention to the melodic outline of the highest voice, thus perfecting the *aria*. Moreover, while the Florentine musical drama consisted of continuous recitative by a single voice at a time, the Neapolitans besides introducing arias, employed duets, trios, and

Orchestral accompaniment

chorus. Whereas the Florentines had emphasized the dramatic element, the Neapolitans stressed the musical part. They developed the overture, or musical prologue. Alessandro Scarlatti (1659–1725) employed orchestral

accompaniment with recitative for the first time. He was the founder of modern opera. His *Teodore* was composed in 1684.

The comic opera

During the second half of the eighteenth century Italian opera fell into decadence. The development of the aria led to a decline, dramatic truth being neglected, and paramount consideration being given to mere sensuous charm of melody and display of vocal art. During this time, however, the comic opera or *opera buffa* was developed. It had for some time been the custom to interpose between the acts of the *opera seria* or regular opera *intermezzi* (intermission pieces), which dealt with everyday life and comic situations. In 1734 Giovanni Pergolese produced his *operetta*, *La Serva Padrona*, which won renown all over Europe.

Italian instrumental music

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Italians were developing instrumental music in other forms. For the organ they had already perfected the *toccata*, in which various varieties of touch (*toccare*) upon the keyboard were displayed, the *ricercata*, in which it was conceived that the keys were sought out (*ricercare*), and the fugue or *fuga*, in which the several parts or themes were conceived to flee (*fugere*) or move onward. A new form of musical composition, the *sonata*, was also brought forth and highly developed. It took its name from being designed for playing (*sonare*) in distinction from the *cantata*, designed for singing (*cantare*). Its greatest exponent at first was Domenico Scarlatti (1685–1757). During the eighteenth century the *sonata* continued to be improved in Italy, while all other forms of art were declining.

The sonata

German music

During the eighteenth century preëminence in music passed to the Germans, with whom it remained thereafter. During the sixteenth century a German polyphonic school arose, following either the Netherland or the Italian masters. Much of the earlier music had

developed in connection with services in the Catholic Church. Now the Protestant leaders also recognized its importance. In accordance with their idea of essential equality between minister and congregation, they introduced congregational singing, and in order to popularize church music they set sacred words to the music of popular folk songs. Such was the origin of the *chorale*. In the Catholic Church it had long been the custom to recite during Holy Week the passion of Christ, as recounted in the New Testament. Of this Luther translated the text and for it various composers furnished the music. The music of this *passion* was polyphonic. The German masters learned some of the beauty of the Italian schools, and added a passionate tenderness of their own.

Protestant church music

German instrumental music

During the seventeenth century a great school of organists flourished at Hamburg and at Lübeck, and in these places also German instrumental music was further developed. The *chorale* was at first the basis of the work of these composers, but presently they cultivated also the sonata and the fugue. During the same period composers in south Germany, influenced almost entirely by Italian models, cultivated the sonata and other Italian forms of composition.

Early popular German opera

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from the German *Singspiel* (musical play) developed a national school of opera, especially at Hamburg. It arose from the custom of prefixing to each act of certain dramatic representations a short musical dialogue. This native, rudimentary opera was very popular with the masses, but the aristocracy and the rulers, as they cultivated French literature rather than German, accepted Italian opera only.

The first great German opera

The greater achievements of the Germans in music, beginning in the seventeenth century, came to splendid culmination in the eighteenth. Hans Schütz (1585–1672) combined the impressive Italian choral style with the

dramatic monodic style of Monteverde. His *Dafne* (1627) was the first important German opera. Somewhat later at Mannheim in the Palatinate arose a very important school of composers. They abandoned the prevailing polyphonic style of composition, reverting to homophony; but on this basis they presently developed a dualism, or music with two important parts. The Italian sonatists in their chamber music—music not designed for large buildings, such as theater or church—gave the leading part to the first violin, making all their other instruments strictly subordinate to it. The Mannheim masters now emphasized a second subject, and made it participate in the general development of their pieces as much as the first Thus they developed a new style of sonata. On the other hand, they also developed much further the use of various instruments polyphonically, making them all participate in developing the theme, but releasing them from close and rigid mutual relation. So they laid the foundations of the symphony. From their work the modern orchestra has come. The greatest of the Mannheim composers was Johann Stamitz (1717–57), a Bohemian, who became the director of the Elector Palatine's orchestra at Mannheim. He was virtually the creator of the modern instrumental style. He and his colleagues made possible a far greater freedom than the older art of the counterpoint had permitted.

The Mannheim school: a new style of sonata

The symphony and modern orchestral music

In the eighteenth century Germany held sway over the world of music as once the Italians had. Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), who became honorary court composer to the elector of Saxony, brought the old polyphonic style of composition to its highest point. In his noble and stately work the *passion* and the fugue reached their culmination. One of his sons, Karl Bach (1714–88), was among the greatest of the early German masters of sonata. He was long in the service of Frederick the Great. Georg Friedrich Händel (1685–1759)

Bach

Händel

spent most of his life in England, and was the principal figure in the music of that country in the eighteenth century. He brought the oratorio to its perfection. His *Messiah* was given in 1742. Christopher Gluck (1714–87), at different times resident in London, in Vienna, and in Paris, reformed the opera, emphasizing the dramatic in opposition to the purely musical element. His most celebrated work, perhaps, was *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1762). Joseph Haydn (1732–1809), an Austrian, continued the work of the Mannheim school, perfecting the sonata, and

Mozart

improving orchestration. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–91), of Salzburg, used various forms of composition already developed by others, ennobling them with the perfection of his own genius. He composed magnificent symphonies, masses, and sonatas. Among his operas, most of which continue to be favorites, were *Le Nozze di Figaro* (The Marriage of Figaro) given in 1786, *Don Giovanni* (1787), *Die Zauberflöte* (The Magic Flute) in 1791. His music is characterized by a pure beauty and admirable

Beethoven

symmetry of form. Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), born at Bonn in the Rhineland, but of Dutch extraction, carried musical development to the highest point so far attained. His sublime and noble music disclosed vast, new, unfathomed depths of emotion, and entrancing vistas of beauty. His works, however, fall beyond the period here to be considered.

No great Spanish music

A Spanish school of composers flourished in the sixteenth century, but they were little more than a branch of the school then at Rome. At no time did Spaniards succeed in establishing a great school of music of their own. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the French developed excellent opera, on Italian models.

French music

The preëminence of French drama at the end of the seventeenth century turned attention to the stage, and a school of composers appeared in whose operas dramatic characterization was enhanced. Their work was also important

in that they increased the orchestra by addition of kettle-drums, trumpets, and wood-wind instruments. The masters of this group were Giovanni Lully (1633–87), founder of French grand opera, and Jean Rameau (1683–1764). In the second half of the seventeenth century, for a brief space, English music won fame again. For one generation, during the reign of Charles II, a group of great composers appeared. Foremost among them was Henry Purcell (1658–95), who composed the music given in connection with some of Dryden's poems and plays. His greatest work was *Te Deum and Jubilate*, written for St. Cecilia's Day, in 1694.

Modern English music

During the eighteenth century, especially, was being perfected the most important of all musical instruments, one that was to make possible much further development and greater enjoyment in the future. From the ancient harp had long before been developed the monochord—an instrument with one string, then the clavichord—an instrument with several strings, both at first employed to give pitch and determine key. In the tenth century the clavichord was combined with the keyboard of the organ, and the notes were produced by touching keys which caused the strings to be struck with little attachments. Gradually more strings and more keys were added, and by the end of the Middle Ages the clavichord had become a musical instrument where it had once been merely a device for determining pitch. During the fifteenth century the *cembalo*, an instrument like a harp, but played by striking the strings with mallets held in the player's hands, was attached to a keyboard, and the strings struck by implements, quill-jacks, attached to the keys. This instrument came to be known as the harpsichord. Smaller harpsichords were called spinets and virginals. On neither the clavichord nor the harpsichord could the strength of the tone be varied by varying the force with which the keys were struck. The clavichord was *piano*

Instruments with strings played from keys

The clavichord

The harpsichord

(soft) the harpsichord *forte* (loud). In 1711 Bartolomeo Cristofori of Florence substituted hammers for the strikers previously employed—tangents or quill-jacks, and made it possible to play loud or soft according as the player struck the keys hard or lightly. This instrument, on which both *piano* and *forte* could be produced, was called *pianoforte* and after a while *piano*. It was essentially the harp, laid on its side, enclosed in a case, and played from a keyboard by hammers which produced tones of infinite variety in their quality and volume. On the piano it was possible to produce a multitude and variety of effects never obtained from a single instrument of music before. Yet, the clavichord, greatly loved from its sweetness of tone, was for some time preferred. Both the Bachs continued to use it. Mozart was the first of the masters to use a pianoforte in public performance.

The *piano forte*

Importance of the piano

Modern Art: the Renaissance

The modern period was one of the greatest in the history of all the fine arts. In art as in literature there came vast change and expansion. The Renaissance in art was primarily a perception of truth and of beauty in the visible world. It was also return to something like the ancient spirit of Greece. Art was quickened into realism vivid, strong, and unsparing. Then it was chastened and refined by influence of relics from classical times. Along with this spirit was developed better technique—especially in representing the human body and in dealing with problems of perspective. Medieval art had been very original and vital; almost no period of the Middle Ages was devoid of artistic work. But now there was manifold, brilliant, magnificent creation, surpassing far what had been.

Medieval and renaissance art

Medieval art had been very largely religious, mystical, unscientific, often irrational, concerned less with mundane beauty than with spiritual truth and ideals. Renaissance art brought vigorous re-assertion of the value and significance of earthly loveliness, especially of the human body,

Its spirit was secular, rational, sometimes downright pagan. Renaissance art at first was patronized and fostered by the church; but later on to a great extent it passed from service of the church, and so it has since remained. In spite of the number and beauty of the churches it produced, together with sculptures and paintings of religious nature, modern art came to be essentially secular in spirit and profane in its subjects. Altogether it was best exemplified in palaces, villas, town halls, and in sculptures and paintings that deal with mythological or historical subjects, with portraits and with *genre* or common life. Finally, while medieval or Gothic art had been anonymous or communal, so that usually the names of the masters who wrought remain unknown to us now, the later art was personal, individual, even idiosyncratic, in accord with the strong individualism that characterized the Renaissance.

Modern art secular and individual

Generally speaking, wherever renaissance art developed, three successive periods are discerned: the so-called early renaissance, the high renaissance, and the baroque or decadent. The first marked the transition from medieval to modern. Gothic and classic details and motives were freely mingled. Its characteristics were exuberance, spontaneity, naïveté. In the second period all traces of the Gothic and inelegant were eliminated. There was now closer adherence to classical models, with more of critical taste and exacting sense of beauty. This period marked the culmination of modern art. In this time of maturity, technique—that is, method or means of execution—was completely mastered, and great artists used their mastery of technique for complete expression of themselves. The principal characteristics were suavity of manner and grandeur of style. The time of maturity, usually short, passed then into a period of decadence. The essential characteristics of baroque were love of ostentation, theatrical straining for

The early renaissance art

High renaissance art

The baroque

effect, the employment of gorgeous materials. Want of sincerity and meaning was now hidden by superficial brilliance of execution. The old poise, the old grandeur, the intellectual power were now gone. At last only shallow pomposity remained. At the end of the eighteenth century there was reaction toward the purest and severest classical art.

Renaissance art began in Italy

It was in Italy that the art of the Renaissance began. For the medieval art of the countries farther north Italians had never had much admiration. It was they who first called it "Gothic"—by which they meant barbarous or rude. They, more than any others, had about them numerous ruins and relics from the classical past. They gloried proudly in their fine inheritance from Rome. In Italy, therefore, in the midst of the prosperity and greatness of the fifteenth century, and in the midst of the great changes taking place in men's minds and intellectual outlook, the artistic revolution began. Siena, Venice, Milan all had their share, but Florence was the center at first.

Florence: architecture and sculpture

Filippo Brunelleschi (1379–1446) of Florence was the first great master of renaissance architecture. The lofty *duomo* (dome) reared high upon the cathedral in Florence—the most important structural problem of the fifteenth century, and the *Pitti Palace*, are monuments to his genius. He carefully studied Roman design and

Donatello

detail and introduced them into modern art. Donatello (1386–1466) of Florence, having considered the ancient sculpture, found it to be based on a study of nature, and then developed a most vivid and unsparing realism of his own. In unmitigated realism he was exceeded by Verrocchio. The bronze doors of Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378–1455) in the *Battistero* are the most beautiful in the world. Luca della Robbia expressed classic beauty and Christian purity in his works. He founded a famous school of sculpture in glazed and colored terra cotta.

The Florentine painters

For Italian painting of the early Renaissance the way had already been prepared by Giotto of Florence and his followers in the fourteenth century. In the new school Fra Angelico (1387–1455) was a belated medievalist, and Sandro Botticelli (1447–1515), with his tremulous line and spiritual melancholy, stands by himself. Fra Filippo Lippi, Andrea del Castagno, Paolo Uccello, Pollaiuolo, all seized on the new worldly and humanistic spirit, rendering it in terms vital, novel, and true. A little later Ghirlandaio, Verrochio, and others carried forward the mastery of technique in painting. Perugino added a sweet pensiveness to religious painting. As a result of the work of these artists, together with what was accomplished by the architects and the sculptors, a knowledge and a skill were acquired that made possible the triumph of the period that followed.

Advance in technique

Rome: architecture

The period of the high renaissance in Italian art occupied the first half of the sixteenth century. Rome was its center. To Rome successive popes, especially Julius II, summoned masters from all over Italy. The greatest of the architects was Donato Bramante (1444–1514), whose monument is the design for *St. Peter's* at Rome. Eschewing all richness of ornament he depended on excellence of proportion and structural logic. He introduced a refined and elegant style, founded upon the antique, afterward almost universal. During this time a succession of masters labored on the colossal edifice of *St. Peter's*, that exhausted the revenues of the papacy, and, all in all, required more than a century to build (1506–1626). Foremost among those who contributed to this task was Michelangelo (1475–1564), whose colossal dome was the greatest single achievement of the time.

St. Peter's

Sculpture

Of sculptors Sansovino carved works of pagan beauty. Giovanni da Bologna caught the outward grace of classic sculpture without its intellectual meaning. Benvenuto Cellini (1500–71) was primarily a goldsmith, but he pro-

Michelangelo

duced a famous large work in his *Perseus*. Here the towering genius was Michelangelo, with his utterly new and personal style, marvellous technical skill, his unexampled power and sublimity in handling the nude. Among the greatest of his sculptures were the *Moses*, placed in the Church of *San Pietro in Vincoli* in Rome, and his reclining figures on the Medici's tombs in the Church of *San Lorenzo*, Florence.

The zenith of painting

During the sixteenth century in Italy painting reached its highest point in the history of art. It was dominated by four great masters, each with numerous followers.

Leonardo da Vinci

Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), with universal mind, turned to art merely as one means of expression. He was a perfect draftsman, developed *chiaroscuro*—distribution of light and shade—further than any one before him, and had wondrous power to present subtle and fleeting expressions. His masterpiece, now much damaged, is the *Last Supper*, in the church *Santa Maria delle Grazie* in Milan.

Raphael

Raffaello Sanzio (1483–1520) was endowed with every technical and spiritual gift. His renown rests especially upon his numerous exquisite madonnas, his sibyls, and the magnificent series of frescoes in the *Vatican*. More than any other renaissance artist Raphael harmonized Christian spirit with beauty of classic art. Michelangelo, though primarily a sculptor, was a genius in all the arts. He covered the vault of the *Sistine Chapel* with a host of sublime figures, and later painted on the altar wall the most terrible *Last Judgment* in the annals of art. Stern, aloof, dwelling in a world of his own mighty dreams, his unrivalled power reveals his own brooding, prophetic soul.

Correggio

Correggio (1494–1534) embodied in his paintings perfect loveliness and purest joy of living. He excelled in disposition of light and shade, and had marvellous power to represent figures in every conceivable attitude of swift movement and flight—as, for example, *The Assumption*, in the dome of the cathedral at Parma. At

Florence Andrea del Sarto, Bronzino, and Sebastiano del Piombo continued the high traditions of the earlier masters.

Venetian art

Meanwhile, at Venice there was a glorious artistic development that displayed, through glowing color and preference for rich, voluptuous forms, the carefree, prosperous, happy life of that city. First of the Venetian masters was Giovanni Bellini (1427–1516), whose sculpturesque style was learned from the Paduan, Mantegna. His most beautiful madonnas and altar-pieces still remain in Venice. Later came the four great masters of Venetian painting. Giorgione (1477–1511) developed a rich and glowing atmosphere that suffuses all of his work. He embodied in sumptuous Venetian color that spirit of langourous grace and dreaminess that Praxiteles had expressed in marble. His best known work, perhaps, is *The Concert*, now in the *Pitti Gallery* in Florence.

Giorgione

Titian

Tiziano Vecelli (1477–1576), like Giorgione and others, was a pupil of Bellini. He was, perhaps, the greatest of Italian painters. Master of every technical device, he treated all subjects with the largeness and serenity that mark the universal master. Excelling in color—even among the colorful Venetians, drawing with ease and truth, handling his *chiaroscuro* in rich and ample masses, he produced an effect of poise and dignity no less than effect of splendor. His *Amor Sacro e Profano* (Love Sacred and Profane) is now in Rome. Some of his portraits, such as that of Charles V, are among the best ever painted.

Tintoretto

Tintoretto (1518–94), who boasted that he would combine the drawing of Michelangelo with the color of his teacher, Titian, produced many works of uneven merit. His masterpiece, *The Miracle of St. Mark*, is in the *Accademia* at Venice. Paolo Veronese (1528–88) painted, with great ease and distinction of manner, and with a lovely, silvery color, the life of the Venice of his time. In the eighteenth century Giovanni Tiepolo

Tiepolo

(1693–1769) grandly revived Venetian art, long decadent. He was last of the great old masters, yet with a touch of modernity foretelling a new period about to begin.

Decline of Italian art

By the middle of the sixteenth century there were already signs of the *baroque* (irregular, clumsy) or decadent in Italian art. This decadent art continued there all through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was the period of Italian political subservience, and also for some time of the Counter-Reformation, both of which were unfavorable to any excellence in art. Rome remained an important center, though leading artists worked also at Naples, Bologna, and Venice.

Baroque architecture

In architecture the essential characteristics were preference for broken or curving lines and use of elaborate ornament, often coarse. At the cost of dignity, new and startling effects were striven for. Giovanni Bernini (1598–1680) was one of the principal exponents, the church of *Santa Maria della Salute* at Venice one of the most conspicuous monuments of this art. The Jesuits were consistent patrons.

Baroque sculpture

In sculpture violent emotion was expressed by every clever technical device. Bernini again was the master and some of his work is marvellous. An original feature of baroque carving in Italy was the delightful and varied use of open-air sculpture, especially fountains, of which there are admirable examples in Rome, such as the *Fontana delle Tartughe* (Fountain of Tortoises). In painting, the works of the earlier masters were followed. The greatest artists of this period were Caravaggio of Naples, and Guido Reni. Italy now lost her position of leadership, and Paris became the art center of the world.

Spread of renaissance art

The Italian Renaissance had spread to other European countries. Italian art was introduced by kings and nobles, who had been touched by its spell, and who yearned to have something like it in their dominions. Much artistic development was at first the work of Italian artists who

were invited into France, Spain, and England. In all these countries, however, Gothic art continued for some time to hold its own.

Italian artists in France

In France Renaissance art followed the invasions of Italy by the French. Francis I, enamored of the beauty and voluptuous charm of Italian art, attracted to his service Leonardo da Vinci, Andrea del Sarto, Benvenuto Cellini, and others. In the next century Louis XIV summoned Bernini to Paris, and Colbert founded the *French Academy* in Rome.

The French *châteaux*

In French art early renaissance covers the sixteenth century. In architecture the famous and lovely *châteaux* of the Loire valley—as at Blois, Amboise, Chenonceau—show successful grafting upon Gothic foundation of sculptured decoration from Italy. These courtly homes of kings and nobles represent one of the most original and beautiful of French architectual styles.

French high renaissance art

Under Henry IV a more classic tendency set in, which gained strength in the time of Louis XIII and Louis XIV. From architecture all traces of Gothic were purged, and a pure though grandiose style was created by François Mansard and Claude Perrault. Sculpture also embodied a courtly and magnificent style. In painting Poussin and Claude Lorrain, exemplifying Italian influence, did much to develop French landscape painting. Portraiture reached a very high level in the art of Philippe de Champaigne, of Pierre Mignard, of Largillière, of Rigaud, and of Charles Le Brun. All of them embody flattery and courtly elegance in their work.

Rococo or French decadent

In France the *rococo* (rockwork) period corresponds to the baroque in Italy. It extends through most of the eighteenth century. It embodied reaction against the heavy pretentiousness of the time just preceding. Rococo art at its best is gay, light, vivacious, frankly designed to please a delicately frivolous but exacting taste. Lacking in serious feeling or any deep thought, and devoid of high

purpose, it yet exerts an extraordinary charm, and is one of the most thoroughly French phases of art. It is best studied in the work of the painters, Jean Watteau, Lancret, Boucher, Fragonard, and Nattier. They perfectly reflected the gaiety, the delicate artificiality, the moral irresponsibility of the upper classes. The complete overthrow of rococo art came with the French Revolution, for this art was closely identified with monarchy and with aristocracy, which this revolution attempted to destroy. Meanwhile, Greuze, somewhat influenced by the writings of Rousseau, had expounded in his painting the sentimental moralizings of the *bourgeoisie*, while Chardin, almost unnoticed, had painted *genre* and still life with inimitable beauty and truth. It may be remarked that during all the period of French renaissance art, while the general average was high, and much very clever work was done, no genius of the highest rank ever appeared—no one comparable to Velázquez in Spain, to Rembrandt in Holland, to Leonardo, Raphael, Michelangelo, or Titian in Italy.

French painting of the eighteenth century

French art admirable but not the highest

Spanish art

In Spain Gothic art arose late and then flourished long. The art of the Renaissance came slowly, and was first introduced, as in France, under royal patronage. It began under Ferdinand and Isabella, but was especially encouraged by Charles V.

Architecture: the plateresque

In Spanish architecture the period of the early renaissance lasted to the middle of the sixteenth century. It was characterized by elaborate massing around doors and windows of intricate filigree ornament, suggestive of the silversmith's work, and is hence often known as plateresque (*plata*, silver). The high renaissance period then succeeded until the middle of the seventeenth century. It repudiated the exuberant detail of the time just before, and carried simplicity and restraint to the point of coldness, as in the gigantic palace of the *Escorial* (1563–84). In the baroque period, that followed for nearly two hun-

The *Escorial*

dred years, there was unbridled riot of curved and broken lines, and ornament very rich but tasteless.

Religion dominates Spanish art

All the arts in Spain were dominated by the church, but this was especially true of sculpture. The vast number of pieces executed were mostly for the huge choir screens of the churches. With abundance of color and gilding, they dealt principally with agonies of the saints, displayed with realism disagreeable and startling. Juan Montañes (1564–1649) and Alonso Cano (1601–67) represent the best in Spanish sculpture.

Spanish painting

Spanish painting also was for a long time almost entirely subservient to the church. It dealt with ecstasies and agonies, it was often fanatical, usually sombre and harsh. Its earlier masters were Jusepe Ribera (1588–1656) who followed the Neapolitan school of Caravaggio, and El Greco, so-called (1584–1625), Greek by birth, Venetian by training, whose mystical and idiosyncratic work was mostly done at Toledo. A more native Spanish art began with Francisco Herrera (1576–1656), whose *Last Judgment* is in Seville.

Velázquez

In Spanish painting the master was Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez (1599–1660), one of the greatest of all painters. Unlike his predecessors, he dealt mostly with secular subjects, portraits of his royal patron, Philip IV, and members of the court, and so is less characteristically Spanish than his fellows. He was possessed of a perfect technique. He saw and recorded objects and people impartially, leaving comment and criticism to the spectator. In conveying this utter truthfulness of vision he employed a marvellous manner of representation. He is the first great master of "impressionism" or representation of what appears as things are looked at—many of the details, perhaps, blurred or not seen—rather than what examination ascertains to be there. Hence Velázquez has been the source and inspiration of a great deal of modern painting. More than any one before him, and more than

Impressionism

almost any one since, he was able to represent not only the solidity of objects, but their actual illumination and the circumambient air. Among his most celebrated pictures are: *Las Meniñas* (The Ladies in Waiting), *Las Hilanderas* (The Weavers), *La Rendicion de Breda* (The Surrender of Breda), and portraits of Philip IV and members of that monarch's family, all in the *Prado* in Madrid. Bartolomé Murillo (1618–82) devoted himself mostly to religious subjects. His coloring was often very lovely. After the seventeenth century Spanish painting declined until the advent of the strong, vivid, biting art of Francisco Goya (1746–1828), who was one of the founders of modern art.

Murillo

Earlier Flemish art

In Flanders there was a native renaissance preceding the Italian, and during the fourteenth century it spread into Burgundy and France. The rugged and original sculptor, Claes Sluter, produced masterpieces of realism before the birth of the Italian Donatello. The brothers Hubert and Jan van Eyck far advanced the art of painting, and even influenced Italians who came to Flanders to learn painting from them. Roger van der Weyden, Hans Memling, Quentin Matsys carried Flemish art on into the sixteenth century, after which imitation of the Italian more and more prevailed, until the old distinctive character was lost.

Rubens

In the seventeenth century came the highest achievement in Flemish painting. Greatest of the Flemish masters was Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640). In his even and swift execution, in fecundity of invention, abundance of vitality and warmth of color, Rubens is the equal of the greatest artists. All the numerous subjects he dealt with were treated with the same sweeping, masterful style. He was well born and a successful diplomat: "prince of painters and the painter of princes." His *Descent from the Cross* is in Antwerp cathedral. Of the host of his pupils and followers the chief was Anthony Van Dyck

(1599–1641), who had less of his master's abundant energy, but superior sense of refinement. Van Dyck is best known from his portraits, especially of Charles I of England and members of the royal family. More thoroughly Flemish were the *genre* painters, David Teniers and Adriaen Brouwer. After the seventeenth century Flemish art produced nearly nothing until modern times. Van Dyck

In Holland little that was noteworthy was produced in architecture, and almost nothing in sculpture. Along with Dutch political power, however, in the seventeenth century, came the rise of a great national school of painting. Unlike the Catholic Flemings, the Protestant Dutch produced almost nothing in religious art. Nor did they essay history, mythology, or allegory. Theirs was a limited and homely art, dealing with things familiar and ordinary: portraits of individuals or groups, Dutch life, manners, and customs. Yet, so sincere is the spirit, so beautiful the representation of light, atmosphere, and color, that in spite of its intensely local character it attained high estimation in all other countries. Dutch art

The earliest of the great seventeenth-century Dutch artists was Frans Hals (1580–1666), whose portraits reveal admirable, sweeping brushwork, and extraordinary power of suggesting the physical presence of the sitter. He was followed by Rembrandt van Rijn (1607–69), less characteristically Dutch, but one of the greatest masters in the history of painting. His art was entirely original and personal. He was interested above all in the magic beauty of light, and dealt with it more wondrously than any one before or since. He poured his illumination with sparkling brilliance upon a few chosen objects, enveloping the rest in deep, mysterious golden gloom. By his great spiritual sympathy and his marvellous *chiaroscuro* he transformed the most homely subjects into things of beauty and splendor. His masterpiece, *The Night Watch*, is in the *Rijks Museum* in Amsterdam. More characteristic Frans Hals Rembrandt

Painters of Dutch life

of the art of Holland were the "Little Dutch Masters," such as Terboorch, De Hooghe, Steen, and many others, who depicted with flawless technique and unfailing charm the most familiar aspects of Dutch daily life, while others painted Dutch landscape, seascape, or cattle. During the eighteenth century in Dutch art there was nothing of note or importance.

German art

Into Germany the classic revival came from Italy slowly. During the fifteenth century German art remained medieval. In the sixteenth century came the Reformation, which was indifferent or unfriendly to artistic work. Then followed the religious wars, in which all German culture was ruined.

German architecture and carving

In German architecture the most characteristic things appeared during the early renaissance period, in the sixteenth century. They were residences of wealthy burghers, with high roof and abundance of grotesque ornament. In sculpture the admirable tradition of German wood carving was continued. In painting two men of eminence

Dürer

appeared. Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) exemplified German love of truth and realism even when they involved the harsh and the awkward. He lacked elegance, but he takes high rank through perfect sincerity, deep thoughtfulness, and because of the accuracy and finish of his details. He is best in his numerous engravings, where his strange

Holbein

and fertile imagination was given full play. Hans Holbein, the younger (1497–1543), was less forceful and more suave. Where Dürer remained essentially Gothic, Holbein had more of the renaissance spirit. He travelled much, and during long residence in England, as court painter to Henry VIII, painted most of the personages of that monarch's court. He was an able draughtsman, presenting vigorously the facts of physiognomy and showing keen insight into character. The Cranachs, father and son, were coarser, but not without quaint individuality. There is a well-known portrait of Luther by Lucas

Cranach, the elder. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were a period of barren decline.

English art

English art was influenced by medieval traditions long after the Renaissance had begun in Italy and in France. The perpendicular style of architecture—seen so admirably in York cathedral and at Westminster, Windsor, and Cambridge—the most original and striking phase of English Gothic, rose in the fifteenth century and flourished until the middle of the sixteenth. Renaissance art was at first fostered by royal favor, and was first used in decorative details, such as the carving on tombs and shrines.

Italian artists in England

Italian artists were summoned for important commissions. Torrigiano, a contemporary of Michelangelo, made the tomb of Henry VII in his chapel at Westminster. Rovezzano designed the tomb of Cardinal Wolsey. In the sixteenth century the Reformation and in the seventeenth Puritanism were distinctly inimical to sculpture and painting. Renaissance art was for some time exemplified mostly in architecture.

Tudor architecture

Tudor architecture remained essentially Gothic, but under Elizabeth and James I there was gradually an inclination away from medieval profusion and picturesqueness toward more classical and symmetrical forms. Admirable country houses were erected for the nobility during this time. They combine dignity and stateliness with domesticity and hospitable grace.

Renaissance architecture in England

The period of the high renaissance came in the seventeenth century. A very pure and nobly classic style was evolved, based largely on the work of the Italian Palladio, but modified by French influence later on. Inigo Jones, a master of this style, planned for Charles I the magnificent scheme of *Whitehall Palace*, of which only the beautiful *Banqueting Hall* was built. Sir Christopher Wren (1632–1723), greatest of English architects, made of the new *St. Paul's Cathedral* one of the masterpieces of the Renaissance in Europe. A large number of city churches,

Sir Christopher Wren

also built after the great fire in London (1666), show the adaptability and ingenuity of his genius. These buildings had a great influence upon early American ecclesiastical architecture—as may still be seen in Philadelphia and in Charleston. In the eighteenth century, in the period of Anne and the Georges, charming country houses were built. Little was accomplished in sculpture.

Foreign painters in England

With respect to painting, foreign artists were for a long time preferred. Moro and Holbein in the sixteenth century, Rubens, Van Dyck, Lely, and Kneller in the seventeenth, brought their art from the continent. In the eighteenth century, in most other places a period of depression in art, British painting flowered forth in development belated but splendid. Greatest of English painters was William Hogarth (1697–1764). His mastery of technique and power to delineate character are seen in his portraits and in his admirable anecdotal pictures, among which are *Rake's Progress* and *Marriage à la Mode*. A group of portrait painters included Sir Joshua Reynolds and Thomas Gainsborough, while English landscape painting was established by Gainsborough and by Constable. The traditions of British art were carried on into the early nineteenth century by the portrait painters, Romney, Raeburn, and Lawrence, while landscape painting reached magnificent culmination at the close of the eighteenth century in the gorgeous and imaginative art of Joseph Turner (1775–1851), the one universal figure in British art.

Hogarth

The portrait painters

Turner

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

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Christian I, 1448–81
John, 1481–1513
Christian II, 1513–23
Frederick I, 1523–33
Christian III, 1533–59
Frederick II, 1559–88
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Frederick III, 1648–70
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Frederick IV, 1699–1730
Christian VI, 1730–46
Frederick V, 1746–66
Christian VII, 1766–1808

FRANCE

Charles VII, 1422–61
Louis XI, 1461–83
Charles VIII, 1483–98
Louis XII, 1498–1515
Francis I, 1515–47
Henry II, 1547–59
Francis II, 1559–60
Charles IX, 1560–74
Henry III, 1574–89
Henry IV, 1589–1610
Louis XIII, 1610–43
Louis XIV, 1643–1715
Louis XV, 1715–74
Louis XVI, 1774–92

GREAT BRITAIN

England and Scotland two separate kingdoms under separate sovereigns until 1603.

United under the same sovereign, 1603–1707. United under one government as Great Britain, 1707-1800.

England

Henry VI, 1422–61
Edward IV, 1461–83
Edward V, 1483

Scotland

James II, 1437–60
James III, 1460–88
James IV, 1488–1513

ENGLAND—*Cont.*

RICHARD III, 1483–5
HENRY VII, 1485–1509
HENRY VIII, 1509–47
EDWARD VI, 1547–53
MARY I, 1553–8
ELIZABETH, 1558–1603
JAMES I, 1603–25
CHARLES I, 1625–49

SCOTLAND—*Cont.*

JAMES V, 1513–42
MARY, 1542–67
JAMES VI, 1567–1625
(*succeeded Elizabeth as king of England in 1603*)

INTERREGNUM, 1649–60

Commonwealth, 1649–53
Protectorate, 1653–9
OLIVER CROMWELL, *lord protector, 1653–8*
RICHARD CROMWELL, *lord protector, 1658–9*
A period of confusion, 1659–60

During the period of the interregnum Charles, son of Charles I, was de jure king of England and of Scotland

CHARLES II, 1660–85
JAMES II (VII), 1685–8
A virtual interregnum from the flight of James II, December 22, 1688, until February 11, 1689
WILLIAM III and MARY II, 1689–94
WILLIAM III, 1694–1702
ANNE, 1702–14
GEORGE I, 1714–27
GEORGE II, 1727–60
GEORGE III, 1760–1820

Principal, chief, first, or premier ministers of England and of Great Britain.

Prior to the eighteenth century there were from time to time chief ministers, to some of whom almost complete power was for the time being given by the monarch. Such ministers, however, were entirely dependent upon the good will, even the caprice, of the sovereign; their tenure was uncertain; of them no continuous list can be made.

Such were:	*In the time of*
Thomas Wolsey, *Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor*	Henry VIII
Thomas Cromwell, *Lord High Chamberlain*	
William Cecil, *Lord Burleigh*	Elizabeth
Richard Weston, *Lord Treasurer*	James I
William Laud, *Archbishop of Canterbury*	Charles I
Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *Lord Chancellor*	Charles II
Sir Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, *Lord Treasurer*	
Robert Spencer, Earl of Sunderland, *Secretary of State*	James II

Sidney Godolphin, Earl of Godolphin	*Lord Treasurer* 1702–10
Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer	*First Lord of the Treasury,* 1710–11, *Lord Treasurer,* 1711–14
Charles Townshend, Viscount Townshend	*First Lord of the Treasury,* 1714–17
James Stanhope, Earl of Stanhope	*First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer,* 1717–18
	First Lord of the Treasury, 1718–21

Sir Robert Walpole	*First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer*, 1721–27
	First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1727–42
John Carteret, Baron Carteret	*First Lord of the Treasury*, 1742–4
Henry Pelham	*First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer*, 1744–6
William Pulteney, Earl of Bath	*First Lord of the Treasury*, *February* 10–12, 1746
Henry Pelham (II)	*First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer*, 1746–54
Thomas Pelham-Holles, Duke of Newcastle	*First Lord of the Treasury*, 1754–6
William Pitt (The Duke of Devonshire *First Lord of the Treasury*)	*Secretary of State for the Southern Department*, 1756–7
William Pitt (The Duke of Newcastle *First Lord of the Treasury* [II], 1757–60 and 1760–2)	*Secretary of State for the Southern Department*, 1757–60 *and* 1760–1
John Stuart, Earl of Bute	*First Lord of the Treasury*, 1762–3
George Grenville	*First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer*, 1763–5
Charles Wentworth, Marquis of Rockingham	*First Lord of the Treasury*, 1765–6
William Pitt, Earl of Chatham (III)	*Lord Privy Seal*, 1766–7
Augustus Fitzroy, Duke of Grafton	*First Lord of the Treasury*, 1767–70

Frederick North, Lord North	*First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer*, 1770–82
The Marquis of Rockingham (II)	*First Lord of the Treasury, March–July*, 1782
William Petty, Earl of Shelburne	*First Lord of the Treasury*, 1782–3
Coalition Ministry	
The Duke of Portland	*First Lord of the Treasury and nominal prime minister, April-December*, 1783
Lord North (II) and Charles James Fox, *secretaries of state*	
William Pitt, the younger	*First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer*, 1783–1801

THE HAPSBURG DOMINIONS

Archdukes of Austria, 1453–
Kings of Bohemia, 1526–
Kings of Hungary, 1526–
Generally emperors of the Holy Roman Empire—numerals in ( )

Frederick IV (III), 1457–93
Maximilian I, 1493–1519
Charles I (V), 1519–21
Ferdinand I, 1521–64
Maximilian II, 1564–76
Rudolph V (II), 1576–1612
Matthias, 1612–19
Ferdinand II, 1619–37
Ferdinand III, 1637–57
Leopold I, 1658–1705
Joseph I, 1705–11
Charles II (VI), 1711–40
Maria Theresa, 1740–80
Joseph II, 1780–90

THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Frederick III, 1440–93
Maximilian I, 1493–1519
Charles V, 1519–56
Ferdinand I, 1556–64
Maximilian II, 1564–76
Rudolph II, 1576–1612

The Holy Roman Empire—*Cont.*

Matthias, 1612–19
Ferdinand II, 1619–37
Ferdinand III, 1637–57
Leopold I, 1658–1705
Joseph I, 1705–11
Charles VI, 1711–40

A period of interregnum and confusion (1740–2) during the earlier part of the War of the Austrian Succession

Charles VII, 1742–5
Francis I, 1745–65
Joseph II, 1765–90

THE (DUTCH) NETHERLANDS

Stadholders—generally, 1584–1747
Hereditary stadholders, 1747–95

William I, 1581–4
Maurice, 1584–1625
Frederick Henry, 1625–47
William II, 1647–50
John De Witt, 1653–72
Grand Pensionary

William III, 1672–1702
King of England and of Scotland, 1689–1702
John William Friso, 1702–11
William IV, 1711–51
Hereditary stadholder, 1747–51
William V, 1751–95

THE OTTOMAN DOMINIONS

Mohammed II, 1451–81
Bajazet II, 1481–1512
Selim I, 1512–20
Suleiman II, 1520–66
Selim II, 1566–74
Amurath III, 1574–95
Mohammed III, 1595–1603
Achmet I, 1603–17
Mustapha I, 1617–18
Osman II, 1618–23
Amurath IV, 1623–40
Ibrahim, 1640–8
Mohammed IV, 1648–87
Suleiman III, 1687–91
Achmet II, 1691–5
Mustapha II, 1695–1703
Achmet III, 1703–30
Mahmud I, 1730–54
Osman III, 1754–7
Mustapha III, 1757–73
Abdul Hamid I, 1773–89

POLAND

Casimir IV, 1447–92
John I Albert, 1492–1501
Alexander, 1501–6
Sigismund I, 1506–48
Sigismund II, 1548–72
Henry of Valois, 1573–4
Henry III of France, 1574–89
Stephen Báthori, 1575–86
Prince of Transylvania
Sigismund III Vasa, 1587–1632
Ladislaus IV, 1632–48
John II Casimir, 1648–68
Michael Wisniowiecki, 1669–73
John III Sobieski, 1674–96
Augustus II, 1697–1704
Elector of Saxony, 1694–1733
Stanislaus Leszczynski, 1704–9
Augustus II, *restored*, 1709–33
Stanislaus Leszczynski, *restored*, 1733–4
Augustus III, 1734–63
Elector of Saxony, 1733–63
Stanislaus II Poniatowski, 1764–95

THE POPES

With the exception of ADRIAN VI (Adriaan Boyers, of Utrecht) and CALIXTUS III and ALEXANDER VI, both Spaniards, all the pontiffs in the list subjoined were Italians.

Nicholas V, 1447–55
Calixtus III, 1455–8
Pius II, 1458–64
Paul II, 1564–71
Sixtus IV, 1471–84
Innocent VIII, 1484–92
Alexander VI, 1492–1503
Pius III, 1503
Julius II, 1503–13
Leo X, 1513–21
Adrian VI, 1522–3
Clement VII, 1523–34
Paul III, 1534–49
Julius III, 1550–5
Marcellus II, 1555
Paul IV, 1555–9
Pius IV, 1559–65
Pius V, 1566–72
Gregory XIII, 1572–85
Sixtus V, 1585–90
Urban VII, 1590
Gregory XIV, 1590–1
Innocent IX, 1591
Clement VIII, 1592–1605
Leo XI, 1605
Paul V, 1605–21

THE POPES—*Cont.*

GREGORY XV, 1621–3
URBAN VIII, 1623–44
INNOCENT X, 1644–55
ALEXANDER VII, 1655–67
CLEMENT IX, 1667–9
CLEMENT X, 1670–6
INNOCENT XI, 1676–89
ALEXANDER VIII, 1689–91
INNOCENT XII, 1691–1700
CLEMENT XI, 1700–21
INNOCENT XIII, 1721–4
BENEDICT XIII, 1724–30
CLEMENT XII, 1730–40
BENEDICT XIV, 1740–58
CLEMENT XIII, 1758–69
CLEMENT XIV, 1769–74
PIUS VI, 1774–99

PORTUGAL

ALFONSO V, 1438–81
JOHN II, 1481–95
EMMANUEL I, 1495–1521
JOHN III, 1521–57
SEBASTIAN, 1557–78
HENRY, 1578–80

Portugal ruled by the kings of Spain, 1580–1640

JOHN IV, 1640–56
ALFONSO VI, 1656–67
PEDRO II, 1667–1706
JOHN V, 1706–50
JOSEPH, 1750–77
MARIA I and PEDRO III, 1777–86
MARIA I, 1786–1816

PRUSSIA

Electors of Brandenburg until 1701
Kings of Prussia, 1701–

JOACHIM I, 1499–1535
JOACHIM II, 1535–71
JOHN GEORGE, 1571–98
JOACHIM FREDERICK, 1598–1608
JOHN SIGISMUND, 1608–19
GEORGE WILLIAM, 1619–40
FREDERICK WILLIAM, 1640–88
FREDERICK III, 1688–1701
He reigned as FREDERICK I, *King of Prussia, 1701–13*
FREDERICK WILLIAM I, 1713–40
FREDERICK II, 1740–86
FREDERICK WILLIAM II, 1786–97

RUSSIA

Grand princes of Moscow until 1547
Tsars 1547–

Vasili II, 1425–62
Ivan III, 1462–1505
Vasili III, 1505–33
Ivan IV, 1533–84
Feodor, 1584–98
Boris Godunov, 1598–1605
Interregnum
Michael, 1613–45
Alexis, 1645–76
Feodor II, 1676–82
Ivan V and Peter I, 1682–9
Peter I, 1689–1725
Catherine I, 1725–7
Peter II, 1727–30
Anna, 1730–40
Ivan VI, 1740–1
Elizabeth, 1741–62
Peter III, 1762
Catherine II, 1762–96

SPAIN

Castile	Aragon
John II, 1406–54	Alfonso V, 1416–58
Henry IV, 1454–74	John II, 1458–79
Isabella, 1474–1504	Ferdinand V, 1479–1516

Castile and Aragon, with their dependencies united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella (1469), their accession to the throne of Castile (1474), and Ferdinand's succession to the throne of Aragon (1479).

Ferdinand V and Isabella, 1479–1504
Ferdinand V and Philip I, 1504–6
Ferdinand V and Charles I, 1506–16
Charles I, 1516–56
Charles V, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, 1519–56
Philip II, 1556–98
Philip III, 1598–1621
Philip IV, 1621–65
Charles II, 1665–1700
Philip V, 1700–46
In 1724 Philip abdicated in favor of his son, Louis, but on the death of Louis in the same year, Philip resumed the government
Ferdinand VI, 1746–59
Charles III, 1759–88
Charles IV, 1788–1808

SWEDEN

Independence of Denmark was established for most of Sweden by Gustavus Vasa

Gustavus I Vasa, 1523–60
Eric XIV, 1560–8
John III, 1568–92
Sigismund, 1592–1604
Charles IX, 1604–11
Gustavus II Adolphus, 1611–32
Christina, 1632–54
Charles X, 1654–60
Charles XI, 1660–97
Charles XII, 1697–1718
Ulrica Eleonora, 1718–20
Frederick I, 1720–51
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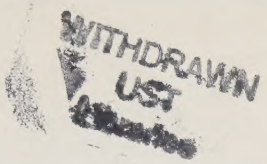

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